





63

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

1880.

London :
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PREFACE.

THE year just closing has been a fruitful one in respect of archæological progress and antiquarian discovery. Recent excavations in and around the Metropolis, at Bath, Binchester, Brading, Longparish, Reach, South Shields, Winchester, and many other sites, have afforded to the archæologist a rich harvest of relics which have been duly described in the pages of our THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL VOLUME. Nor have the keen eyes of several of our members failed to detect in out of the way corners and forgotten niches rare objects of obscure ethnology, mediæval art, carved and painted panels, sculpture, coins, engraved gems, precious metals, ivory, porcelain, and glass, which have proved useful for exhibition and examination at the evening meetings. The Congress held in 1879 at Yarmouth and Norwich has proved as prolific in papers on historical subjects, most of which are herein contained, as it was notably rich in sites of importance and critical tests of antiquity. In like manner, the doings of the Association at Devizes, of which a short summary is now given, will prove to be worthy of perusal when the volume for the next year is completed.

But signs are not wanting, if we may only read them aright, of an impending change in the course of advanced archæological pursuits. The preparation of monographs, more or less exhaustive, upon isolated subjects of prominent

value, the recording of new results of individual excavations and explorations, the exposition of archaic, antique, and middle age themes will, we may safely assume, form a constant factor in our JOURNAL. On the other hand, it may be asked, has not the student enough raw material now stored up, in the transactions of this Association and kindred societies, out of which he may, if he will, evolve potent theories and irrefragable deductions of comparative archæology, of a far more comprehensive character than has hitherto been undertaken by any but a few pioneers?

A passing tribute is due to the memory of a triad of eminent archæologists who have this year exchanged the earthly life for a life where a thousand years are but as one day:—our veteran Associate and Vice-President, JAMES ROBINSON PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*, whose works have done so much towards the advancement of the literary reputation of the Association; JOHN GUEST, F.S.A., whose *Historic Notices of Rotherham*, a stupendous work in folio, recalls the days of the last century, famous for its colossal editions, rather than these degenerate times of the octavo; and the Rev. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., the learned and accomplished Precentor and Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral, prematurely snatched away last week, a few of whose numerous and laborious productions have been worthily enshrined in our pages. Truly of these, “the good is” not “interred with their bones.”

W. DE G. B.

31 December 1880.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions, of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight

o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers contributed to and accepted by the Association will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. The *Journals* already published are sold at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association:—Vol. I, £2 to the Members. The subsequent volumes, £1:1 to Members; £1:11:6 to the public. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Members, £1:1.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1879-80 are as follow:—1879, Nov. 19, Dec. 3. 1880, January 7, 21; Feb. 4, 18; March 3, 17; April 7, 21; May 5 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 19; June 2.

Visitors will be admitted by order from members; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen³ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen⁴ other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday⁵ in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

³ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

⁴ Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

⁵ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSELEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857 NORWICH . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY . . .	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY
1859 NEWBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS . . .	THE LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L.
1864 IPSWICH . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt.
1868 CIRENCESTER . . .	EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLYCOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL . . .	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM . . .	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, D.L., F.R.S.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1879-80.

President.

THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARMARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE, THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, F.S.A.; SIR W. W. WYNN, BART., M.P.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.

T. MORGAN, F.S.A.
J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*
REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
E. M. THOMPSON, F.S.A.

JOHN WALTER, M.P.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road,
Streatham Hill, S.W.

Hon. Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., British Museum, W.C.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., 19 Montague Place, Russell Square, W.C.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A., Junior Athenæum, Piccadilly, W.
(With a seat at the Council).

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A., Caton Lodge, Putney.

Palæographer.

E. M. THOMPSON.

Council.

GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.
GEORGE ADE
THOMAS BLASHILL
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.
C. H. COMPTON
WILLIAM HENRY COPE
T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.
R. HORMAN-FISHER, M.A., F.S.A.

J. W. GROVER
WENTWORTH HUYSHE
J. T. MOULD
GEO. PATRICK
J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.
REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, *Rouge Croix*.
J. WHITMORE.

Auditors.

R. E. WAY

DR. T. J. WOODHOUSE.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1880.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L. denotes Life-Members.

THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

- 1865 ARMSTRONG, SIR WILLIAM, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- 1876 Ace, Rev. D., D.D., Laughton Rectory, near Gainsborough
- 1854 Adams, George G., F.S.A., 126 Sloane Street, S.W.
- L. 1850 Ade, George, 161 Westbourne Terrace, W.
- 1857 Adlam, Wm., F.S.A., The Manor House, Chew Magna, Bristol
- L. 1871 Aldam, William, Frickley Hall, Doncaster
- L. 1851 Alger, John
- 1878 Allen, J. Romilly, A.I.C.E., 23 East Maitland Street, Edinburgh
- L. 1857 Allen, W. E.
- L. 1874 Ames, Reginald, M.A., 2 Albany Terrace, Regent's Park
- L. 1857 Amherst, W. A. T., Didlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
- 1869 Andrews, Charles, Farnham, Surrey
- 1877 Ashby, Thomas, Staines, Middlesex
- 1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1874 Atkinson, C., Crabtree Lodge, Sheffield
- 1853 Aubertin, Edmund
- L. 1857 BATEMAN, LORD, Carlton Club
- BAKER, REV. PREB. SIR TALBOT R. B., BART., Ranston, Blandford
- 1880 BOILEAU, SIR FRANCIS G. M., BART., Ketteringham Park, Wy-
mondham
- L. 1860 BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, BART., *Vice-President*,* Down-
ton Hall, Ludlow
- L. 1860 BRIDGMAN, HON. AND REV. GEO. T. ORLANDO, M.A., The Hall,
Wigan
- 1864 BROKE-MIDDLETON, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE, BART., C.B.,
Shrubland Park, Ipswich
- L. 1874 BROWN, SIR JOHN, Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield
- L. 1878 Babington, Professor C. C., M.A., F.S.A., 5 Brookside, Cam-
bridge
- 1873 Baily, Walker, 9 Champion Park, Denmark Hill, S.E.

- 1874 Bain, J. (for the Public Library of Victoria), 1 Haymarket, London
- 1876 Bail, W. Edmund, LL.B., Library, Gray's Inn, W.C.
- 1877 Barrett, Henry, 12 York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- 1879 Barton, Rev. H. C. M., B.A., Barton, Andover
- 1879 Barton, Thomas, Castle House, Lancaster
- 1877 Bate, Charles James, Thorncliffe, Malvern
- L. 1876 Bayly, Robert, Torr Grove, Plymouth
- 1865 Belk, Thomas, Hartlepool
- 1879 Bensly, W. I., LL.D., Norwich
- L. 1859 Benyon, Richard, M.P., 17 Grosvenor Square, W.
- L. 1857 Berrey, George, The Park, Nottingham
- 1864 Bevan, W.
- 1879 Beynon, the Rev. F. W., Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham
- 1877 Bickley, Francis B., British Museum, W.C.
- 1879 Birch, Rev. C. G. R., Brancaster Rectory, King's Lynn
- 1871 Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, British Museum, and 2, Grove Road, Highgate Road, N.
- 1877 Black, W. G., 1 Alfred Terrace, Hillhead, Glasgow
- 1878 Blair, R., South Shields
- 1865 Bland, Ven. Archdeacon, Durham
- 1852 Blanc, Rev. Henry, M.A., Folkton Rectory, Ganton, York
- L. 1865 Blane, Thomas Law, 25 Dover Street, W.
- 1861 Blashill, Thomas, 10 Old Jewry Chambers, E.C.
- 1876 Bloxam, Matthew H., F.S.A., Rugby
- 1865 Bly, J. H., Vauxhall, Great Yarmouth
- 1870 Bonnor, George, F.S.A., 42 Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.
- 1876 Borlase, William Copeland, M.A., F.S.A., Laregan, Penzance
- 1879 Boutcher, Emanuel, 12 Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
- 1876 Bowyer, Rev. F. W. Atkins, M.A., Macaulay's Road, Clapham Common
- 1869 Boyson, Ambrose P., East Hill, Wandsworth
- 1877 Bradney, Joseph Alfred, Sutton Court, Hereford
- L. 1874 Bragge, William, F.S.A., Shirle Hill, Hampstead Road, Birmingham
- 1872 Braid, Charles (care of G. E. Turner, 49 High Street, Marylebone
- 1874 Bramble, Colonel James R., Sutherland House, Clifton, Bristol
- 1880 Brangwyn, W. C., 11 Beaufort Buildings, Strand
- 1875 Branson, C. A., Page Hall, Sheffield
- 1870 Bravender, John, The Nursery, Cirencester
- 1877 Breese, Edw., F.S.A., Morva Lodge, Portmadoc, North Wales
- 1853 Brent, Cecil, F.S.A., 37 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent
- 1877 Brent, John, F.S.A., Canterbury
- 1875 Brent, Francis, 19 Clarendon Place, Plymouth
- L. 1875 Brinton, John, Moorhouse, Stourport
- 1861 Brock, E. P. Loftus, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 19 Montague Place, Russell Square
- L. 1874 Brooke, Thomas, F.S.A., Arncliffe Bridge, Huddersfield
- L. 1871 Brown, A. M., 269 Camden Road, N.
- 1878 Brunt, E., Havelock Place, Hanley, Staffordshire
- 1856 Brushfield, T. N., M.D., Asylum, Brookwood, Woking, Surrey

- 1879 Bulwer, Lieut.-Colonel Lytton
 1857 Bulwer, Rev. James, M.A., Hunworth Rectory, Thetford
 1862 Bunbury, H. M., Marlston House, Newbury
 1876 Burges, Rev. Dr. J. Hart, Rectory, Devizes
 1844 Burgess, Alfred, F.S.A., 8 Victoria Road, Worthing
 1879 Burroughs, T. Proctor, The Priory, Great Yarmouth
 1876 Burgess, J. Tom, F.S.A., Worcester
 1868 Burgess, William J., Shenfield House, Brentwood, Essex
 1877 Buriatte, F. R. W. Izacke de, 5 Burton Street, W.C.
 1875 Burlingham, Charles, Bridge House, Evesham

 1864 CLEVELAND, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., *Vice-President*,*
 Raby Castle
 L. 1858 CARNARVON, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* High-
 clere, Hants
 L. 1853 CREWE, SIR JOHN HARPER, BART., Calke Abbey, Derbyshire
 1868 CAREY, SIR P. STAFFORD; Candia, Guernsey
 1876 COWPER, HON. H. F., M.P., 4 St. James' Square, S.W.
 1861 Cann, William, Exeter
 1853 Cape, George A., Utrecht House, Abbeywood, Kent
 1864 Carmichael, C. H. E., M.A., F.R.S.L., M.A.I., F.L.A.S., New
 University Club, St. James' St.; 46A Coleshill St., S.W.
 1878 Catling, Captain R. C., Needham Hall, Wisbech
 1863 Challis, J. H., Reform Club, S.W.
 1855 Chapman, Thomas, 37 Tregunter Road, West Brompton
 1879 Chasemore, Archibald, Bridge House, Fulham, S.W.
 1876 Clagett, Mrs. Horatio, 17 Lowndes Street, S.W.
 1853 Clark, J. R., The Library, Hull
 1879 Clemence, John L., Lowestoft
 1852 Close, Thomas, F.S.A., Nottingham
 1859 Cockeram, William, 50 South Street, Dorchester
 L. 1878 Cocks, Reginald Thistlethwayte, 43 Charing Cross, S.W.
 1869 Cokayne, Andreas Edward, Congleton, Cheshire
 L. 1867 Cokayne, George Edward, F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*, *Heralds'*
 College, Doctors' Commons, E.C.
 1866 Cole, T. H., 1 Linton Terrace, Hastings
 L. 1877 Coleman, F. S., Trevanger, Hamlet Road, Upper Norwood,
 S.E.
 L. 1847 Colfox, Thomas, Bridport
 1875 Collier, Rev. C., F.S.A., Andover
 1864 Collins, William, M.D., 1 Albert Terrace, Regent's Park
 1879 Colman, J. J., M.P., Carrow House, Norwich
 1879 Combe, E. H. Harvey, Ferryside, Southtown, Great Yarmouth
 1876 Compton, C. H., 13 The Chase, Clapham Common, S.W.
 1875 Cooke, James H., F.S.A., Berkeley, Gloucestershire
 1877 Cooper, Basil Henry, B.A., Malvern Lodge, Dulwich Grove,
 East Dulwich, S.E.
 1863 Cope, Arthur, 4 Fairfax Road, Finchley New Road, N.W.
 1863 Cope, William Henry, 12 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park
 1878 Corry, Rev. W. Corry de B., Bengeworth, Evesham
 L. 1869 Cosens, Fred. W., 27 Queen's Gate, S.W.
 L. 1862 Cotton, Henry Perry, Quex Park, Margate

- 1847 Coulthart, J. Ross, Croft House, Ashton-under-Lyne
 1875 Cox, J. C., The Close, Lichfield
 1876 Cramer, F. L., 36 Sutherland Place, Westbourne Park, W.
 1861 Cresswell, Rev. Samuel Francis, D.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,
 North Repps, Norfolk
 1871 Crickmay, G. R., St. Thomas Street, Weymouth
 1867 Croker, T. F. Dillon, F.S.A., 9 Pelham Place, Brompton
 1863 Crossley, James, F.S.A.
 L. 1858 Culley, Frederick W. H., Bradestone, Blofield, Norwich
 1844 Cuming, H. Syer, F.S.A. Scot., *Vice-President*, 63 Kennington
 Park Road
 1872 Curteis, Rev. Thomas S., Sevenoaks, Kent
- L. 1872 DARTMOUTH, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* Pats-
 hull, Wolverhampton
 1853 DUCIE, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, F.R.S., 16 Portman Square;
 Tortworth Court, Falfield, Gloucester; and Sarsden, Chip-
 ping Norton, Oxon.
 1858 DILLON, LADY, The Vicarage, Goole, Yorkshire
 L. 1873 Davis, J. E., 5 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
 1877 Davis, Rev. James, Moor Court, Kington, Herefordshire
 1878 Dawson, Edward B., LL.B., Lime Cliffe, Lancaster
 1872 Day, Robert, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., Rock View, Montenotte, Cork
 L. 1874 Derham, Walter, M.A., LL.M., Henleaze Park, Westbury-on-
 Trym
 1871 Digby, G. Wingfield, Sherborne Castle, Dorset
 1879 Diver, Charles, Ormesby, Great Yarmouth
 1877 Dobson, Frederick, Castle Grove, Nottingham
 1878 Douglas-Lithgow, Dr. R. A., F.R.S.L., Wisbech
 1875 Dunning, S., 27 Parliament Street, S.W.
 1847 Durdon, Henry, Blandford, Dorset
 1875 Dymond, C. W., C.E., F.S.A., Penallt, Weston-super-Mare
- 1845 EFFINGHAM, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*, Tees-
 more, Bicester, and 57 Eaton Place
 1878 Edisbury, J. F., Belgrave House, Wrexham
 1867 Edmonds, James, 67 Baker Street, Portman Square
 1875 Edwards, G. W., 2 Sea Wall Villa, Sneyd Park, Bristol
 1871 Ellery, R. G., Conservative Club, S.W.
 1878 Emery, Ven. Archdeacon, The College, Ely
 1875 Emmet, Major, 51 Finchley Road, N.W.
 1878 English, A. W., J.P., Wisbech
 1855 Evans, John, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Hemel Hempstead
- L. 1863 FORSTER, RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EDWARD, M.P., Burley, near
 Otley
 1854 Falconer, Thomas, Usk
 1878 Faulder, W. Waring, Downing College, Cambridge
 L. 1879 Ferguson, Richard S., Lowther Street, Carlisle
 L. 1864 Ferguson, Robert, M.P., Morton, Carlisle

- 1877 Ferry, Edmund B., 15 Spring Gardens, S.W.
 1864 Finch, Rev. Thomas, B.A., Morpeth
 1872 Finch, Rev. T. R.
 L. 1873 Fisher, W., Norton Grange, Sheffield
 1857 Fitch, Robert, F.S.A., Norwich
 1880 Floyer, Frederick A., 7 River Terrace, Putney
 1875 Franks, Augustus W., M.A., F.R.S., *Director of the Society of Antiquaries*, British Museum, W.C.
 L. 1852 Fraser, Patrick Allen, Hospital Field, Arbroath, N.B.
 1877 Fretton, W. G., F.S.A., 88 Little Park Street, Coventry
 1880 Fryer, Alfred C., Elm Hirst, near Wilmslow, Cheshire

 L. 1874 Gainsford, T. R., Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield
 1878 Gane, Charles, late Mayor of Wisbech
 1876 Gardner, J. E., 453 West Strand; Park House, St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
 1877 Glasgow, The Mitchell Library, Ingram Street, Glasgow
 1872 Glover, F. K., The Chestnuts, Beckenham
 1847 Godwin G., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 6 Cromwell Place, South Kensington
 1865 Gow, Mrs. George, Shropham Vicarage, Thetford
 L. 1860 Greenhalgh, Thomas, Thorneydike, Sharples, near Bolton
 1863 Greenshields, J. B., Kerse, Lesmahago, Lanarkshire
 1875 Griffiths, Rev. Edward, Bury St. Edmund's
 1866 Grover, J. W., C.E., F.S.A., 9 Victoria Chambers, Victoria St., S.W.
 1876 Grueber, Herbert Appold, British Museum, W.C.
 L. 1856 Gurney, Daniel, F.S.A., North Rington, Norfolk
 L. 1857 Gurney, John Henry, Northrepps Hall, Norwich

 1878 HARDWICKE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* Wimpole Hall, Royston
 1877 HERTFORD, THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF, *Vice-President*,* 13 Connaught Place, W.
 1847 HOUGHTON, LORD, M.A., D.C.L., *Vice-President*,* Fryston Hall, Ferrybridge, Yorkshire
 1858 Hammond, Charles E., Newmarket
 1852 Hannah, Robert, Craven House, Queen's Elm, Brompton
 1864 Harker, John, M.D., King Street, Lancaster
 L. 1861 Harpley, Matthew, Royal Horse Guards Blue, Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly
 1844 Hawkins, George, 28 City Road, E.C.
 1872 Hellier, Major T. B. Shaw, 4th Dragoon Guards (care of A. Laurie, Esq., 70 Jermyn Street, S.W.)
 1877 Henderson, William, Ashford Court, Ludlow, Salop
 1870 Henfrey, Henry W., Widmore Cottage, Bromley, Kent
 L. 1844 Heywood, James, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*,* 26 Palace Gardens, Kensington
 1862 Heywood, Samuel, 171 Stanhope Street, Hampstead Road
 1858 Hibbert, Frederick D., Buckwell Manor House, Bicester, Oxon
 1872 Hicklin, B., Holly House, Dorking, Surrey
 1879 Hill, Captain, 53 Marine Parade, Brighton

- 1878 Hill, W. Neave, 22 Albert Road, Regent's Park
 1866 Hills, Capt. Graham H., R.N., 4 Bentley Road, Prince's Park, Liverpool
 1858 Hills, Gordon M., 17 Redcliffe Gardens, Brompton
 1870 Hodgson, Rev. J. F., Wilton-le-Weir, Darlington
 1880 Hodgson, Philip Fancourt, College of Arms, E.C.
 1869 Holford, R. S., M.P., Westonbirt, Tetbury, Gloucestershire
 1872 Horman-Fisher, R., F.S.A., 13 Durham Terrace, Westbourne Park, W.
 1870 Horner, W. S., 7 Aldgate
 L. 1863 Horsfall, Richard, Waterhouse Street, Halifax
 1856 Hovendon, Thomas Henry, 181 Bishopsgate Street Without
 L. 1867 Howard, John M., Q.C., 6 Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
 1876 Howlett, Richard, 2 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent
 L. 1875 Hudd, Alfred E., 96 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol
 1878 Hughes, A. R., Kimmel Park, Abergele, North Wales
 L. 1860 Hughes, James, 328 Camden Road, N.
 L. 1859 Hughes, Thomas, F.S.A., 1 Grove Terrace, Chester
 1874 Humphrey, Miss
 1866 Hunter, Edward, The Glebe, Lee, Blackheath
 1874 Hunter, Michael, Greystones, near Sheffield
 1876 Huyshe, Wentworth, 11 West Alfred Place, South Kensington
 1880 Hyde, Mrs. Moore, 17 Cambridge Gardens

 1863 Irvine, J. T., The Close, Lichfield

 L. 1858 JARVIS, SIR LEWIS WINCOPP, Middleton Tower, near King's Lynn
 L. 1856 Jackson, Rev. J. R., M.A., F.S.A., The Vicarage, Moulton, Lincolnshire
 L. 1859 Jackson, Rev. Wm., M.A., F.S.A., Pen-Wartha, Weston-super-Mare, and 7 Park Villas, St. Giles' Road East, Oxford
 1875 James, J. H., 3 Grenville Street, W.C.
 1879 Jarvis, John W., Avon House, Manor Road, Holloway
 1877 Jelu, Richard, 21 Cloudesley Street, Islington, N.
 1877 Jeayes, I. H., British Museum, W.C.
 1876 Jenner, Henry, British Museum, W.C.
 1879 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., 63 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square
 1861 Jennings, Mrs., East Park Terrace, Southampton
 L. 1874 Jessop, Thomas, Endcliffe Grange, Sheffield
 1869 Jewitt, Llewellyn, F.S.A., The Hall, Winster, Matlock
 1876 Jones, R. W., Maindee, Newport, South Wales
 1865 Jones, Morris Chas., F.S.A., 20 Abercromby Square, Liverpool
 1847 Jones, John, 95 Piccadilly, W.
 L. 1875 Josephs, Major H., 16 Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C.

 1853 Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington, Lancashire
 1870 Kerslake, Thomas, 14 West Park, Bristol
 L. 1857 Kerr, Mrs. Alexander
 1867 Kettel, H., 6 Champion Place, Cold Harbour Lane, Camberwell

- L. 1865 Kirchofer, Professor Theodor, 12 Kronprinz Strasse, Stuttgart
 1875 King, William Poole, Avonside, Clifton Down, Bristol
 1874 Knight, C. J., 14 Argyll Street, W.
 1869 Knight, W. H., 4 St. James's Square, Cheltenham

 1877 LAMPSON, LADY, 80 Eaton Square, S.W.
 1875 Lach-Szyrma, Rev. W. S., M.A., St. Peter's, Newlyn, Penzance
 1872 Lacey, John Turk, Quintin House, Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, W.
 1874 Lacy, C. J., Jun., 28 Belsize Park, N.W.
 L. 1870 Lambert, George, 10 Coventry Street, W.
 1874 Laverton, F., Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol
 1867 Leach, John, High Street, Wisbech
 L. 1873 Leader, J. Daniel, F.S.A., Oakburn, Broomhall Park, Sheffield
 1862 Le Keux, J. H., 64 Sadler Street, Durham
 1877 Lewis, Rev. G. B., M.A., Rectory, Kemsing, Sevenoaks
 1863 Library of the Corporation of London, Guildhall, E.C.
 1877 Lloyd, Miss
 L. 1877 Long, Mrs. Plater, Westhope Lodge, Southwell
 L. 1862 Long, Jeremiah, 50 Marine Parade, Brighton
 1856 Long, William, M.A., F.S.A., West Hay, Wrington, Bristol
 1877 Lord, J. Courtenay, 45 Calthorpe Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham
 L. 1868 Louttit, S. H., Trematon House, Grove Road, Clapham
 1858 Lukis, Rev. W. Collings, M.A., F.S.A., Wath Rectory, near Ripon
 1847 Luxmore, Coryndon H., F.S.A., 18 St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
 1865 Lynam, C., Stoke-upon-Trent

 1877 MOSTYN, LORD, Mostyn Hall, Flintshire
 L. 1876 MOUNT EDGCUMBE, EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* Mount Edgcumbe, Devonport
 L. 1872 MEDLICOTT, SIR WILLIAM COLES, BART., D.C.L., *Vice-President*,* Ven House, Sherborne, Dorset
 L. 1875 Mackeson, Edward, 13 Hyde Park Square
 1860 McCaul, Rev. John, LL.D., Toronto (care of Mr. Allen, 12 Tavistock Row, Covent Garden)
 1864 Macnaghten, Steuart, Bittern Manor House, near Southampton
 1877 Mainwaring, Townshend, Galtfaenan, Rhyl
 1877 Mallet, General Baron de, 19 Carlton Terrace, Southampton
 1876 Manchester Free Libraries, Manchester
 L. 1874 Mappin, F. J., Thornbury, Rammoor, Sheffield
 1877 Margoliouth, Rev. M., D.D., Vicarage, Little Linford, Bucks
 L. 1863 Marshall, Arthur, Headingley, Leeds
 1862 Marshall, W. G., Colney Hatch
 L. 1844 Marshall, William Calder, R.A., 115 Ebury Street, S.W.
 1875 Martin, Critchley, Narborough Hall, Swaffham, Norfolk
 1877 Martin, Theodore, C.B., 31 Onslow Square, S.W.
 1871 Matthew, James, 27 York Terrace, Regent's Park
 1877 Mauleverer, Miss Anne, The Hall, Armagh, Ireland
 L. 1879 Maude, Rev. Samuel, M.A., 4 Church Row, Fulham
 1867 Mayer, J., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Pennant House, Bebington, Cheshire

- 1865 Mayhew, Rev. Samuel Martin, M.A., *Vice-President*, St. Paul's
Vicarage, Bermondsey ; 83 New Kent Road, S.E.
- L. 1870 Merriman, Mrs., Tottenham
- 1872 Merriman, Robert William, Marlborough
- 1863 Milligan, James, jun., 9 High Street, Ilfracombe, Devon
- L. 1867 Milner, Rev. John, Beech Hurst, Hayward's Heath
- 1874 Mitchell, R. W. (for Army and Navy Club, St. James' Square)
- L. 1875 Money, Walter, F.S.A., Herborough House, Newbury
- 1878 Moore, the Rev. Edwin, M.A., Canon of Lincoln, Spalding
- 1870 Moore, George, M.D., Hartlepool
- 1873 Moore, James G., West Coker, Yeovil
- L. 1847 Moore, J. Bramley, Langley Lodge, Gerard's Cross
- L. 1874 Moore, Thomas, Ashdell Grove, Sheffield
- 1876 Morgan, Rev. Ernest K. B., St. John's, Sevenoaks
- 1876 Morgan, Albert C. F., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham
Hill
- 1845 Morgan, Thomas, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, *Hon. Treasurer*, Hill
Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill
- 1866 Mould, J. T., 1 Onslow Crescent, South Kensington
- L. 1877 Mullings, John, Cirencester
- 1872 Mullins, J. D., Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham
- L. 1861 Murton, James, Silverdale, near Carnforth
- 1877 Myers, Walter, 21 Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park
- L. 1875 NORFOLK, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, E.M., *Vice-President*,*
Arundel Castle and St. James's Square
- 1875 NORTHWICK, LORD, Northwick Park, Moreton-in-the-Marsh
- L. 1875 New, Herbert, *Hon. Secretary of the Association at the Evesham
Congress*, Green Hill, Evesham
- 1877 Nicholls, J. F., Chief Librarian, Free Library, Bristol
- 1844 Norman, George Ward, Bromley, Kent
- 1871 OUSELEY, REV. SIR F. GORE, BART., St. Michael's, Tenbury
- 1874 Ogle, Bertram, Retford
- 1852 Oliver, Lionel, Heacham, King's Lynn
- L. 1860 POWIS, THE EARL OF, 45 Berkeley Square
- L. 1866 PEEK, SIR HENRY W., BART., M.P., Wimbledon House
- 1859 Patrick, George, Dalham Villa, Southfields, Wandsworth
- 1866 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S. (care of Mr. E. G. Allen,
12 Tavistock Row, Covent Garden)
- 1862 Pearce, Charles, 49 Wimpole Street, Cavendish Square
- 1880 Peckover, Algernon, Sibaldsholme, Wisbech
- L. 1851 Peile, Rev. Thomas W., D.D., 37 St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
- L. 1866 Pemberton, R. L., The Barnes, Sunderland
- 1880 Penfold, Hugh, Rustington, Worthing
- 1874 Peter, Richard, *Town Clerk*, Launceston
- 1852 Pettigrew, Rev. Samuel T., M.A.
- 1871 Phené, John S., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., 32 Oakley
Street, S.W.

- L. 1844 Philipps, James O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*,
11 Tregunter Road, West Brompton
- 1879 Phillips, the Rev. G. W., Pebworth Vicarage, Stratford-on-Avon
- 1865 Phipson, R. M., F.S.A., Norwich
- L. 1852 Pickersgill, Frederick R., R.A., Burlington House, W.
- 1879 Picton, J. A., F.S.A., Sandy Knowe, Wavertree, Liverpool
- 1851 Pidgeon, Henry Clarke, 39 Fitzroy Road, Regent's Park
- L. 1844 Planché, James R., *Somerset Herald*, *Vice-President*, Heralds'
College, E.C.
- 1879 Pollard, Harry E., 13 John Street, Adelphi
- 1876 Poole, C. H., Pailton, Rugby
- 1875 Prance, Courtenay C., Hatherley Court, Cheltenham
- 1858 Previté, Joseph W., 13 Church Terrace, Lee
- 1876 Price, F. C., 86 Leighton Road, Kentish Town
- 1867 Prichard, Rev. Hugh, Dinam, Gaerwen, Anglesey
- 1873 Prigg, Henry, Bury St. Edmund's
- L. 1863 RIPON, THE MOST HON. THE MARQUIS OF, 1 Carlton Gardens
- 1878 ROCHESTER, THE LORD BISHOP OF, Selstead Park, Maidstone
- L. 1866 Rae, John, F.S.A., 9 Mincing Lane, E.C.
- 1877 Rawlings, W. J., Downes, Hayle, Cornwall
- 1875 Raymond, W. Thomas
- 1870 Rayson, S., 32 Sackville Street, Piccadilly
- 1875 Reynolds, John, The Manor House, Redland, Bristol
- L. 1848 Richards, Thomas, Great Queen Street, W.C.
- L. 1860 Ridgway, Rev. James, B.D., F.S.A., Hon. Canon of Christ
Church, 21 Beaumont Street, Oxford
- 1879 Robinson, Thomas W. U., F.S.A., Houghton-le-Spring, Dur-
ham
- 1860 Roche, John, Clungunford House, Aston-on-Clun, Shropshire
- L. 1866 Roe, Charles Fox, F.S.A., Litchurch, Derby
- 1877 Roofs, W., Craven Cottage, Wandsworth, S.W.
- 1859 Rooke, William Foster, M.D., Belvedere House, Scarborough
- 1878 Roper, W., jun., Lancaster
- 1877 Rowe, J. Brooking, F.S.A., 16 Lockyer Street, Plymouth
- 1877 Russell, Miss, Ashiesteel, Galashiels, N.B.
- 1873 Rylands, John Paul, Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire
- 1873 Rylands, W. Harry, Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire
- 1856 Scarth, Rev. Preb. H. M., M.A., *Vice-President*, Rectory, Wring-
ton, Bath
- 1878 Scrivener, A., Hanley, Staffordshire
- 1874 Seobohm, H., Oak Lee, Collegiate Crescent, Sheffield
- 1878 Sharpe, Frederic N., Wisbech
- 1869 Sheldon, Thomas George, Congleton, Cheshire
- 1877 Sheraton, Harry, 1 Highfield North, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead
- 1851 Sherratt, Thomas, 10 Basinghall Street
- 1862 Shute, Arthur, 23 Drury Buildings, Water Street, Liverpool
- 1865 Sich, William Thrane, Chiswick
- 1678 Silver, Mrs., Beechcroft, Weybridge
- 1876 Simion, L., Berlin (care of Asher and Co., 13 Bedford Street,
Covent Garden)

- 1879 Simpkinson, the Rev. J. N., North Creake, Fakenham, Norfolk
- 1877 Sims, Richard, British Museum
- 1879 Sinclair, the Rev. John, Fulham
- L. 1874 Smith, C. Roach, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Strood, Rochester
- 1844 Smith, J. Russell, 36 Soho Square
- 1878 Smith, Worthington G., 125 Grosvenor Road, Highbury, N.
- 1876 Smith, Miss, Tudor House, Southfield, Wandsworth
- L. 1865 Simpson, Rev. W. Sparrow, D.D., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 119 Kennington Park Road
- 1844 Stacey, Rev. Thomas
- L. 1873 Stacey, Rev. J. Evelyn, M.A., Shrewsbury Hospital, Sheffield
- 1879 Stanley, Joseph, Bank Plain, Norwich
- 1861 Stephenson, Geo. Robt., 24 Great George Street, Westminster
- 1880 Stevens, Henry, F.S.A., 4 Trafalgar Square
- 1867 Stevens, Joseph, Dorset Villa, Oxford Road, Reading
- 1879 Steward, the Rev. Chas. J., Somerleyton Rectory, Lowestoft
- 1865 Stocker, Dr., Peckham House, Peckham
- L. 1878 Strickland, Edward, M.A., F.S.A., Bristol
- 1858 Swayne, Henry J. F., The Island, Wilton, near Salisbury
- 1880 Stovin, Rev. Charles Frederick, M.A., 59 Warwick Square
- 1872 Tabberer, Benjamin, 10 Coleman Street, E.C.
- L. 1877 Talbot, C. H., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham
- 1876 Taylor, Rev. Alexander, M.A., Chaplain of Gray's Inn, W.C.
- 1874 Taylor, John, the Museum and Library, Bristol
- 1876 Taylor, R. Mascie, Tynllwyn, Corwen, North Wales
- L. 1871 Templer, James G., Lindridge, near Teignmouth
- 1877 Teniswood, Chas., B.A., Caton Lodge, Putney
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- L. 1878 WESTMINSTER, THE DUKE OF, K.G., Grosvenor House, W.
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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

ERRATA.

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- P. 397. Seventh line from foot, *for* "Edgar" *read* "Egbert".
P. 400. Eighth line from foot, *for* "Mariana" *read* "Marina".
P. 405. Line 1, omit the redundant words "than to compare it".
P. 411. Fifth line from foot, *for* "qui" *read* "que".

1. THE DISCOVERIES OF GEOLOGY, critical philology, and comparative anatomy, supply acute discrimination and research in that direction till they arrive at that mysterious barrier where we learn nothing of man save that he existed to be developed for the purpose for which he was created. Beyond the walls of space which encircle this globe we know nothing certain. Endeavours have been made to give us some insight into the history of our forefathers in the remote past. A great

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS
BY THE LORD WAVENEY, D.L., F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

DELIVERED AT YARMOUTH, AUGUST 12, 1879.

THE tendency of the age is in two directions,—the one that in which archæology finds its principal object and scope ; the other which carries us forward with accelerated pace. While we endeavour to develop the mighty powers of Nature in their manifestations of steam and electricity in one direction, thoughtful attention has been given to tracing back, step by step, the progress of our race from the earliest recorded time. In this fortunate age, the analytic and the synthetic elements mutually assist each other. Most of the applied sciences tend in a remarkable degree to help to trace out the steps by which we have arrived at our present point of knowledge. The discoveries of geology, critical philology, and comparative anatomy, supply acute discrimination and research in that direction till they arrive at that mysterious barrier where we learn nothing of man save that he existed to be developed for the purpose for which he was created. Beyond the walls of space which encircle this globe we know nothing certain. Endeavours have been made to give us some insight into the history of our forefathers in the remote past. A great

speculative philosopher has endeavoured to trace back the origin and accretion of man to the faint streak of light in the distant and prehistoric past ; but it appears to me that you will exercise a wise and thoughtful humility in limiting such researches to the bounds of physical science. There you must pause and wait humbly, and hope for knowledge.

Archæological science appears to me to embrace archæological knowledge positive, and archæological knowledge comparative, which must be mainly of inference guided by a power of assimilating likelihoods, and thence inferring what cannot be seen. The greatest discovery made in astronomical knowledge for generations was made by the exercise of that marvellous faculty which observing that perturbations existed, inferred perturbing bodies existent, and thus English and French observers simultaneously arrived at conclusions by which the planet Neptune was swept into our ken. The greatest reward of inferential archæology is in discovering on the wild wastes of the Campagna the site of cities coeval with that of ancient Rome ; in exhuming on the Hampshire Downs the buried villas of the Roman colonists ; in verifying around a railway station the vallum and the rampart which held the Roman legions during the Roman occupation ; and in marking in the neighbourhood of some old presbytery of the Templars, or Knights of St. John, where the tilt-yard enclosure is still visible.

For many years an object of inquiry amongst Roman antiquaries was the site of the famous Latin city called Politorium, destroyed by the great warrior Coriolanus. The general position was known. It was known also to have become absorbed into one of the great estates of the Roman patricians, in which so many antiquities were confused. I pursued the search for three days, on ground at a distance of ten miles from Rome, till on the evening of the third day, as I turned weariedly to look at the sun's setting on the level of the Campagna, I saw the whole site, with its

ditches, bridges, and ramparts, thrown out distinctly on the surface of the orb.

It is an axiom in geodesic science, that where the hand of man had once been, the mark was never effaced. Where man places the stamp of his imperial signature, that writing and record will remain as long as time, to bear witness to the fact. At the angles of the fields of the Hampshire and Berkshire Downs are elevated parallelograms of more or less accuracy, which represent the substructure of the old Roman villa, with its covering of earth and ashes, when it was destroyed in some inroad of the colonists, or later abandoned to decay. The lines that mark the enclosure of the building, however, remain undisturbed. It requires, perhaps, what I might call a "fanaticism of appropriation" to be certain that one is on Roman ground. Let any one observe the formation of the ground on passing the station at Chesterford,—a name indicating the site of a Roman camp in the neighbourhood,—and he will distinctly see the angles of the *castra* which gave the name to the place. When looking over the presbytery of the Templars at Hitchin some years ago, I became certain that an elliptic enclosure formed the tilt-yard, and that a hedge occupied the place of the barrier.

This is the thirty-sixth annual meeting of this Association, and its third time of visiting East Anglia. I congratulate the Association on coming to a district of so varied a character, in which at one time land and sea had been so blended together that there is great opportunity there for exercising the discriminating skill of which I have spoken ; a district known to the commerce of Europe when the greater part of England languished in an undeveloped state ; a district through which military roads, the blessed highways of commerce, and the sacred paths of pilgrimage, passed in every direction almost before our history was formed into shape ; a district on which the sea had worked its ravages, carrying away even in our time rood after rood

of the solid land, leaving bare cliffs where great centres of commerce had flourished. An admirable article which appeared some time ago in the *Edinburgh Review*, on *The Paston Letters*, told how anciently a large portion of power belonged to the county of Norfolk,—and of course to Suffolk too, as connected with it,—which then occupied a larger relative position to the rest of England than now.

Do you seek to know what manner of commerce met on these shores and the low-lying lands of the Dutchman and the Belgian? It was at first a commerce, not of peace and of interchange for mutual benefit, but of war and javelins. The theory which explains the stockading and moating of a large number of Suffolk houses is, that as the estuaries had enabled the Norsemen to enter the country on their inroads, the houses continued to be stockaded and moated as they had been in Saxon times. Do you wish to know what succeeded to that sad time? There is the great city of Dunwich; Framlingham, the great staple town of the woollen trade; and Yarmouth, with a merchant navy that was paramount on the seas, and thus made it nearer to the Continent than to Norwich. Then there are the pilgrimages to Walsingham and South Elmham, and athwart the country to the interior; but all commencing from the shore, all passing inwards to carry the blessed influence of civilisation. In the first instance they were traced out by those Burgundian pioneers of Christianity who have left their traces so largely over these lands.

One great power that stands apart from all others of the ancient world, so mighty, so vast, and so resistless in its efforts as to be independent of chronology, is of the empire of Rome. Vestiges of that great people are to be found in Burgh Castle, and seen scattered from point to point. I believe that if research were to be made, traces of Roman camps and roads would be discovered at places not believed to possess them. I am convinced that a Roman camp exists around the church of St. Laurence, Ilketshall. The Romans

also established connected but isolated posts. The late Sir John Boileau pointed out to me a line of redoubts passing north-east from Wymondham, in connection with other camps. It was his conviction that those roads were placed within trumpet-call, so that in the event of a great outburst of native wrath on the part of the Iceni, the garrisons could communicate in security. Such were the tactics the Americans pursued in their overland journey across the continent to California. Through hostile bands of Indians, across rugged mountains, amid storm and tempest, they carried the blessed lines of civilisation from point to point by establishing defensive posts, precisely as the Romans did two thousand years before. Not one of these ancient Roman mounds has so melted away beneath the storms of hundreds of years as not to be recognisable to those who use care and have insight.

Your attention should be given to a remarkable series of illustrations of the architecture of Norfolk churches,—two volumes of etchings by J. S. Cotman. I recommend you to examine those brilliant works of art, which give the beholder not only a faithful copy of the buildings, but impress him with the feeling which actuated the artist. One very remarkable example is the view of the gate of the great Abbey of Walsingham, in which the artist has intensified the idea of its desolation by introducing into the foreground a group of common labourers. But Cotman was one of the great school of Norwich painters,—a school of which both London and Norwich were ignorant till a collection of the works of the painters was exhibited.

NOTES ON ANCIENT YARMOUTH.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(Read 23 August 1878.)

YARMOUTH, or, as it was first called in the reign of Edward I, Great Yarmouth, is situate on the Norfolk side of the mouth of the river Yare. It was called Great Yarmouth to distinguish it from Little Yarmouth on the Suffolk side of the river, formerly called Gorleston, with which it is now connected by a bridge.

We learn from the *Notitia Imperii*, or Survey of the Roman Empire, supposed to have been written in the reigns of Valentian III and Theodosius II, in A.D. 421-460, that one of the stations under the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain was *Garianonum* (the mouth of the Yare), where the commander of the Stablesian horse, designed as a watch for this part of the shore, was stationed: hence that commander was styled *Gariannonensis*, the commander at the mouth of the Garienis, the river now called Yare. This river has abandoned its ancient chaunel, and left no traces of its former course or of the ancient situation of *Gariannonum*. It is a disputed point where the ancient Roman station was situated. Camden and the generality of writers fix on Burgh Castle, on the Suffolk side of the river; whilst others, including Sir Henry Spelman,¹ consider Caister, a small village, four miles on the Norfolk side, the site of the ancient fortress.

There were formerly two channels by which the Yare entered the ocean: the one near Caister, and the other near Gorleston, between which there was formed a sandbank along the sea-shore, afterwards called "Cerdric's Sand"; so called from Cerdric, the tenth in descent from Woden, having, A.D. 495, with his son Cenric and as many men as he could transport in five ships, entered the port on the site of what is now Yarmouth, and routed the opposing Britons. And when the Saxon government was well established in England, they built a new town in the marshy

¹ Spelman's *Icenia*, p. 154.

ground on the west bank of the river, which they called "Garmud" or "Iiermud", *i.e.*, Yarmouth or Yermouth. But afterwards, the precise time not being recorded, some of the inhabitants removed to the opposite bank, called "Cerdric Sand", then grown larger and firmer, and built Great Yarmouth, which in Edward the Confessor's time contained seventy burgesses. It was royal demesne in the Conqueror's time, being thus entered in *Domesday* under the title "Terra Regis":

"East Hundred } King Edward held Yarmouth. There were always
of FLEG. } 70 burgesses. Then it was valued with two parts
soke of three hundreds, 18*l.* by tale; and the earl's
part was 9*l.* by tale. Now the King's two parts are 17*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*
blanks;¹ and the earl's part is 10*l.* blanks; and the sheriff has four
pounds and one hawk in the time of King Edward, for a fine. These
four pounds the burgesses give gratis and in friendship.

"In the same, in King Edward's time, Almarus, the bishop, had a certain church of St. Bennet; the same now has William, bishop of the diocese, and is valued at twenty shillings. The whole pays twelve pence for geld."

From the time of Cerdric, the Saxon, this part of the coast was noted for its herring-fishery. Fishermen from different parts of England, especially from the Cinque Ports (being then the principal fishermen of England), as also from France, Flanders, and the Low Countries, held a fair for forty days, from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel to Martinmas, for the salting and selling of herrings; and for better keeping the peace, the barons of the Cinque Ports deputed bailiffs to attend the fishery; and from this fishery the town took its rise.

It was first governed by reeves, or substitutes of the Earl, to whom the King usually granted boroughs in ancient demesne. In Henry I's reign the town had so increased, owing to the vast quantity of Lenten provision manufactured there, that in the ninth year of that King he appointed a Provost, who was annually chosen and invested in his office by the King; but whether he was first recommended by the burgesses to the King, or not, does not appear. Under the authority of its Provosts the town flourished for about a hundred years, till the ninth year of the reign of King John, when that King granted the burgesses of Yar-

¹ *Argentum blancum*. Silver money after it was purified Madox, *Hist. Excheq.*, p. 190.

mouth a charter by which the town was created a free burgh, and the burgesses held in fee farm, paying to the King and his heirs an annual rent of £55 for ever.

In the year A.D. 1260 (45 Henry III) that King granted the burgesses of Yarmouth license to enclose the town by a wall and moat. These works were not begun until about 13th Edward I, and were not completed until after the 10th Richard II; the Great Plague, which broke out in 1349 (23 and 24 Edward III), having swept off most of the inhabitants of the town and country adjacent, and reduced the trade of the town to a very low condition. For carrying on this work the burgesses had, before the forty-sixth year of King Henry, a grant from that King of murage from the merchants trading there; but in that year, there being a doubt about building the walls, the grant was recalled, and the money collected ordered to be paid to Robert de Bodham for the King's use, because the merchant strangers made a great complaint about it. No further account of murage occurs until the time of 13th Edward I, when the building of the walls was commenced.

The trade of Yarmouth became more flourishing than ever since the charter of King John, and this led to a contest with Little Yarmouth and Gorleston, which arose in the following manner. Little Yarmouth and Gorleston, on the Suffolk side of the river Yare, were in the Half Hundred of Lothingland, which was ancient demesne at the time of *Domesday*. The following is the entry in that Survey:

“The Half Hundred of Lothingham.—Guert¹ held Gorleston in King Edward's time. There were five carucates of land for one manor; then there were twenty villains, now twelve; always five bordars;² then five servants, now four; then two carucates in demesne, now one; then cattle for five carucates, now three; wood for five hogs, ten acres of meadow land, three salt pans; then two work horses, now none; always three hundred sheep. Twenty-four fishermen in Yarmouth belong to this manor.”

So long as Yarmouth and Lothingland were both holden by the King, no questions arose between them; but on the grant of King John's charter, Little Yarmouth, which then

¹ Earl Guert was the sixth son of Earl Godwine, brother of Queen Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor. He was killed at the battle of Hastings.

² Cottagers with a small parcel of land, who held on condition to supply the King with small provisions, such as eggs, poultry, etc., and be executioners and hangmen, etc.

consisted of the West Town and North Town and Gorleston, began to dispute the privileges of Great Yarmouth; the principal contention being by the Warden of Lothingland, that the moiety of Yarmouth Haven, by a line of water passing through the middle of the Haven, belonged to the manor of Lothingland; and the men of Yarmouth contended that the whole Haven, with all the liberties, belonged to the town of Yarmouth.

In the twelfth year of Henry III they came to an open rupture, by Roger Fitz Osbert, Warden of the Manor of Lothingland, taking certain customs in the port of Yarmouth. An inquisition was taken, and verdict found, that all wares ought to be sold and unladen at Great Yarmouth, and that all the Haven belonged to the men of Yarmouth; but that the lesser wares and victuals might be unladen on Lothingland or Yarmouth side at the option of the owners or importers. The burgesses of Great Yarmouth not being content with this verdict, applied to King Henry, in the fortieth year of his reign, for a new charter, which he granted. This charter provided for the free sale of all merchandise or wares, as well of fish as other goods, coming to the port of Yarmouth; and that there be no brokers in the town of Yarmouth.

Not long after this, new contests arose upon King Henry's exchanging the fee farm of Yarmouth and the Manor of Lothingland with John Baliol for other lands in Cheshire. The grant by the King was to John Baliol and Devorgilla, his wife, to hold at the will of the said King Henry.¹ The Baliols remained possessors of the fee farm rent of £55 and the Manor of Lothingland until the year 1296 (24th Edward I), when, by the submission of the King of Scots in that year, this fee farm and manor reverted to King Edward I. During their possession, the Baliols took tolls and customs in the port of Yarmouth, contrary to the charters. The burgesses of Yarmouth submitted to these exactions, not being willing to contest them with the King of Scots; but on his resignation they obtained from King Edward, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, a charter confirming their privileges; and in the same year the King gave all Baliol's English estate to John de Britaing, his

¹ See *Yarmouth Domesday Book*, which contains copies of old records long since lost.

nephew. But on Robert Bruce renewing war with England, these contests were revived, as is shewn by an inquisition of 8th Edward II, R. 30, about the rights of John Baliol, who had taken for every foreign ship 18*d.*, and for every English ship 4*d. per ann.*; for every load on cart or horse, a halfpenny; for every last of herrings by a foreign merchant, 4*d.*; and he was used to take attachments on every ship anchoring on Lothingland side as far as the file of water. Another contest was commenced in the nineteenth year of the reign of Edward III, and process had before the Lord Chancellor at Norwich, who made a final determination in favour of Yarmouth.

These disputes were revived in the second year of Edward III by John de Brittany, as lord of Lothingland, and the men of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston, who claimed half of Yarmouth Haven and the privileges consequent thereupon, as they possessed them before the charter of Henry III to the burgesses of Great Yarmouth. The proceedings in this suit lasted until the fifth year of Edward III, when a final judgment or award was made, by which it was decreed that the port of Yarmouth was one port, and for ever belonged to the town of Great Yarmouth. The King's right for his customs was preserved. The customable goods of the tenants and inhabitants of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston were not to be charged with the port duties belonging to Great Yarmouth, if unladen at Little Yarmouth or Gorleston; but if they should be willing to unlade *gratis* at the town of Great Yarmouth, they should pay the port-dues; and for goods not customable, they should not be enforced to unlade at Great Yarmouth, but might unlade at Little Yarmouth and Gorleston, or elsewhere, at their pleasure. The right of franchise claimed by the Earl of Richmond as lord of Lothingland was not allowed, on the ground that the King had the port of Little Yarmouth when he granted the privilege of a port to Great Yarmouth, and he might derogate from his own interest. The privileges of the Cinque Ports and of the ports of London and Norwich were preserved.

Disputes between Great and Little Yarmouth were still continually occurring, until they were finally put to rest in the reign of King Charles II by an Act of Parliament passed in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of his reign, and by

letters patent dated the 10th of February, 20th Charles II, by which Little Yarmouth was incorporated with Great Yarmouth.

Between the tenth and twentieth years of King Edward III (A.D. 1337-47), the south channel of the river Yare had become so obstructed by the formation of sandbanks as to be dangerous to navigation, and few ships of burden could safely enter or leave the harbour. The men of Yarmouth accordingly petitioned the King, in the twentieth year of his reign, for liberty to cut a haven nearer to Yarmouth, opposite to Corton. The King readily granted this request, the town of Yarmouth having done him most worthy service in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, at the battle of Swine (Sluys) in Flanders, they having supplied him with fifty-two ships in that year. The new haven continued for twenty-six years, till 46th Edward III, when it began to be so much blocked up with sand and gravel that ships could not enter, but were obliged to discharge their merchandize in Kirkley Road; whereupon the burgesses of Yarmouth applied to the King to have Kirkley Road united to Yarmouth Haven, and in the forty-sixth year of Edward III he granted a charter for uniting Kirkley Road to the liberties of Great Yarmouth; and it was granted that no ship should be laden or unladen within seven "leuks" (miles) of Great Yarmouth by any person, unless the ship or merchandize were the person's own goods, except at the town or haven of Great Yarmouth or Kirkley Road.

The absorption of Kirkley Road in the port of Yarmouth was very detrimental to the town of Lowestoft, and they were not slow in resisting the authority of the burgesses of Yarmouth. In the year following the grant of the charter they were indicted at Yarmouth for not complying with the charter. In 50th Edward III the charter was repealed on the petition in Parliament not only of the inhabitants of Lowestoft, but the Commons of England, on the ground that it was contrary to the common profit of the kingdom. Soon after, Edward III died, and the burgesses of Yarmouth sued out a commission for a renewal of their charter; on which the commissioners found that the uniting of Kirkley Road to the port of Yarmouth was to the damage of the men of Lowestoft; but that it was more commodious than discommodious to the King and people. Accordingly King

Edward's charter was re-granted to Yarmouth by a private Act of the Parliament held at Gloucester A.D. 1378, and by a charter granted in the second year of Richard II ; upon proclamation of which charter by the under sheriff of Lowestoft a riot was made by the inhabitants of that town.

The special privileges thus given to Yarmouth were so detrimental to the trade of the whole kingdom that in the 4th Richard II all the counties in England petitioned Parliament for a repeal of the charter, alleging that it was contrary to the Statute made in the ninth year of Edward III, and confirmed by the Statute of Gloucester, which gave freedom of trade to every subject of the realm ; and in the fifth year of Richard II the charter granted to Yarmouth was repealed. The burgesses, however, continued their petitions to have their charter re-granted, and in the sixth year of Richard II that King went to Yarmouth and viewed the premises, and, after a temporary re-grant of the charter two years afterwards, this temporary grant was annulled, and the repeal of the charter was continued by an ordinance of Parliament of the 8th December, 9th Richard II.

The burgesses of Yarmouth, however, still persevered, and in the following year (10th Richard II) they received all their former liberties and grants by an ordinance of Parliament, confirmed by a charter under the Great Seal of England, which remains to this day. But fresh disputes arose in the beginning of the reign of Henry IV, about collecting the customs of Kirkley Road, which were settled by an agreement between Yarmouth and Lowestoft, that the latter might buy herrings and other merchandize in Kirkley Road upon conditions therein specified ; which agreement was confirmed by the King in the second year of his reign, and by a final decree made in the 3rd Henry IV (1401).

Attention must now be directed, for a short space, to the disputes between the men of Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports, which Swinden, in his *History of Great Yarmouth*, says "occasioned such horrid discords, war, and confusion, as the like perhaps never happened for so long a time between any two places in the British dominions." It has already been stated that the barons of the Cinque Ports used to send bailiffs to govern the fair held at Yarmouth during the herring season. The staple trade of these towns

consisted of fishing generally, and also of herring every year, in the season, at Yarmouth. And before there was any town, but only some huts and cabins set up near the water-side, divers differences and disputes arose for want of a settled order in the town. King John granted, or rather confirmed, some liberties to the barons of the Ports about the time of the grant of the charter to the burgesses of Yarmouth, particularly the liberty of "den" and "strond".¹ These interfered with the privileges newly granted to the burgesses of Yarmouth.

These dissensions caused such frequent riots, discords, and controversies, that King Edward I, in the fifth year of his reign, issued his ordinance called "The King's Dite between the Men of the Cinque Ports and the Men of Yarmouth", the leading provisions of which were, that easements of "strond" and "den", without appropriation of soil, in time of the fair, without any manner of custom, was confirmed to the barons of the Ports. They of the town of Yarmouth were not to build above five windmills upon the dene more than they had then built; and these mills should be built to the least damage and nuisance of the dene, and of those who should dry their nets there. The barons of the Ports were to have the keeping of the peace, with the Provost (or in some copies the bailiffs) of Yarmouth.

This "Dite" did not produce the desired peace, for by a special pardon of Edward I, granted to Yarmouth, 2nd of December 1281 (10th Edward I), it appears that trespasses and damages were done by the men of Yarmouth to the Cinque Ports as far as Shoreham and Portsmouth, for which the men of Yarmouth were fined £1,000; and about the year 18 Edward I (1290) more differences and contests arose between them; also in the 25th Edward I, Hollingshed² relates that about the 27th of August the King landed in Flanders, near to Sluice. "He was no sooner on land but, through old envy and malice depending between the mariners of the Cinque Ports and them of Yermouth and other quarters, a quarrell was picked, so that they fell together and fought on the water in such earnest sort, notwithstanding the King's commandment sent to the contrarie, that there were 25 ships burnt and destroyed of theirs of Yer-

¹ *I.e.*, liberty for ships or vessels to run aground or come ashore.

² P. 304, ed. 1586.

mouth, and other their partakers; also three of their greatest ships, part of the King's treasure being in one of them, were tolled forth into the high sea and quite conueied awaie."

These contests continued between the opposing parties all the time of the first three Edwards down to the time of Richard II, when an agreement was made by that King between them, with penalties to be inflicted on the first offender; but a final settlement was not arrived at until the reign of Queen Elizabeth. On the 16th of October in the 16th Elizabeth (1574), a motion was made by the bailiffs of the Cinque Ports to have Yarmouth made a member of the five Ports, to which a majority of the Corporation assented; but this was never carried out. In the following year an award of commissioners appointed by the Queen was made, which finally settled all disputes between the town of Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports.

THE ABBEY OF ST. BENET'S AT HOLM.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

(*Read August 12, 1879.*)

It requires exercise of all our powers of imagination to picture to our minds the grand monastic house that once reared aloft its towers amid the low-lying land before us. Look where we may, our eyes can only trace a broad expanse of country which has again become more or less waste. Here or there the recent rain-floods have left their traces ; willows and elder-trees, with a few bushes, long waving grass, a muddy causeway, and numerous ditches, are the objects which meet us here, while in the distance we see the quick-flowing river which runs through the marsh-land. In the extreme distance we may note the sister towers of South Walsham and one or two churches rising from the trees, while closer at hand a few modern windmills shew how art has come to the aid of nature in the work of draining the land. These are the apparent features of the scene.

We may well wonder at the hardihood of the first few religious men who made their home in the howling wilderness which this spot must have been more than a thousand years ago ; and we may admire their singleness of purpose and indifference to ease. There is a deserted windmill on a tract of land just a little elevated above the plain beside the river. We can trace a dark belt of stunted shrubs around it. This is the site of the famous Abbey of Holm ; and, as if history were ironical, this is the only Abbey throughout the kingdom which has not been suppressed. To this day its Abbot, in the person of the Bishop of Norwich, has his seat in the House of Lords as Abbot of Holm ; this being a mitred Abbey as well as the wealthiest in the county of Norfolk ; and its revenues are still intact, and still devoted to church purposes. There is no need for me to re-write the history of the Abbey. Dugdale devotes one of his most painstaking chapters to it, the pages of which are full of references to documents which are named, and which are still extant. The Register, now in the British Museum,

contains reference to 1,185 documents relating to the possessions of the Abbey.

I propose to render a report of a survey which I have recently made of the site, and which has been but briefly done by other writers, so that a record may remain of the present condition of the remains. Of the Abbey's history it may be sufficient to say that from small beginnings, as in so many other cases, the foundation grew until the onslaught of the Danes, about 870, caused its destruction. After a state of ruin it was revived by a few pious men, and by the munificence of many patrons it assumed a position of considerable importance. The charter of Edward the Confessor contains, in reporting the possessions of the Abbey, interesting reference to an unusual number of churches. No less than twenty-six are mentioned by name. The development of the parochial system at this early period is aptly illustrated by this document, and it might be difficult to find better evidence elsewhere of subdivision into numerous parishes than is afforded by it. Among the churches named are Horning, Hovetone, Belham, North Walsham, Ludham, and Castre. Many of these are very close together. The names of a great number of the abbots are recorded in fair chronological order, as are also those of many illustrious men and women who were buried within the walls. Among these were Sir Thomas Fastolfe, John Duke of Lancaster, Lady Eve de Audeley and her two daughters, St. Margaret, as she is called, killed at Littlewood in 1170, and buried with the relics under the high altar. There is also record of a large number of laymen and women who were nominally admitted into the Abbey in accordance with a fashion that became very popular, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Members thus admitted had what benefit might be derived from the prayers of the monks; and while they hoped for less of the pains of Purgatory by the process, the revenues and well-being of the house were materially augmented. The middle ages have left us many a sad record of the dread in which thoughtful men were held by the fear of this place of woe, and the expedients used for escape.

The references to the structure, which are more to my theme than the history, are fairly numerous. Thus we hear that there was a bell-tower at the west end, begun by Abbot Alwold in Saxon times, left incomplete by him, and finished

by Abbot Richard after the Norman conquest. There is extant an old drawing of the church, which will be again referred to, which shews one of those objects so remarkable in the two counties,—a round tower, but in the centre of the church. The western tower does not appear. A central tower is mentioned by William of Worcester. We have thus reference to a church with two towers,—a plan adopted by both Saxons and Normans alike, but of which there are now but few examples. It occurs at Wymondham, at Ely, at Wimborn Minster, and at Shrewsbury; and it did exist at the great church of Bury St. Edmund's, at Hereford, and at Ramsay Abbey. The appearance of the round tower should be noted, since it may account for some of these structures, which have been raised in some degree from the influence of this house, and its example for imitation. It is no unusual thing to find one peculiar architectural feature of some especial building repeated and adapted again and again in some much more humble building.

Abbot Daniel, 1133-53, built the frater, the dormitory, and the chapter house. He is described as a worker in glass. Abbot Thomas about 1186 built the refectory and the middle part of the cloister. Shortly after this period the Abbey is spoken of as being so strongly fortified as to be able, if need be, to resist a siege. Reginald before 1229 built the guest-hall for strangers; and Adam de Netesherd before 1268 laid the foundations of a new presbytery or choir to the church, which appears to have been completed by Abbot Richard de Bukenham prior to 1275. Sir John Fastolf (fifteenth century) is next spoken of as having been the builder of the south aisle, also the Lady Chapel on the side of the chancel or presbytery, where he was buried. I am inclined to think that this was on the north side, since so many large churches in this district, about this century or a little before, were having larger chapels for the *cultus* of St. Mary erected in a similar position. These indications point to a chancel with side-aisles. The evidences on the ground agree. Master Thomas Newton built Trinity Chapel in the Abbey Church.

On a nearer approach to the site we find that the line of dwarf bushes noticed from a distance mark the boundary of the enclosing wall of the Abbey. This is attested by the encircling ditch, half filled up, and by a glimpse of the

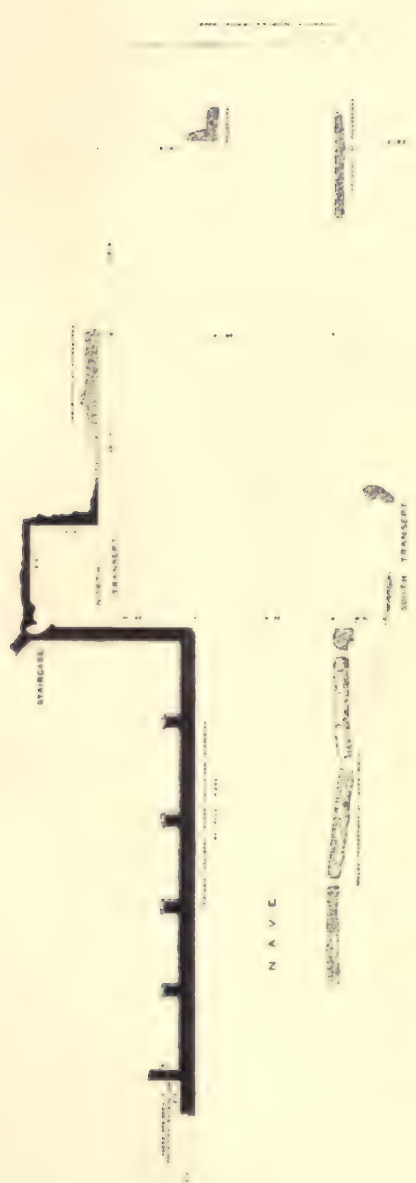
foundations here and there. This is actually all that is left of the walls that made the place one of strength in mediæval times. The muddy causeway leads up to the best preserved remains, those of the principal western gate-house. This has been a building of remarkably good workmanship and of most excellent design. It is in the style of towards the middle of the fourteenth century, and has been carefully constructed, with facing of freestone and flint. The mouldings are admirably worked, and still shew to much advantage notwithstanding the abject state of ruin the building is in, serving, as it does, as the base for the ugly brick windmill (now deserted) which we have already noticed in the distance, and through which poor purpose we may owe its existence. The entrance is formed by a boldly moulded arch flanked on either side by a mutilated octagonal turret. The face of these is covered by the windmill, and we have to enter under the inner arch to get a glimpse of the composition, which is now within the mill. In the spandrels of the arch are remarkable figures.

On the sinister side is an armed man with a sword ; on the dexter, the remains of a huge rampant animal. The singularity of these figures has given rise to much comment ; and Blomefield, on the strength of the discovery of a curious seal on a deed relating to the Abbey, proposes thus : the armed figure is St. Benet, who is rescuing an unfortunate monk from the jaws of the monster, the Evil One, who had taken him on his fleeing from the Abbey,—a serious warning to all monks desirous of liberty. There is certainly great analogy between the seal and what remains of the sculptures ; but their state is now too mutilated for much observation. We may trace here an allegory of St. Benet seeking some straying brother, and recovering him ; but how much more spiritual is the way this is put in the parable of the lost sheep.

We may also seek in vain for the coats of arms which were once above the arch. The same may be said for a range of shields which once existed above the inner arch ; and we may thus regret that the building has suffered to this extent during the last hundred years. Only the arms of England and France remain in the spandrels.

The entrance has been vaulted with diagonal and intermediate ribs. This is attested by the remains of a springer

PLAN OF THE REMAINS OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF ST BENET AT HOLM. July 1879.



SECTION THROUGH THE NORTH WALL

above an elegant wall-shaft having carved foliage to its capital. There is a newel staircase on the north side, entered on the east.

To the south of the outer entrance there remains a fragment of the enclosing wall. It is pierced with loop-holes within arches, and is of later date than the gateway. Passing the gate, the whole area of the Abbey precinct stretches before us. It is bounded on the south by the river, and consists of a waste area broken by small inequalities, which a practised eye readily traces as having been formed by the removal of buildings. Here and there a fragment of masonry comes to the surface. At one place a rectangular depression lined with masonry points either to a fishpond (for it holds water), or to a building whose floor-line was lower than the ordinary ground. Along the line of the river a few feeble traces remain: in one place the outline of a chamber; in another, part of the retaining wall, next the water. There is a small farmhouse to the south-east, close to the edge of the stream. This is doubtless built upon the site of a water-gate. Within, there is a Gothic arched door of fourteenth century work, while old walls are apparent in much of the exterior.

More towards the centre of the area, and on the highest part (but there is not much difference of level between highest and lowest, — a few feet at the most), I was gratified to find the foundations of the Abbey Church. These had been noted by Gough about a hundred years ago, when they were about a yard high. From the silence of more recent writers I feared that they had perished instead of having only escaped notice. These shew that the church had an unusual plan. The nave has been without aisles. There were north and south transepts, a presbytery with aisles, and probably an eastern extension.

These remains are conspicuous on the north side, where there are five traces of bold buttresses so large as to warrant the belief that the nave was vaulted. They are admirably built of freestone and flint; and the lower plinth, and a moulded upper one with a necking above, may be traced all round. The wall is about 6 feet high; but at the east it rises to a height of 7 feet 6 inches. The mouldings indicate the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. Traces of a newel-staircase remain at the north-

west angle of the north transept, and with this all architectural features end, the remainder of the walls rising hardly to the ground-level. The whole of the area of the nave has been excavated for earth, as a top dressing for some of the neighbouring fields. To so great an extent has this been done over all the area, that the surface is remarkably destitute of marks of buildings. Everything, to the rubbish of the broken walls and plaster, has been removed, so that there is little encouragement for the making of excavations. To so great an extent has this been done in the nave, that the walls are completely undermined. That to the south has fallen, and lies on its side in long, shattered masses, shewing that the foundation had but one projecting footing on each side. The north wall would have shared the same fate, but that Mr. Heath, a former tenant (to his praise be it said), caused to be built under them, for support, the singular piers of rough masonry which we now see.

Vast numbers of bones, I hear, were found in the nave during the excavations. The remains being in so precarious a condition, I have measured the whole, to keep on record some remembrance of them; and also that the measurements may be compared with those given by William of Worcester, who paced the church in the fifteenth century.

The old view of the church of Holm, already referred to, occurs on paper pasted into the MS. Cotton., Nero, D. 11. It is reproduced in Dugdale. It shews a cruciform church of fifteenth century architecture, a nave with clerestory and south aisle, and a central circular tower; no western tower, a porch to the south aisle, and an aisleless presbytery of only three bays. So far there is no resemblance whatever to the ground-plan as it exists. Can it be that what appears as a south-east view is in reality one from the north-west? If thus, what appears as the presbytery would be in reality the nave, and some sort of rough resemblance would be obtained, although a porch to a presbytery of a church of this capacity would be an anomaly. In one place a piece of thirteenth century moulding has been re-used as old material. At the north-west end a rough fragment of rubble remains, denuded of all facing. There is no trace of the Saxon tower at the west end.

Such is a faithful record of the present condition of this mitred Abbey, an institution whose revenue now forms the entire income of the see of Norwich.

Mention is so often made of the old Lepers' Hospital of St. James, founded by Abbot Daniel at the head of the causeway going to St. Benet's, that some notice of the condition of the remains may be acceptable. There is no approach to the Abbey now in this direction. The road from Horning ends at the river by Horning old Hall, now being rebuilt. In the rear of the house an ancient building remains, now a barn. It is 66 ft. 9 ins., internal measurement, from east to west, and 16 ft. 9 ins. wide. It has a chapel-like appearance, having a high-pitched roof, now thatched. The walls have pointed windows with no sign of tracery, and filled in with modern brickwork. There are buttresses to the side-walls, and set diagonally to the angles. The building is most probably the hospital proper, the western portion having been reserved for the patients, and the eastern for the chapel; all beneath the same roof, after the manner of many similar buildings. No other traces of antiquity remain on the site.¹

¹ The church of Hoveden St. John has a singular termination to the chancel-gable. It is a fragment of three Norman attached shafts, and probably came from St. Benet's. The locality is, however, singularly destitute of fragments from the Abbey. The explanation most probably is, that the site having so many facilities for water-carriage, the bulk of the materials were removed, it may be, to distant spots by this means.

CAISTER CASTLE.

BY MISS HADDON.

(Read August 12, 1879.)

The Paston Letters furnish considerable information concerning Caister Castle, which I have extracted in the following notice. These letters are principally written to or by members of the family of the Pastons of Paston—an ancient family taking their name from a small village in Norfolk, on the sea coast near Cromer. In the reign of Henry V, the famous knight, Sir John Fastolf, obtained a licence from the king to fortify a dwelling on his manor of Caister “as strong as himself could devise”, but the unsettled state of the country, and his own occupation in the French wars, for many years prevented him from carrying out what seems to have been a cherished plan all his life, until 1443, when he was advanced in years. In that year he obtained a licence from the Crown to keep no less than six vessels in his service, partly to convey building materials and household goods. Sir John had been born at Caister, which he had inherited in the direct line; hence, no doubt, his wish to place his family mansion there. There is no record of the house in which the family previously lived. Mr. Dawson Turner tells us that the foundations of Caister Castle enclosed a space of six acres. Very few remains are left to attest the truth of this. The beautiful tower, which is a well known landmark, is ninety feet high, and one of the dilapidated buildings is still known as the barge house, and under the low arch still visible, it is said that Sir John’s barges came and went on their voyages.

The building of Caister Castle occupied many years, at least ten. It was being built in 1445, and was still unfinished in 1453, though sufficiently advanced for Sir John to take up his residence here, where, with the exception of one visit to London, he spent the rest of his life, until November 5, 1459, when he died at the age of 86. A friend and confident of Sir John Fastolf was John Paston, the head of the family. A man highly esteemed in his county, for which

he was member in 1460. This John Paston was appointed by Sir John one of his executors, of whom there were ten, though only two, John Paston and his chaplain, Sir John Howes, had much power, the rest were merely to advise when called upon by Paston and Howes. To these gentlemen Sir John Fastolf devised all his lands in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, for the purpose of founding a college or religious community at Caister. Sir John left no heir, and had at different times made over all his landed property to trustees, to be dealt with as directed in his will. So high did John Paston stand in the knight's favour that, subject to the obligation of paying 4,000 marks to the other executors, and founding the college at Caister, he had in effect left all his landed property in Norfolk and Suffolk to him. John Paston was already a man of wealth, having, besides his paternal inheritance of lands in Paston, and parts of the manors of Gimingham, Bacton, and Oxnead, acquired the manor of Mauteby, by marriage with Agnes, daughter and heiress of John Mauteby of Mauteby, in Norfolk (now called Mautby, three miles from Caister).

The plan of founding a college at Caister seems to have lain very near the old warrior's heart, for on his deathbed he made John Paston make a draft of a petition to the king on the subject, and an arrangement with the monks of St. Benet's Abbey. Many claimants arose to dispute possession of the rich prize with Paston. Among others, the Duke of Norfolk spread a report that Caister Castle had been given to him by its late owner. It was clearly shown by documents that this was not so, Sir John having left written directions to John Paston to establish in Caister Castle "a college of seven poor religious men, monks, or secular priests, and seven poor folk, to pray for his soul and the souls of his wife, his father, and mother, and other that he was behold to, in perpetuity". If in carrying out this John Paston was interfered with by any person attempting forcibly to take possession of the place, he was enjoined "to pull down the said mansion, and every stone and stick thereof, and to found three of the said seven priests or monks at St. Benet's, and one at Yarmouth, one at Attleborough, and one at St. Olave's Church in Southwark."

Nevertheless, a year and a half after Sir John Fastolf's death the Duke of Norfolk actually had possession of the

castle. Urgent appeals were made by Paston to the King, Edward IV, against this injustice, and the castle was restored to him a few months before the duke's death in 1461. This duke was the last but one of the Mowbrays. John Paston died in May 1466, before he had carried out Sir John Fastolf's wishes in founding the college, leaving his eldest son, Sir John Paston, as his heir. This young man seems to have found considerable difficulty in making arrangements to found the college at Caister, and it was proposed and agreed by some of the executors to found it at Cambridge. An accusation having been brought by interested persons against the deceased John Paston that the will under which he obtained so much power and wealth was a forgery, and not the true last will and testament of Sir John Fastolf, certain of the executors conceived that they had a right to sell the castle and manor of Caister, provided the proceeds of the sale were spent in good works, and prayers for the repose of the knight's soul. They accordingly made overtures to the Duke of Norfolk, son and heir of that one who had formerly taken violent possession of Caister.

The sale was never effected, but the duke chose to act as if it had been, and on August 21, 1469, laid regular siege to Caister Castle, which was then held by John, youngest son of John Paston the eldest, as lieutenant for Sir John Paston. The duke sent Sir John Heveningham to demand peaceable entry, which, being refused, he surrounded it with 3,000 men. The party within were in some degree prepared; they had a month's provision of food and ammunition, but a mere handful of men. Sir John Paston was in London, and unable to send relief, and after a few weeks siege, in which the garrison bravely defended themselves, but lost only one soldier, the great castle surrendered. The garrison were allowed to march out in freedom, with bag and baggage, horse and harness, leaving behind them only their guns, crossbows, and arrows. Caister being lost, and Sir John Paston in other ways much crippled in means, he made a voluntary surrender of all his rights as his father's heir to anything accruing to him under Sir John Fastolf's will in favour of Bishop Waynefleete, one of the original executors appointed by Sir John Fastolf. By this compromise it was arranged that all Sir John Fastolf's lands in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex should be divided between Sir John Paston and the bishop, and shortly after the Duke

of Norfolk also yielded Caister to the bishop, acknowledging that his possession of the estate was contrary to Fastolf's will, and receiving from the bishop the sum of 500 marks for the surrender. This was in 1470, and it seems a little difficult to understand why Sir John Paston should soon after endeavour, through the influence of his brother John (who had been in the service of the young Duke of Norfolk), to get back Caister into his own possession by means of the duke; but documents exist which show that he did so vainly for four years, though he offered to the duke a compensation of £40—an offer which was considered as “more than reasonable”.

In 1474 Bishop Waynflete and Sir John Paston came to a final understanding concerning the bequest of Sir John Fastolf. The Pope had granted to the bishop a dispensation enabling him to apply the endowments of Fastolf's intended college at Caister to the support of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a division of the Norfolk lands was made between him and Paston. Sir John might keep Caister and the lands in Flegg if he could get them from the Duke of Norfolk. Sir John seems to have been an extravagant and thriftless man, but, however he squandered other property, he clung to Caister, and never gave up the hope of regaining it. He had prepared an elaborate petition for presentation to the king in 1475, when in January 1476 the Duke of Norfolk died suddenly. The duchess and Sir John urged counter claims, and the matter was laid before the king's council, who finally pronounced in favour of Sir John's right, and seven years after the siege of Caister Sir John Paston was once more acknowledged master of the castle and manor. This was in 1479, and in November of the same year Sir John Paston died in London. His brother next in age, also a John, inherited his property, and became in his turn lord of the manor of Caister. He was knighted after the battle of Stoke. He married a lady named Margery Brews, and they had several children.

Their second son, William, carried on the family; and his second son, Clement, is the most noted of the whole race. He entered the navy in the reign of Henry VIII, and became a great commander. In an engagement with the French he captured their admiral, Baron de St. Blankheare,¹ and kept

¹ This does not sound like a French name. Could it be “De Blacquiere”, which does exist as a surname?

him prisoner at Caister Castle until he paid a ransom of 7,000 crowns and many valuables from his ship. In memory of this, Clement Paston preserved among his household goods a "standing bowl called the Baron de Blankheare", which he bequeathed to his nephews. Clement fought in the battle of Pinkie, and to him Sir Thomas Wyatt surrendered in Mary's reign. He built a fine family residence at Oxnead—a manor belonging to him. He survived to Elizabeth's reign, and, dying childless, was succeeded by his nephew, Sir William, the founder of North Walsham Grammar School, and the donor of charitable gifts to the cathedrals of Bath and Norwich, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and the poor of Yarmouth. The line descended through Christopher, Edmund, and William to Robert, who in Charles II's reign was created first Viscount, afterwards Earl of Yarmouth. Robert stood high in the royal favour, and once entertained the king and queen at Oxnead. His son married a natural daughter of Charles II, Lady Charlotte Boyle. Earl William encumbered his estates. The fine house at Oxnead fell into ruin, and was pulled down, and the materials sold to pay his debts. Earl William was the last of his family, and at his death both line and title became extinct. In 1661 William Crow was lord of the manor of Caister; in 1708 and 1724 Roger Crow, from whom it came to his nephew, John Bedingfield.

ROMAN REMAINS AT HAMPSTEAD NORRIS, NEAR NEWBURY.

BY W. MONEY, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read June 18, 1879.)

DURING the course of excavating for field drainage, a few weeks since, on the estate of Mr. George Palmer, M.P., at Eling, in the parish of Hampstead Norris, the workmen came upon an arched vault or chamber, which is undoubtedly a Romano-British tomb. The structure, which stands a short distance from the farmhouse, lies north-east and south-west, and gives an inside measurement of eight feet in length by two feet in width, and the same in height. The sides are built of rough flints, with bonding courses of brick, and the tomb was arched over with flanged roof tiles, laid slanting, and overlapping each other. Within this the interment had taken place. The floor was formed on a natural gravel bed, over which had been laid a layer of clay, and on this appeared to have been spread the remains of a funeral pile, consisting of wood ashes and a few animal bones, together with two or three nails. In cleaning out the grave, which unfortunately had been accomplished before my attention was called to the discovery, part of a small cinerary urn of Upchurch ware was found, and a first brass of Commodus (A.D. 180-192), but no personal ornaments are said to have been seen. It is very possible that the grave had been rifled at an early date.

This interment is in the immediate neighbourhood of a Roman villa, which was uncovered some years since, but only partly investigated. The portion remaining occupies an area of about seventy feet by forty-five feet. A considerable part of the border of a mosaic pavement is left, but much mutilated, owing to the action of the steam plough. The pattern of the border is a continuous twisted guilloche, in which red, white, and blue prevail. The outer border is composed of plain red cubes. The pavement, when in its perfect state, appears to have consisted of several medallions inclosed in an octagonal frame. Among the *débris*

can be seen quantities of roofing, paving, and flue tiles, fragments of stucco, painted a dark red, broken pottery, bones of animals, oyster shells, and an abundance of snail shells (*Helix pomatia*).

About one hundred and fifty yards from this villa another Roman dwelling has been uncovered, eighty feet in length by thirty feet in width, and, so far as excavations have yet gone, occupies three sides of a square. There is an opening on the south wall about four feet wide, which was probably the entrance. This building is of inferior description to the villa, having no tessellated pavements. In this was discovered numerous fragments of Roman fictilia, chiefly portions of domestic vessels, mortaria, etc. A variety of iron articles were also met with, consisting of nails of different shapes and sizes, hinges, staples, etc., also a third brass of Constantine, *obverse*, urbs Roma, *reverse*, Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf.

These remains are situated on the slope of a valley, along which runs the little river "Pang"—a site well chosen as regards water supply, a great essential to a Roman citizen. From Hampstead Norris village a Roman road led to "Spinæ", now disused, which crossed the brook at St. Abbes, near Eling, called by the country people "Tabs", and on to Grimsbury Castle, in Fence Wood, and from thence *via* Long Lane to Newbury. Upon the brow of the hill on the opposite side of the valley there are considerable traces of a British round barrow, which was opened by the late Dr. Palmer, when a bronze knife-dagger was found by the explorer.

A Roman villa was partly exposed some years since at Birch Farm, Marlstone, on the property of an old member of the Association, H. M. Bunbury, Esq. The buildings covered, it is said, nearly an acre.¹

According to Dr. Stukeley, a Roman altar, dedicated to Jupiter, was found in the adjoining parish of Frilsham, in 1730, on an estate then belonging to the Earl of Abingdon; but though I have used my utmost endeavours to learn something of this relic, I have not succeeded in obtaining any information regarding it.

It is very remarkable that while numerous evidences exist of Roman occupation in the neighbourhood of New-

¹ See *Journal*, Brit. Arch. Assoc., Dec. 31, 1860, pp. 290-1.

bury, there is an entire absence of Roman remains in the immediate vicinity of the supposed site of the station of "Spinæ".

Shortly after the discovery at Eling a polished stone axe was found at Eling Farm. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide, and has been broken and re-ground. In the same field I picked up several flakes and chips of flint; and near by part of a stone quern and a muller.

In the same parish, between Faircross Pond and Grimsbury Camp, are some small ponds which appear, from the remains of timber trees contained in them, to have been the sites of pile-dwellings. When these remains were dug out by the labourers engaged in removing the soil for the garden at Lockinge, one of the workmen stated that he found a curious wedge-shaped stone. This may have been a flint axe, as the remains of the piles bore marks of human handiwork; but it cannot be traced. As, however, the Didcot and Newbury Railway, now in course of construction, will pass close to these ponds, an opportunity will be afforded of further exploration.

In Compton parish, the excavations made for the same line have disinterred a human skeleton in a field known as "Stock's Meadow Piece." Mr. Hewett, in his *History of the Hundred of Compton*, mentions that numerous human skeletons were found in the same locality; and points out the association, in old charters, of Compton, near Ilsley, with the site of the battle of Ashdown. I find further evidence of this association in *Domesday*, in Pipe Roll, 13 Henry II, and in the *Testa de Neville*, temp. Edward II.

THE FONT AT ST. MARY BOURNE, HANTS.

BY DR. J. STEVENS.

As I have not been able to find that anything has been written respecting the fine old font in St. Mary Bourne Church, I have ventured to furnish some particulars concerning it, it being in its general design, ornamentations, and material, evidently a work of the same period, and probably constructed by the same hand, as the Cathedral font at Winchester. It would appear that there are five such in Hampshire,—the two above mentioned, in addition to the fonts at East Meon, St. Michael's, Southampton, and at Middleton, near Winchester; and they are all attributed to the time of Bishop Walkeline.

The designs on the top and sides of the Winchester font have hardly yet been satisfactorily explained; but according to Dr. Milner, the doves on the upper surface, which are represented as feeding from or breathing into phials surmounted with crosses, are emblematic of the Holy Ghost. The dove is repeated in various attitudes on the sides of the font; and there is a representation of a salamander, thought to be emblematic of fire, in allusion to the Scripture passage, "He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." The sculptures on the south and west sides are considered to refer to the history of some bishop, the staff being that of a bishop. In the *Transactions* of the Society of Antiquaries for 1786, these carvings are stated as being supposed to represent the history of St. Birinus, the apostle of the West Saxons; but Dr. Milner's explanation has been more generally received, that the sculptures referred to incidents in the life of St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, who died in 342, and whose remains were in 1087 reburied at Bari in Italy. In his account of the Cathedral Mr. Creasy states that, when at Bari he made a drawing of a stone tablet placed against the church of St. Nicholas, containing exactly the same legend. The four incidents sculptured on the font were described as—1, St. Nicholas saving three virgins from the disgrace to which the poverty of their father, a noble-

man, would have exposed them; 2, an incident in the saint's visit to the Holy Land; 3, his saving the lives of three young men condemned to death by the Prefect Eustachius; 4, a miracle ascribed to St. Nicholas after his death, the restoration of a child who had fallen into the sea on the voyage to Myra.

Respecting the fonts at Winchester, East Meon, and Southampton, the following notice occurs in the *Proceedings* of the Archæological Institute at Winchester, 1845:—"There can be little doubt that they are all three the work of the same hand, and they are amongst the finest fonts that have come down to us. A much higher antiquity has been assigned to them; but there is no good reason to suppose them earlier than the middle of the twelfth century." Representations of the sculptures on the East Meon font appear in *Archæologia*, vol. v, p. 185. The subjects are thought to represent the creation of Eve, the temptation by the serpent, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, and their instruction in the arts of husbandry and spinning. Notices regarding the Winchester font are found in Clarendon and Gale's *Antiquities*, p. 23; *Monasticon*, vol. ii, p. 219; Warton's *Description*, p. 79; *Anonymous History*, vol. i, p. 48; *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii; also in Britton's *History of Winchester Cathedral*.

The font at St. Mary Bourne is a rude, massive, square structure, thought by some to be of Purbeck marble; by others, to be of black stone brought from Normandy. But there is no doubt that the material is black slate. It rests on a modern circular sandstone plinth, the four original corner pillars having been removed; probably destroyed, as the font itself shews signs of rough usage in places. It contains a drain; and its dimensions are the following,—length of sides, 3 feet 7 inches; height of ditto, 12½ inches; ditto of pedestal, 1 foot 9 inches; diameter of basin, 2 feet 6 inches. The designs on its top and sides are rude, and quite characteristic of an earnest although rugged period; those on its upper surface, surrounding the basin, representing the breathing or drinking doves at the north and east corners. The west corner contains what appears to be a sheaf of corn, which has been thought to symbolise the "Bread of Life"; the opposite corner, containing apparently a phoenix, considered to be emblematic of immortality. The sides on the

north and west are decorated with branches containing leaves and fruit in clusters, evidently grapes, symbolical (may we say?) of the "True Vine". The south and west sides bear, on the former, an Anglo-Norman arcade surmounted with doves and bottles; while the latter contains also an arcade, each capital being crowned with a fleur-de-lis. In reference to these sculptures, Mr. James Parker, of Oxford, to whom I forwarded rubbings, has furnished me with the following explanatory notices. He is aware the font has



been ascribed to Bishop Walkeline in the eleventh century; but he believes there are no grounds whatever for so doing. Very much of the work ascribed to Henry I is really the work of Henry II. Most of the sculpture seems to be derived from metal models. The accounts we have of early churches, as of the eleventh century and earlier, agree in this, that the plates of metal, often silvered or gilt, formed the chief means of ornament. That none remain is not to be wondered at. But with regard to their carvings in stone-

work, their plan is certain ; and it is reasonable to suppose that in a measure the older stone capitals served as models, which would account for the peculiar, bulbous character so common in the twelfth century carvings. You cannot fix on any special plans, but the nature of the material gives to them always that peculiar aspect.

Undoubtedly part of the carving represents grapes, but from the character of the leaves, they are treated conventionally. The vine was doubtless symbolical ; but it is doubtful whether the worker in metal or stone thought of the symbol as a rule. It became a conventional ornament, and was used as such wherever suitable. The drinking doves, Mr. Parker thinks, form a pretty design, and nothing more, and are not intended to symbolise any special doctrine. It is likely the artist who designed the font had taken a note of it, as in the case of Vilars de Harcourt in the thirteenth century, whose note-book has been found ; and it is noticeable that the figures are admirably adapted for filling up the spaces. The dove may be taken as symbolical ; at the same time it might have been suitable to the designer to fill up the structure he had to decorate. The drinking dove is a common Italian feature, but not specially Christian, and is observable in the mosaic decorations of houses as well as in church tessellations.

The whole of the four or five fonts above named, judging from their details, are probably of the same date, Henry II; and there is an idea that the stone is not Purbeck, but that it was imported from Flanders ; but this opinion has not been satisfactorily established.

LOWESTOFT CHURCH.

BY J. L. CLEMENCE, ESQ.

(Read August 13, 1879.)

AT a fire which occurred in 1606, when John Glesson was vicar, the parsonage house, situated at the south-west corner of the churchyard, was utterly destroyed, and all the old parish registers perished in the flames. In consequence of this disaster I am unable to refer to ancient documents. Much information which would have been useful and interesting on the present occasion is therefore lost to us, but I trust enough can be gleaned from the church itself, and from scattered notices in books, to enable us to gather some slight interest from the subject.

The church is dedicated to St. Margaret, but when built or by whom there is no record to show. An examination of the architecture, however, will enable us to fix its date with tolerable accuracy. The plan of the church consists of a tower at the west end, nave, with north and south aisles, chancel, and a porch with parvise over at the west end of south side. There is also under the chancel a crypt or charnel chamber. The oldest part of the church is the tower, but no part of this can lay claim to a higher antiquity than the reign of Edward II, say from 1307 to 1377.

Gillingwater says it is manifest that, as the charter of Henry I, granting this and other churches to the priory of Saint Bartholomew, in London, was confirmed by Henry III, the present church was erected between 1230 (when the original grant was confirmed by Henry III) and 1365, because Weaver (in *Funeral Monuments*, p. 514) records an inscription as being here in his time to this effect: "Robert Inglosse, Esquyer, which died in Anno 1365". But this proves nothing, because the inscription most probably was removed from the old to the new church when the present one was rebuilt and enlarged. The inscription does not exist at the present day. It was most probably a brass, and went into the melting pot when Jessope visited the church in 1644.

The lower part of the tower, judging from the mouldings, was built between 1307 and 1380. It is probable it was built to a much more ancient structure, considerably smaller than the present edifice. In fact, in removing the old pews and walls on which they were fixed in 1870, I came upon the foundations of the original church, which extended no further than the third bay of the present church. Apparently this, the original church, had no aisles. It was altogether a small one, 54 feet by 18 feet, and the height, as plainly shown on the east face of the tower, under the plastering, was only about 18 feet to the wall plates.

It is not a little singular there should have been apparently in the mind of the architect of the present church a desire to perpetuate the size of the old one, for on the second buttress, counting from the porch on the south side, there is a small rose, which does not occur upon any of the others, and for the existence of which for many years I was unable to account. There is also another indication in the clerestory windows of the south side. Up to this point they are of two lights, and all the rest eastward of three lights. A variation also occurs in the head of the window of the north aisle at this point, and in no others. And, in addition to these indications, there is another inside. At the third pillar of the north arcade there is a pedestal, which evidently at one time supported an image. Can it have been that of Saint Roche? Gillingwater mentions that an acre of land situated near the parsonage house "was given by some pious person to support a light before the image of Saint Roche. Where this image was placed, whether in the church or in one of the chapels, is now uncertain."¹

The present nave, aisles, chancel, and porch were evidently built about the time of Edward V (1483), and at this time the tower was raised, and the wooden spire covered with lead added.² The length of the nave, from the tower to where the rood screen anciently stood, is 105 feet, and from thence to the east window 52 feet, making a total length of 157 feet. The width of both nave and chancel is 22 feet, and the total width between north

¹ P. 251.

² As Bishop Scroope, after quitting his bishopric, and wandering for many years, was instituted to the vicarage of Lowestoft on the 27th of May 1478, and died here in 1491, it is not improbable that the present church was built by him during the thirteen years he retained the living.

and south aisle walls 57 feet. The height of the aisle walls to wall plates is 25 feet 6 inches, and of the nave to the wall plates 37 feet, and to apex of roof 42 feet. The height of the tower and spire is 120 feet, of which the tower is 70 feet.

The porch is a very good specimen of Norfolk and Suffolk porches, not so elaborate as Beccles or Southwold, but still having a good deal of flint tracery of good character. In the spandrels of the entrance archway are shields with the symbols of the Passion. On the east side of the porch are the remains of an old sun dial, the ironwork of the gnomon still remaining. The entrance has some good groined vaulting, the centre boss having a representation of the Trinity.

In the parvise over, a tradition is current that two maiden ladies, sisters, of the names of Elizabeth and Kate, lived for many years, and that they gave a piece of ground and a well of water to the poor of Lowestoft. Whether the first part of this tradition is true or not I will not pretend to say, but the latter part is perpetuated in the fact that the wells are known by the name of the Basket Wells, being a corruption of the names Bess and Kate.

At the north-west angle of the tower is a long narrow opening, said by some to be a confessional, and by others a place for penitents, but the very slightest examination will show it could not have been used for either purpose. Its real use appears to be for placing the processional crosses and banners in safety. It was evidently closed in by a wooden door, as three iron hooks still show where the hinges have hung. I am aware of only two similar recesses to these, one at Rushmere Church and the other at Catfield, in Norfolk. The tower arch is a very small one, of the Decorated period, and is another evidence of the smallness of the church which the present one superseded.

The font, a fine example of the Perpendicular period, stands in its original position, and in very much the same state as when Francis Jessope left it, after his uncanny visit in 1644. It consists of an octagon bowl, on a base of the same form. The upper part is panneled, and filled with sculptured figures in pairs. The lower part is also paneled, and filled with single figures, but all are so mutilated it is impossible to say what the subjects were; but enough remains of some of them to show they were well executed.

The font stands upon three steps, the risers of the two upper ones very handsomely panneled, with a series of quatrefoils. An inscription used to run round the top step, and Gillingwater says it was illegible in his time. I have, however, never been able to discover the slightest traces of any inscription, though carefully searching for it.

The inner arch and jambs of the north door evidently belonged to the former church. It is of the Decorated period, and is the only part of the old church which appears to have been renewed.

Particular attention is called to the north and south arcades. The piers and arches are of uncommonly good design and proportion, but the clerestory is not so good, and very unequal in design to the nave and aisles.

The chancel, it will be remarked, is simply an elongation of the nave—a feature common to Norfolk and Suffolk churches, but to the best of my knowledge not seen anywhere else. The chancel was separated from the nave by the rood screen, stretching across the church from north to south at the first pier from the east end, but this disappeared during Jessope's visit in 1644. There are indications of the staircase to the rood loft on the north side, and until recently also on the south side, but when this part was rebuilt in 1870 it was not thought necessary to retain it.

Under the chancel is a crypt or charnel chamber, with groined vaulting. It most probably had an altar in the recess between the two windows. I have not, however, found any altar slab, but this most probably was removed, and the floor taken up during Jessope's visit. The staircase to the crypt was constructed in the thickness of the north wall, and was a very narrow and inconvenient one. The doorway leading to it was the same as is now used for the present entrance to the vestry, but was situated more to the east. Query, what was the use of the hole in the vault immediately under the centre of the high altar?

On the south side of the chancel are the remains (much mutilated) of the piscina and sedile. The former has been a very handsome one, having buttresses, canopy, and arched head, with the spandrels filled in with good foliage. The shelf is in the same position as the ancient one, sufficient evidence remaining to enable me to restore it. The sedile is plain, having simply a moulded cornice, with patterns in

the hollow and brattishing above. The seat is level, which is unusual.

Of the roof I am not able to say much. It was restored about forty years ago, and some of the parts appear to have got jumbled. It is possible that the lower parts, forming brackets or cantilevers between the very ugly hammer beams, formed part of the old rood screen, the arched ribs having a running panel filled with bold carving, and some of the brattishing above the beams belongs to the original roof, all the rest is modern.

The only trace of mural decoration found upon any of the walls was on the north side, near the north door. It was, however, so slight as simply to show they had been decorated, and the obliteration had been only too complete.

The lectern is a very handsome brass one, of the Perpendicular period, formed of mouldings, supported upon a base, with three lions, and the whole carrying an eagle resting upon a sphere, with wings outspread.

Of the ancient monuments which remain the only interesting one is that of Bishop Scroope, some time bishop of Dromore, in Ireland. He died at Lowestoft in 1491, aged 100, or thereabouts, and was buried in the middle of the chancel. The slab covering the grave is 8 ft. 7 ins. long by 3 ft. 6 ins. wide, and had a brass with three canopies and side buttresses, and a figure of the bishop. The greater part of the canopies were in existence in 1815, when an account of all the monuments and inscriptions were taken for the late Mr. Robert Reeve in a very handsome book, now in the possession of R. H. Reeve, Esq., the lord of the manor. In 1870 it was found to be in a very perishable condition, and for the purpose of preserving it I had it removed into the north aisle.

I may say here that in relaying the floor of the church I endeavoured to place every slab having an inscription in as near the same position as it was possible to get it, and for this purpose I had plans and inventories made of the exact positions of every slab. Some, which were found under the old pewing, I have, however, placed in the aisles adjoining, where they were found, notably two with brasses in the south aisle. Only a few brasses now remain, and these of no great interest, except the two in the south aisle just mentioned, one belonging to a member of the Fishmongers'

Company, with the monogram of W.O.O., and the other of two skeletons in shrouds, without heads; neither of them have inscriptions.

A great number of brasses existed in 1644, when Francis Jessope, the deputy of Will Dowsing, visited the church. His doings upon that occasion are recorded by the Rev. James Rowse, who was vicar at the time. He says, "Thear wear taken up in the middle alley twelve peeces belonging to twelve several generations of the Jettors", and also "Hee took up in our church soe much brasses as he sould to Mr. Josiah Wild for five shillings, wch was afterwards, contrary to my knowledge, run into the little bell that hangs in the town house." This bell had an inscription on it, "John Brand made me, 1644". So it would appear Josiah Wilde lost no time in converting his bargain, and making the most of it.¹

Of the other monuments there are none of immediate interest, and a recapitulation of the names of those buried here might prove tedious; but those who wish for more information on this subject may find a very good account in Gillingwater's *History of Lowestoft*, and in the second volume of Suckling's *History of Suffolk*.

The east window was painted by Mr. Robert Allen, a native of Lowestoft, connected with the now celebrated Lowestoft china manufactory. It was presented to the church by him in 1822. Of its design and execution the less said the better, though I know that to many of the old inhabitants I am herein speaking heresy.

There is only one bell in the tower. It weighs 17 cwt. 2 qrs. 17 lbs., and has the following inscription:

"I tell all that doth me see,
That Newman of Norwich new cast mee.
"1730. J. Durrant, C.W."

I have now only to add that the church has been restored within the last ten years. The south aisle and the south arcade wall having become unsafe it was deemed necessary to take them down and rebuild them, and this, I think you will agree with me, was done so well it is almost impossible to tell that they are not in the same state as when left by the original builder.

¹ This bell in the course of time became cracked, and was eventually recast when the present Town Hall was built by me in 1859.

GOOD FRIDAY BUNS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

(Read April 17, 1878.)

IT is a fact no less singular than true, that from the earliest ages of which written records survive, certain kinds of bread and cakes, and other viands composed of flour, have been employed in religious rites, and during sacred seasons and festivals. The mere mention of this curious circumstance will at once bring to every mind the oiled bread, numbered among the wave offerings burnt upon the altar of the Lord ; the *shulchan hapanim* or table of shew bread in the Hebrew temple ; and the *matsoth* or wafer of the unleavened bread, eaten in the Jewish dwellings during the Passover.

Cakes were among the numerous articles of food offered to the gods by the subjects of the Pharaohs. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his *Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*,¹ states that "the cakes were of various kinds ; many were round, oval, or triangular, and others had the edges folded over, like the *fateereh* of the present day. They also assumed the shape of leaves, or the form of an animal, a crocodile's head, or some capricious figure, and it was frequently customary to sprinkle them (particularly the round and oval cakes) with seeds", just as the *chaloth* or Sabbath bread of the modern Jews has *maw* or poppy seed strewed over the top.

The prophet Jeremiah² declared that the idolatrous Hebrew "women knead their dough to make cakes to the queen of heaven"; and these cakes are again alluded to by these said Jewesses whilst they were in Egypt.³

Herodotus⁴ speaks of the Persians making offerings of consecrated cakes to their divinities. And he further tells us⁵ that cakes composed of honey and flour were borne in the hand by the Samians to the temple of Diana. And we learn also from him⁶ that somewhat similar cakes were offered by the Athenians to a large serpent which they kept in the temple of the citadel.

¹ i, 266.² vii, 18.³ Jeremiah xlv, 19.⁴ i, 132.⁵ iii, 152.⁶ viii, 41.

These sacred gifts of the Egyptians and Orientals had their parallel among the Greeks and Romans. We read of the *selenes*, large crescent-shaped cakes offered in sacrifices to Luna; of wafer-bread presented to Terminus at the Terminalia; and of the cakes borne about on boughs at the Cotyttia or night festival, held in honour of Cotys or Cotytta, the goddess of debauchery, and which latter custom calls to mind an olden observance among us on mid-Lent or Mothering Sunday, of which mention is made by Barnabe Googe in his translation of Naogeorgus' *Regnum Papiasticum*, 1570—

“Thus children also beare, with speares, their cracknelles
round about.”

The Hindoo elephant-headed god Ganesha is frequently represented holding in one of his four hands a bowl filled with small cakes, on which it is supposed he feeds. And the Indian Mutiny of 1857 has rendered famous through all coming time the *chupatties* or sacred cakes connected with the worship of Krishna.

And if we turn to our own land we find a perfect banquet of puddings, pies, and cakes, made of bread-stuff, and appropriated to certain holy days and sacred seasons. There is St. Michael's bannock for Michaelmas, the carvis or seed-cake for All Hallow even, the youle dough or baby cake, the plum pig, plum pudding, goose pie, and the shred or mince pie for Christmas; the spiced bread and rich sugared cake for Twelfth Night, the taffy for St. David's Day, the care-cake or pancake for Shrove Tuesday, the tansy-cake and pudding-pie for Lent in general, the curling, simbling-cake and simnel for Mothering Sunday, the cross-bun for Good Friday, rice and tansy-puddings for Easter Sunday, and the bel-tein cake of oatmeal for the first of May.

The majority of these delectable viands had no doubt a Pagan origin, but were re-dressed in later times to suit Christian taste. Some may have been imported from abroad in remote ages, whilst others are of native growth, as for instance the bel-tein cake, and the little pastry pig with its currant eyes and wooden trotters, which is a survival of the worship of the Druidic goddess Ked, or Keridwen, the mystic sow. Herodotus¹ intimates that some such pastry pigs as our own were offered in sacrifice to

Luna by the early Egyptians, and it is well to remember that Ked was the Luna-arkite divinity of the Kelts.

There is not one item in the tempting repast set before us that does not merit a separate treatise, but there is only one choice morsel in our *menu* upon which we can now venture to dwell—the renowned and ever welcome hot cross bun, the history, if not the origin, of which is shrouded in a thick cloud of mystery.

Works treating of popular customs, such as Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Hone's *Every Day Book*, *The Mirror*, Chambers' *Book of Days*, etc., repeat with wearisome pertinacity the same story respecting Good Friday buns, and which story is derived from Jacob Bryant's *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, and is as follows: "One species of sacred bread which used to be offered to the gods was of great antiquity, and called *boun*. The Greeks, who changed the *nu* final into a *sigma*, expressed it in the nominative *βοῦς*, but in the accusative more truly *boun*, *βοῦν*. Hesychius speaks of the *boun*, and describes it as a kind of cake, with a representation of two horns. Julius Pollux mentions it after the same manner—a sort of cake with horns. Diogenes Laertius, speaking of the same offering being made by Empedocles, describes the chief ingredients of which it was composed. 'He offered one of the sacred *liba*, called a *bouse*, which was made of fine flour and honey'. It is said of Cecrops that he first offered up this sort of sweet bread. Hence we may judge of the antiquity of the custom from the time to which Cecrops is referred."

The Rev. George Stanley Faber says that the sacred cakes offered to the queen of heaven were called *bous*, "from their being formed with two little horns, so as to imitate the mystic heifer, which was at once the symbol of Isis, the earth, the ark, and the lunar crescent". And the author further states that *bous* "in one of its oblique cases is *boun* or (as the Latins would write it) *bun*. Hence we have borrowed our English word *bun*, and from the same Pagan source has originated the old custom, which we still retain, of selling a sort of consecrated cakes named buns on Good Friday."

Our word *bun* may be fairly deduced from the classic *boun*, and Grecian sculpture and painting represent what are presumed to be sacred cakes of the same form as our

modern bun, and, what is more curious still, some are marked with the Greek cross, as may be seen by a wood-cut of a "Grecian consecrated cake", published in the *Mirror*, xxix, 199. And we must add that something wonderfully like a Good Friday cross-bun is carved on the Chesterholm stone, given in our *Journal*, xxiii, 229; and that in the *Museo Lapidario* of the Vatican is a rude and early tablet, exhibiting the miracle of the five barley loaves, which in shape and marking resemble in every way our Good Friday buns. Whatever may have been the signification of the cross with the heathens, it was in the eyes of the followers of Jesus the initial of the holy word *Χριστός*.

The foregoing combine to prove clearly and unmistakably that the name, form and device on our Good Friday buns can each and all be traced back to very early times, but how is it that these consecrated bread cakes are now only to be found in England? Continental Europe knows nothing of them; South Britain is their only home. But when came our famous bun into England; whence did it come; who brought it hither? These questions may be asked again and again without eliciting a satisfactory reply. Though no direct proof can be offered in its support, the idea may be reasonably maintained that the presence of the so-called Good Friday bun in England is coeval with the introduction of Christianity into our island during apostolic ages, and that with the early Eastern missionaries and their converts to the true faith it was symbolic and commemorative of the bread broken at the Last Supper by our blessed Lord, and of his martyrdom at Calvary.

For two persons to break a Good Friday bun between them is still accepted not only as a pledge of friendship and amity, but as a surety against disagreement, the act being frequently accompanied with some such words as these,—

"Half for you, and half for me,
Between us two goodwill shall be."

That the Good Friday bun was regarded as no ordinary food, but as something endowed with peculiar sanctity and virtue, is manifest from the fact that for ages it has been the practice among the superstitious to keep one through the year for good luck, and also as a charm against fire,¹

¹ It is stated in Hone's *Every Day Book* (i, 404), when noticing the superstitions connected with cross-buns, that "sometimes there hangs from the

and as a sure and speedy remedy in various diseases. It is only a few years since that I saw a woman drink down a little grated cross-bun for the cure of her sore throat ; and at the present time there are some twenty stale Good Friday buns strung on a cord, and suspended as a festoon above the door of an apartment in a dwelling at Brixton Hill, under the hope and belief that they will scare away evil spirits from the house.

This consecrated cake was believed to resist corruption much longer than any other species of flour-food,—a property to which allusion is made in *Poor Robin's Almanack* for 1733, *sub* March :

“ Good Friday comes this month. The old woman runs
With one or two a penny hot cross-buns ;
Whose virtue is, if you believe what's said,
They 'll not grow mouldy like the common bread.”

The Good Friday bun seems to have long acted as an incentive to rhyme, if not to poetry. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1793, p. 264, is printed the following metrical advertisement of Edis Walton, a pastrycook of Leicester, who evidently eschewed the old proverb, that “ self-praise is no recommendation”:

“ Good Friday approaches, and hard have I strove
My highest respect for the public to prove ;
And to make my commodity worth approbation,
Collected the sweets of each spice-giving nation.
What though some base *gingerbread-weavers* for fun
In their ribaldry call me PLUM-CAKE and a BUN,
In the pastrycook business no rival I fear ;
Taste and try, you'll soon know whether WALTON be there.
With small beer mix'd in batter let others supply
The gentry and tradesmen ; such practice scorn I.
I've nought but what's genuine. Look to their size ;
They will melt in your mouth, and swell proud to your eyes ;
And whilst I exist you shall ne'er lay a fault on
Your cross-bun distributor, famed EDIS WALTON.”

The first two lines of the verse just cited from *Poor Robin's Almanack* bring to recollection an old song of which I can recover nothing but the subjoined fragment :

ceiling a hard, biscuit-like cake of open cross-work, baked on a Good-Friday, to remain there till displaced on the next Good Friday by one of similar make ; and of this the Editor of the *Every Day Book* has heard affirmed that it preserves the house from fire. No fire ever happened in a house that had one.”

“ Good Friday comes, and the old woman runs
 Crying ‘ One a penny, two a penny, hot cross-buns.’
 Though the buns they be hot, the weather it is cold,
 Still the old dame must trot till all her buns be sold.”

A jingling rhyme was frequently adopted by the pedestrian bun-sellers in olden times. Take, for example, the Good Friday cry formerly heard in Coventry :

“ One a penny, two a penny, hot cross-buns,
 If your daughters don’t like them, give them to your sons ;
 If your sons won’t eat them, stuff them in their muns.”

This quaint title of “ mun ” for mouth is preserved in the modern Coventry cry of

“ One a penny, two a penny, hot cross buns ;
 Butter them and sugar them, and put them in your muns.”

London has fewer itinerant vendors of hot cross-buns in our day than it had of yore ; and the grand temple of Fornax (or rather temples, for there were two rival ones) has ceased to exist at Chelsea. “ The Chelsea Bun-House ” (for each claimed to be *the* house) maintained a high reputation for full a century, and by the testimony of old Londoners the buns there produced were perfection in their way, ample in size, excellent in flavour, tempting in aspect.¹

Good Friday buns have degenerated with the times, and the thousands and tens of thousands who consume them on the anniversary of the sacrifice of our Blessed Redeemer little think of their pagan origin, their adoption by the Christian Church, and how they should remind us of that awful, stupendous, and mysterious event which reconciled us to an offended God, ransomed us from the bondage of sin, and opened the gates of Paradise to all believers.

In *The Mirror*² is a quasi-religious poem entitled “ Hot Cross-Buns ”, but there is little in it beyond its refrain relating to our subject ; far otherwise it is with a tid-bit in Eliza Cook’s *Old Cries*, and with which we conclude our story of the Good Friday buns.

“ The clear spring dawn is breaking, and there cometh with the ray
 The stripling boy with shining face, and dame in hodden grey :
 Rude melody is breathed by all, young, old, the strong and weak ;
 From manhood, with its burley tone, and age with treble squeak.

¹ Views of “ the real, old, original ” Chelsea Bunhouse are given in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, May 1839, p. 466, and in *The Mirror*, xxxiii, 210.

² vii, 178.

Forth come the little busy Jacks, and forth come little Gills,
As thick and quick as working ants about their summer hills;
With baskets of all shapes and makes, of every size and sort;
Away they trudge, with eager step, through alley, street, and court.
A spicy freight they bear along, and earnest is their care
To guard it like a tender thing from morning's nipping air;
And though our rest be broken by their voices shrill and clear,
There's something in the well known cry we dearly love to hear.
'Tis old familiar music, when 'the old woman runs'
With 'one a penny, two a penny hot cross-buns!'
Full many a cake of dainty make has gained a good renown;
We all have lauded *gingerbread*, and *parliament* done brown,
But when did luscious *banburies* or dainty *sally luns*
E'er yield such merry chorus theme as 'one a penny buns!'
The pomp of palate that may be like old Vitellius fed,
Can never feast as mine did on the sweet and fragrant bread;
When quick impatience could not wait to share the early meal,
But eyed the pile of hot cross-buns, and dared to snatch and steal.
Oh! the soul must be uncouth as a Vandal's, Goth's, or Hun's,
That loveth not the melody of 'one a penny buns!'"

THE TENTH ITER OF ANTONINE.

BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, F.R.A.S.

(Read December 4, 1878.)

No two antiquaries appear yet to have agreed upon the course laid down in the tenth *iter* of Antonine, although very many have endeavoured to solve the enigma presented by that route. My attention has been for some time strongly directed to the subject, and I venture to lay before the Association the result of my researches.

The main cause of the difficulty that has hitherto been experienced, in endeavouring to assign a reasonable course for this *iter*, appears to me to have arisen from the fact that in every case a wrong starting point has been taken. Horsley selected Lanchester, Camden and Burton, Wentsbeck, Bishop Gibson, Caervoran, and later writers have chosen other places; but, in my opinion, and I think I can give good grounds for the opinion I hold, Tynemouth, or South Shields, should have been the station.

The recent excavations at South Shields have proved what a very important military post the promontory of the Lawe, at the mouth of the Tyne, was; and the history of the centuries immediately succeeding the departure of the Romans shows that Tynemouth, on the opposite bank of the Tyne, was a place of remarkable note in Saxon times. I have on a former occasion given reasons for believing South Shields to be the Tunnocelum and Tynemouth the Glan-nibanta of the *Notitia*. Glanoventa, or Glanovanta, from which the tenth *iter* takes its departure, is identically the same, in point of language, with Glannibanta. Each in Keltic means "The brink of the height", and, if the final "a" be dropped, each is good Welsh at the present day for the site of Tynemouth Castle.

Had Horsley known as much as we do now of the importance, long occupation, and wealth of the inhabitants of the Roman station at the Lawe, he would certainly have selected his starting point from thence, for he says at page 449 of his admirable work, "I once imagined this station (South

Shields) might have been the old Glanoventa, which no doubt was the most easterly on this route (the tenth *iter*) at that time, mentioned in the *Itinerary* and in the *Notitia*, and that this *iter* had begun here, and proceeded according to the military way, leading hence towards Lanchester. But the distances in the *Itinerary* are not to be reconciled to the distances between the respective stations on this way if we begin at South Shields. Besides that, the slender remains of the station and military way near to it incline me to think that it has not been maintained so late as till the writing of the *Notitia*. That it was in being in the time of Marcus Aurelius appears from the altar and inscription found here, if Dr. Lister's reading be just ; but I am apt to think it was abandoned not very long after, perhaps at the building of Severus's wall, and the station erected at Cousin's house, or a little after." That Horsley was entirely wrong in this latter supposition the recent excavations have abundantly proved, and that he was wrong also in thinking that, if the *iter* began at South Shields, it must necessarily pass through Lanchester, considerations I am about to bring forward will also, I think, plainly demonstrate.

It is a circumstance supplying a very strong argument in favour of Tynemouth, or South Shields, being the starting point of this *iter*, that the accounts which have come down to us of the great roads *left* by the Romans in this country make the mouth of the Tyne the terminus of the one which ran across the island in a south-westerly direction. In Leland, vol. iii, p. 370, we read: "Rekenild Streate, going from the south to the north vulturnal country, both begins from the aforesaid Menevia, and goes through Wigornia, by Wicombe, by Birmingham, Lichefield, Darbe, Chestrefeld, York, to the mouth of the river Tyne". This is on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis. The following in vol. iii, p. 395, is from the *Book of the Histories of Eulogius*. "The fourth way is called Lelm Streate, going from the south to the north. For it begins at Menevia and proceeds by Herford, Wigorn, Wicum, Bermingham, Lichefield, Derby, Chestrefeld, by York to the mouth of the river Tyne."

Now these cannot well be mistaken statements, and they are strikingly confirmed by the famous relics of the "street", visible for long distances, even in our own time, passing from South Shields, a little south of Jarrow (to which,

doubtless, there was once a branch, if the main road did not itself go by Jarrow to Tynemouth), by Wardley, up Leam Lane to Wreckenton.

The county of Durham abounds in traces of ancient roads, and I will not now discuss what may have been the precise course of the Wrekendyke, Rykenild Street, or Lelm Street, for it bore all these names after it reached the heights of Wrekenton and Eighton; but I have very little doubt it crossed the Tees into Yorkshire at Pounteys Bridge. This bridge has long ceased to exist, but there can scarcely be a question that it was Roman, and that the road across it was the great avenue into the eastern half of the county of Durham, as the road across Pierce Bridge was into the western half; Pounteys Bridge, and the ford which succeeded to it after its destruction or decay, continued on the high road for many centuries. It was not till a comparatively recent age that the ancient road gave place to the modern one through Croft and Darlington. The ancient road coming northward passed through Sadberge, the old capital of South Durham, the remarkable importance of which in far off days is an indication of the importance of the road on which it stood. It passed through Stainton, the extensive ruins and entrenchments of which attest the same fact. At Stainton, about a year ago (September 1877), my friend the venerable Rector found a silver denarius of Vespasian, not greatly worn, presumptive evidence of the early occupation of the station by the Romans. From Stainton, though it may not be easy to lay down the exact lines, I believe the road passed to Durham (Old Durham is generally believed to have been the station) and then parted, the western branch going to Newcastle by Chester le Street; of the size and importance of which city of the Romans, no one, I believe, entertains a shadow of doubt.

The tenth *iter* of Antonine, as given by Horsley, reads as follows:—A Glanoventa Mediolanum, m.p. 150; Galava, m.p. 18; Alone, m.p. 12; Galacum, m.p. 19; Brementonacis, m.p. 27; Coccio, m.p. 20; Mancunio, m.p. 17; Condate, m.p. 18; Mediolano, m.p. 18. Thus Galava is the first station mentioned after Glanoventa, and the distance given is eighteen miles. I cannot myself make out the Roman miles to have been much different from our own.

They would be shorter if anything, but they appear to have varied somewhat in different parts of the kingdom, according, possibly, as they had been measured by different persons, or at different times, but to have been on the whole not much less in length than ours of the present day. Durham or Old Durham would suit well as regards distance from Tynemouth or South Shields, and the signification of the name Galava would suit equally well. Gal afan, pronounced Gal avan, is in Keltic "A high plain", and is applicable to a comparatively level piece of ground at a considerable elevation. No description could be truer of the existing cathedral-crowned eminence, or of the neighbouring entrenched mount, where the site of a Roman fortified post is by general consent placed.

The next station in the *iter* is Alon, for I need hardly say that most of the names, as written in the document which has come down to us, are in the ablative case, the nominatives being in all probability Alon, Galacum, Bremetonacæ, Coccium, Condas, and Mancunium. The station Alon affords a most remarkable and most interesting instance of coincidence between ancient and modern nomenclature. It is placed at twelve miles distance from Galava, and would therefore be at Stainton, or not far from it if Galava be Durham. Stainton is in Hartness, so named, as is Durham itself and Deore Street, the other great Roman road through the county, and Deira, the Saxon name of the whole region, and abundance of modern places, Hartburn, for example, and Hart, Hartlepool, Dearness Valley, and Harton, from the multitudes of deer which once thronged the forests and hills of the districts. Stainton is in Hartness, and Alon, "Eilon", in Keltic, signifies "Hart". There is a modern Hart, but still ancient—a parish extensive now, but once very much more so, not far from Stainton, since only one parish, I think, Sedgefield, is interposed between them.

From Pounteys Bridge the road goes straight to North Allerton, "North ald wark town", as some derive its appellation. "Romanby" is close to the North Allerton of to-day, and it is not doubted, I believe, that there was here a Roman station. Romanby is on the Wiske. Galacum is the next station to Alon, distant nineteen Roman miles. Romanby is eighteen English miles in a direct line from Stainton; a trifle more, probably, if the inequalities of the

ground were taken into account. Galacum signifies "clear water", Gal ach. The Wiske is a clear and rapid stream, and retains to this day its Keltic name Wysg, "onward".

From North Allerton I believe the *iter* went in the direction of Ripon. Another road, doubtless, went to York; and the road from Menevia or St. David's to the mouth of the Tyne is described as coming by Derby, Chesterfield, and the city of Severus. But it does not follow that the *iter* of Antonine took that direction. The routes laid down in the document which bears his name appear evidently to be the military routes (not necessarily great trunk roads) of the marching cohorts. Our War Office, I presume, could present us with just such another document now. When our regiments change their quarters, I doubt not they travel by defined lines of road. Certain roads, or portions of roads, are, I expect, always, or nearly always, used, while other great roads, or portions of great roads, are seldom or never visited.

Among other reasons which lead me to conclude that the Wrekendyke went in a direction not far from Ripon to Mancunium and Mediolanum, is the fact that there must have been a great road to that city from Jarrow, Chester-in-the-street, and Durham in very early times. The monks of Lindisfarne, in the year 882, driven from their island by the Danes, after many wanderings settled at Chester-in-the-street. In 995, still fleeing southward, they went to Ripon. They carried with them their treasures, and St. Cuthbert in his ponderous stone coffin. They must have gone by a good paved road, and we have no reason to think there were any such in the kingdom but those that had been made and left by the Romans. A few months afterwards they returned again from Ripon, but, instead of going back to Chester-in-the-street or Lindisfarne, selected a new spot, Durham, some distance, but, as I think, no great distance off the road.¹ In 1069 they went from Durham to Lindis-

¹ I am more disposed to think the neighbourhood of Old Durham, Wrđelau, or Wardenlaw, than the hill near Sunderland. I do not know whether the ancient name or names of Old Durham have been ascertained by any penetrating antiquary, but "Old Durham" is evidently not an ancient appellation; and, inasmuch as it is certain the site of Old Durham was once fortified, the name of Wrđelau or Wardenlaw would be a most appropriate one, as well as, I may say, a natural one; for Wardenlaw is not such a name as is only likely to have been given to one place once. On the contrary, it is a name likely to have been very frequently used, and for many different places.

farne, stopping the first night at Jarrow, which must therefore have been on the direct road, or not far off the direct road, the second night at Bedlington, the third at Tughil, and the fourth at their journey's end.

In strong confirmation of the opinion here expressed is the discovery in 1874 of an important and wealthy Roman station on the site known for ages past as Castle Dykes, about three miles north of Ripon, and which has been so ably described in a paper read before this Association by the Rev. W. C. Lukis in the year 1876. When I first wrote the preceding part of this paper I was not aware of this deeply interesting fact, but learned it on a visit to Ripon a short while since, when, asking the verger of the Cathedral if any Roman remains had ever been found in or near Ripon, he directly took me to the chapter library, and to the crypt below, and showed me a large collection of very significant and deeply interesting relics from the ancient town.

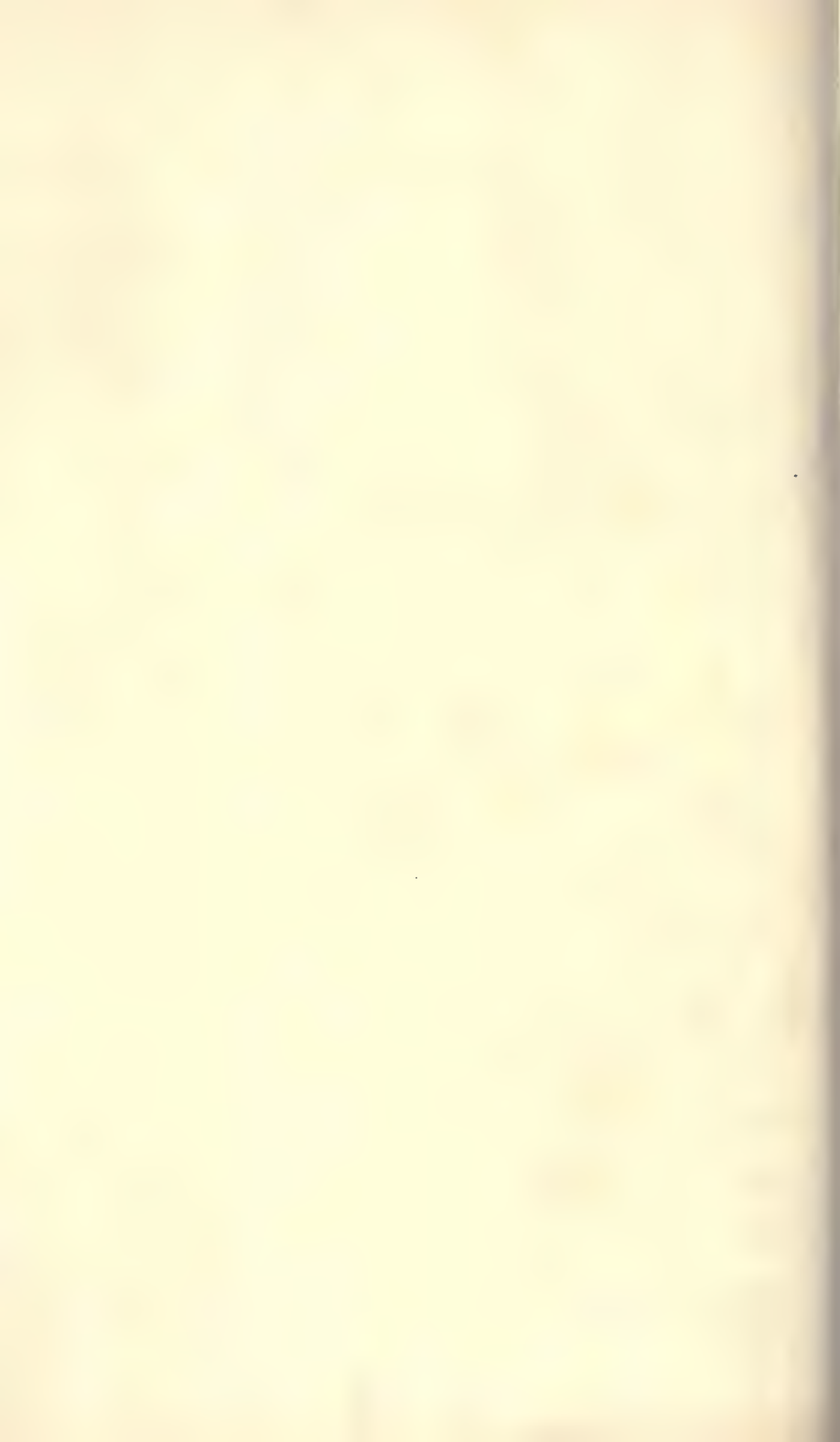
From the neighbourhood of Ripon I have not traversed the country towards Manchester, but I have a strong conviction that the road passed thence to Ripley, or Harrogate, and so to Bradford and Halifax. The names of many localities on the route indicate it. We have Staineley, Brackenthwaite (Horsley says the Wrekendyke in North Durham was also called Brackendyke, and the connection between the two words Wreken and Bracken appears to be very close), Stainburn, Castley, and Stanningley. The most probable explanation of Harrogate itself is "Here Gate", "army way", "military road", and Stainburn or Castley is at the right distance from Romanby for Bremetonacæ. I know that an accomplished antiquary, the late Mr. Hodgson Hinde, placed Bremetonacæ at Ribchester, in Lancashire, but many others have placed it in many other localities, and I cannot say that I ever thought his arguments on the subject perfectly conclusive. Besides, it is probable there were other places of the same, or nearly the same name. The Bremetenracum of the *Notitia*, for example, I cannot think the same with the Bremetonacæ of the tenth *iter*, and Isca and Calleva we know were common names. Condas, also, a name which occurs in this *iter*, had numerous namesakes. If my explanation of the meaning of the name "Bremadynau", "fox hill", be correct, it is one also which would

MAP
of the Course of the
Tenth Iter of Anto-
nine.

Scale of 30 English Miles.

NOTE
Sites ascertained
or believed to be Ro-
man are printed in
capitals.





doubtless be applicable to localities in more regions than one. I believe therefore the Bremetonacæ of this *iter* should be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of Stainburn or Castley (not far from Otley).¹

When we reach Halifax we are in near proximity to undoubted Roman sites. Many Roman antiquities have been dug up at Gretland and Elland. In their neighbourhood, or perhaps at Staneland, somewhat nearer Manchester, we should look for Coccium. Manchester, by common consent, claims to be Mancunium.²

Condas and Mediolanum are farther south. Their exact localities have been the subjects of many speculations. If I may do so, I would express a wish that in any discussion of the course of the tenth *iter*, to which the expression of the opinions advanced in this paper may give rise, the discussion of the positions of these two stations may be kept separate, as far as practicable, from the discussion of those of the stations on the other side of Mancunium. The arguments brought forward respecting the preceding stations may meet acceptance, while the views I may enunciate respecting the last two may conflict with those held by many, for whose opinions I have great respect. Yet I would wish also to give the views I have formed, after much study, of the *iter* as a whole. I think therefore that Condas must be placed at Northwich, and Mediolanum near Malpas,³ in Cheshire. The distances in this case agree. The significations of the names, I think, agree also with the natural features of the localities.

¹ Since writing the above I have met with a lucid account of the traces of a Roman road through this identical district, viz., from Ripley to Castley, and of the entrenchments connected with it, in Grainge's *History of Harrogate and the Forest of Knaresborough*, published in 1871.

² Soon after the above was written my attention was drawn by the Rev. Canon Hulbert, of Almonbury, to a paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii, by the late Rev. Joseph Hunter, in which Mr. Hunter quotes most remarkable and most interesting evidence from the Dodsworth MSS. in the Bodleian Library, respecting the finding at Gretland of the Roman altar mentioned by Camden, and many other marks of Roman occupation, with precise information respecting the exact spot where they were discovered. Mr. Hunter uses the evidence in an endeavour to prove that Gretland was Cambodunum. The evidence is, however, strikingly confirmatory of the views I have advanced in this paper, and indicates in reality, not the position of Cambodunum, but of Coccium. Cambodunum was doubtless, as it is now, generally believed to have been at Outlane (otherwise called "Slack"), a spot three miles west of Huddersfield, and about the same distance from Gretland, where an extensive Roman station was partially explored a few years since.

³ Somewhat to the east of Malpas, probably near the present Marbury.

A reason why the *iter* should end at Mediolanum is that it there effects a junction with the great road from London to Chester and North Wales, with the road also from those localities to Caerleon and South Wales, and with the road which must, both in Roman and pre-Roman times, have passed through the vale of Llangollen to Central Wales and its coast. With the exception of the last, which is not mentioned in the *Itinerary*, the others are given in the second and twelfth *itineraria*.

A portion of the second *iter* has been, perhaps, as great a puzzle as any part of the tenth *iter*. I refer to that part in which Mediolanum occurs. The tenth *iter* says Mediolanum is eighteen miles from Condas. The second *iter* gives Condas and Mediolanum too, but interposes Deva and Bovium (or Bonium) between them. Thus it makes the distance fifty miles, divided thus:—Condas to Deva, 20 miles; Deva to Bovium, 10 miles; Bovium to Mediolanum, 20 miles. It is plain, therefore, that this portion of the second *iter* is circuitous, and that while there was a direct road from Condas to Mediolanum, of eighteen miles in length, there was also a circuitous route, by Chester and Bovium, of fifty miles in length. Bovium has been looked for on the east of the line from Chester to Malpas, and Mediolanum has been placed at Newcastle-under-Lyne. This would make the road from London to Chester and Manchester zigzag in a most extraordinary manner. I think it most probable, however, that Bovium was at Caergwrle in Flintshire. A notable Roman station existed there. It is at the right distance from Deva on the one hand, and from Mediolanum (if Mediolanum be somewhat to the east of Malpas) on the other. Mediolanum, too, is in that case at the right distance from Uriconium. The station at Caergwrle was a subsidiary station, too, to Chester. Tiles of the twentieth legion (the legion which garrisoned Chester) have been found there; and hence we see why this station, if it be Bovium, should be included in the *iter*, why the *iter* should go somewhat beyond Chester to include it,—because of its close connection with Chester. Troops marching from the south to Segontium, moreover, would probably not go to Deva itself, but would pass through Bovium, and join the road from Deva to Segontium (the eleventh *iter*), in its immediate neighbourhood.

In connection with the identification of Mediolanum,¹ the finding of the military diploma not far from Malpas, in the year 1812, must not be forgotten. These important public documents cannot have been kept at insignificant places. The very fact of its being preserved in that locality, which we must conclude to have been the case, unless we think it may have been transported from its original home to a more or less distant spot in after ages, and there lost, indicates that not far from the spot where it was found, there existed in Roman times an important centre.

¹ Mr. T. Rought Jones, of Drayton, has announced in the *Athenæum* of February 24th, 1880, his belief that he has discovered the true site of Mediolanum at Bearstone, about ten miles east by south of Marbury. Bovium he places at Tiverton, near Beeston; Rutunium at Bury Walls, near Hodnet; and Condas at Middlewich.

ON A HOARD OF BRONZE ANTIQUITIES FROM REACH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

BY H. PRIGG, ESQ.

(Read August 15, 1879.)

ALTHOUGH some years have elapsed since the little hoard of bronze objects, the subject of this paper, was brought to light, it has remained until now undescribed, and almost unnoticed. I venture to think, however, from the variety and rarity of some of the forms comprised in it, that it will not have lost interest in keeping, but be considered worthy of record in the pages of this *Journal*. It was discovered in the spring of 1867 by some labourers digging for coprolites in ground forming portion of Burwell Fen, about one mile to the north by east of the hamlet of Reach, and came into my possession through the foreman of the gang. He described the objects as found lying nearly all together in the peat overlying the coprolite bed, at a depth of about three feet from the surface. They may, indeed, have been originally deposited in a box or bundle; but a general scramble for the things taking place as soon as their nature was ascertained, little care was taken on this point; and it is a matter for congratulation that so many objects of this very interesting hoard were subsequently re-collected and preserved.

The series numbered some sixty pieces, and included the following articles, which are described below, and the more remarkable of which will be found represented on the accompanying Plate, viz., socketed celts, a chisel, a hammer-head, gouges, spear-heads, knives both socketed and tanged, a javelin-head, scabbard-points, fragments of ornaments and swords, buttons, rings, awls, and two trumpet-shaped objects. The majority of the articles are well preserved, and are cast in a bronze of slightly varying quality and composition, now coated with a hard, dull, olive-green patina.

Celts.—Thirteen examples, nine perfect, and four broken. With one exception, they are of the larger socketed variety, of somewhat rough workmanship, having both round and

Nos. 1 to 11. $\frac{1}{3}$ Size.
Nos. 12 to 18 $\frac{2}{3}$..



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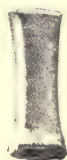
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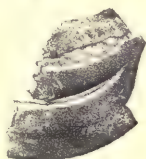
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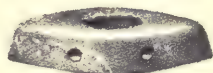
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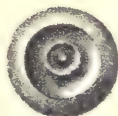
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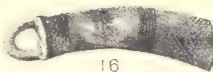
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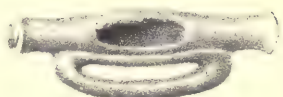
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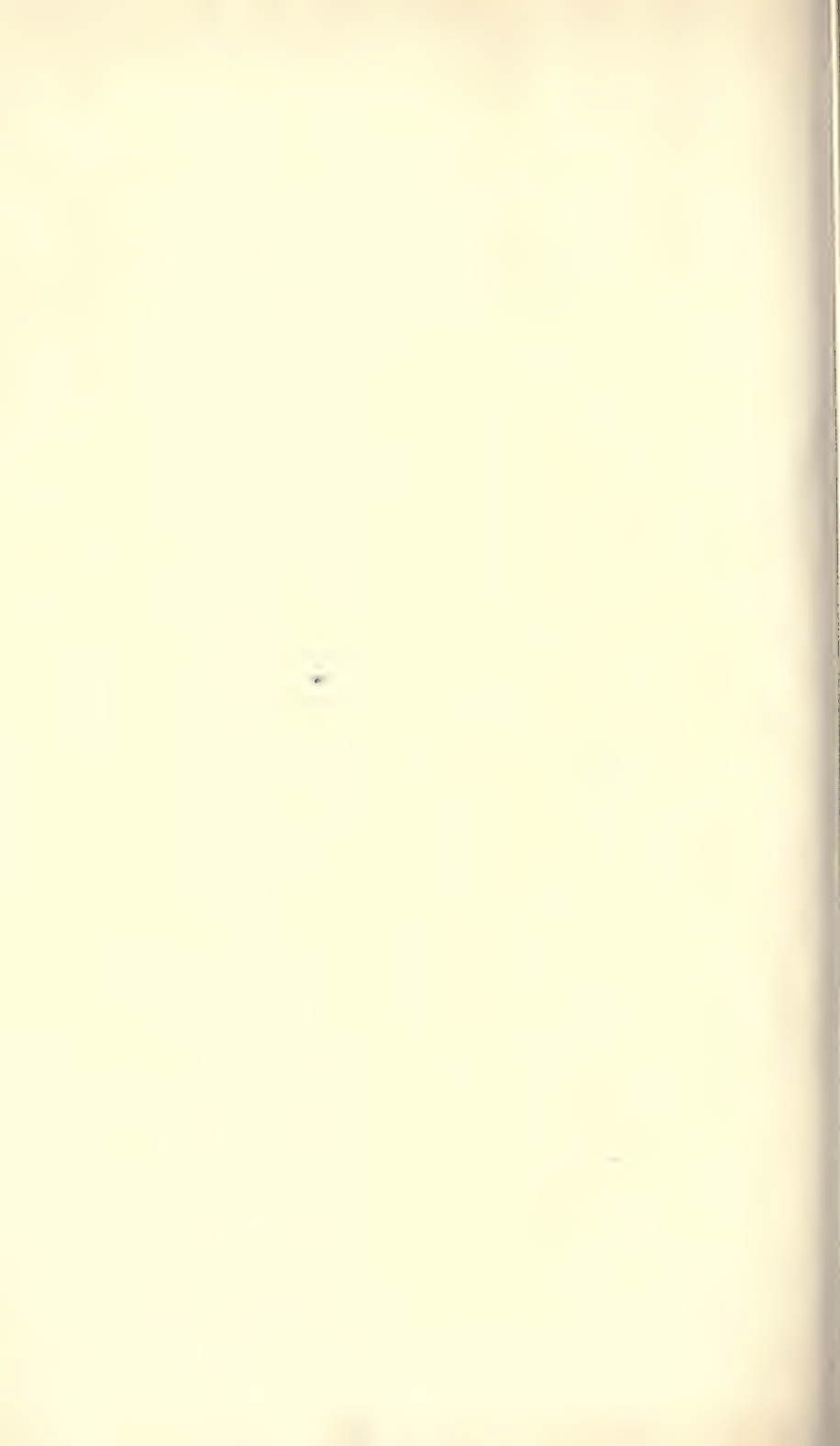
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19

F. Waller in the 18th Century.

REACH FEN



square socket-holes and a side-loop. Two of the series are ornamented with three longitudinal ribs, and a third (fig. 1) with similar ribs terminating in slight knobs. The diminutive specimen (fig. 3) is of better finish, and has no side-loop. The majority of the larger implements have been subjected to very rough usage, and have their edges blunted and broken away.

Of the chisel proper there is one specimen of small size (fig. 4), three inches and one-eighth long by one inch and one-sixteenth, having a triangular blade, with collar and a tang for insertion into the handle. It resembles in every respect that figured at No. 395 of the Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, except that the tang is shorter in the Reach example. This form of bronze tool is apparently of very rare occurrence in England, and not common even in Ireland; the magnificent collection of bronze implements in the Museum referred to containing only thirteen specimens at the time of the compilation of the Catalogue.

Hammer-head.—Of this rare, socketed tool, the Reach hoard furnished a single example, two inches and three-eighths long by five-eighths of an inch in breadth (fig. 5). It has a square aperture at base, and a slightly convex, oblong face, and has been but little used. The editors of *Horæ Ferales* (p. 146) mention but three places in England that have yielded specimens; and one now in the National Collection (found with other tools of the same metal at Thorndon in Suffolk), is figured in Plate 5, fig. 33, of that work. In the Loan Collection formed in the early part of 1873 by the Society of Antiquaries, three specimens only were included, all exhibited by Dr. John Evans of Hemel Hempstead. One was the Reach example, and the other two were comprised in a hoard found in the Isle of Harty, Kent. The Nash Mills' Collection has, I believe, been since enriched by another specimen from the neighbourhood of Cambridge; and doubtless Dr. Evans, in his promised work on British bronze antiquities, will be able to cite other examples.

Gouges.—Three specimens, of the usual form (fig. 6), plain, but well finished. They shew no signs of having been used.

Spear-heads.—Of these there are three, and fragments of five others. The perfect examples measure respectively

five inches and five-eighths, six inches and a half, and six inches and five-eighths, in length. They are of the same leaf-shaped type, of fine form and good workmanship, sharp, and apparently unused. Each has one pair of rivet-holes; and one example (fig. 8) has its socket ornamented with five bands of incised lines and punchings. The fragments represent weapons of the same form, but of smaller size.

Knives.—Of the four perfect specimens, one (fig. 9), eight inches and a quarter long, is of the short, socketed variety, with leaf-shaped blade, two pairs of rivet-holes, and in all respects resembling that from the Thorndon find, engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, Plate x, fig. 30. The remaining three are also leaf-shaped, but have straighter sides and sharp points, and are furnished with handle-plates or tangs instead of sockets. In the larger specimen (fig. 10), which is eight inches and a half long, the two rivets still remain. Besides these there are portions of the socketed handles of three other knives.

The smaller lozenge-shaped tool with the single rivet-hole (fig. 7) is apparently made from portion of a larger implement, and may have served either as a knife or narrow chisel. Its point has been roughly used, as if for drawing rivets.

Javelin-head.—The thin, bronze, tanged blade, fig. 11, I am disposed to regard as the head of a colp or picell,—a light dart or javelin. It is of unwrought yellow metal, and has a slight mid-rib, and rough but sharp point and edges. The form is altogether exceptional in this country. Dr. Evans has classified it with the leaf-shaped knives, but its general form and slight character ally it with the spear-heads. Similar objects have occasionally been found in Germany I believe, and are considered to be the heads of arrows or javelins.

Scabbard-points.—Two examples, one somewhat crescentic in form, with a rivet-hole on each side, just below its concave edge, and nearly resembling the specimen from Clonmore, figured as 336, p. 461, of Wilde's *Catalogue*. In its place, at the time of discovery, was retained the well-made pin or rivet of bronze represented in the Plate as fig. 13. The second was boat-shaped, shallow, and ill-made, and has two pairs of rivet-holes (fig. 14). It formed the termination of a scabbard apparently too short for the weapon,

and has been pierced by its point, or it may have been used as a pommel.

Buttons.—Six of these somewhat uncommon objects were found in this hoard. They are well made, and were apparently from the same mould, and retain their shanks perfect. The faces are ornamented with concentric circles in relief, as shewn at fig. 15.

Awls or punches.—This class of tool is represented by two examples, one for making indentations similar to those with which the spear-head is ornamented, and a smaller for making round holes.

Rings.—Two in number, about an inch and a half in diameter.

Ornaments.—Two fragments only occur in the hoard, viz., a looped termination of an armlet (fig. 16), and portion of an open-work plate (fig. 12), upon which, in relief, is part of a curved design agreeing closely with those so characteristic of the ornaments of the late Celtic period.

Miscellaneous.—Under this head I include some small pieces of a leaf-shaped sword with broad mid-rib, and some odds and ends of metal, residues of castings.

There remain but two other objects demanding description, to which it is difficult to assign a use. They are in form and design nearly alike, though one is a little smaller than the other (figs. 17 and 18), and consist of a hollow cylinder of increasing diameter towards the centre, which is pierced with an oval opening one third the length of the object. These openings occupy different positions in the two examples. On the lower side of the cylinder is a loop, likewise hollow. A plug of metal remains in one end of the smaller specimen; and I am led to believe the open ends were in like manner closed in both.

When they first came into my possession I wrote, describing them, to the Curator of the Royal Irish Academy, who obligingly informed me that "there was nothing in that Museum, nor in any of the public or private collections in Ireland, that he had seen, that resembled them. Short pieces of pipe were represented; but they bore little or no similitude to the objects in question, for they have no lateral loop, nor are they plugged as described." At p. 10 of the third volume of the *Journal* of this Association, however, are engraved two similar objects, which were found

on Longy Common, Alderney, on breaking up some ground for agricultural purposes, near a *menhir* known as "Le Pierre du Villain". They were associated with sundry worn out and broken implements of bronze, including a falx, several spear-heads, and socketed celts; and near them were also found masses of ashes, scoria, and crude lumps of bronze metal, as well as an ingot of copper,—unquestionable indication of the former existence upon the spot of a manufactory of bronze weapons and implements.

More recently I had the pleasure of seeing two other examples in the collection of Dr. Evans of Hemel Hempstead, one of which came from Melbourn, near Cambridge.¹ That gentleman also informed me that another specimen had been found at Roseberry Topping, in Cleveland, and was engraved in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv, p. 54.² He inclines to the belief that they were the ends of belts³ or belt-ornaments; but admits that it is a problem to what use these objects were really applied.

As to the period at which the Reach hoard was deposited where found, I would assign it to near the close of the bronze age of our country; and having in view the variety of the articles composing it, and the absence of moulds or of any signs of ashes and scoria in the immediate vicinity, I venture to think that the site was not that of a manufactory, but that the articles may have formed the stock of an itinerant who traded in such ware, and who made his way from settlement to settlement, bartering away the new and perfect tools for local productions; and who, it may be, collected the old and broken ones for recasting.

The association of the new and sharp spear-heads, gouges, etc., with the used up and broken tools, favours, I think, such an idea rather than the theory broached by the late Mr. John M. Kemble, that such collections were got together in Anglo-Saxon times by that people, for the purpose of being melted down in order to separate the tin from the bronze to be used for the plating of their fibulæ and other ornaments, the tin producing districts being then in the hands of hostile Britons.⁴

Whether the Reach hoard was originally deposited upon

¹ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xi, p. 295.

² Also in *Archæologia Eliana*, vol. ii, Plate 4, p. 213.

³ *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, vol. v, p. 407.

⁴ *Horæ Ferales*, p. 142.

the surface, or buried beneath it, we have no means of determining, neither is there good evidence of the state of the ground in the vicinity at the period when it was hidden away and lost.

Hoard of Celtic bronze antiquities have from time to time been found in the eastern district of the territory of the Iceni; and it may not be out of place if I here record those that have come under my notice. A very interesting small hoard was found at Thorndon in Suffolk,¹ the constitution of which greatly resembled that of Reach, and the forms and ornamentation of some of the objects are identical. It consisted of socketed celts, a spear-head, a socketed knife, a hammer-head, a gouge, and an awl. At Exning,² in the same county, but within four miles of the Reach site, a collection of socketed celts, spear-heads, and a gouge, was discovered, accompanied by some curious *bullæ* of thin bronze filled with clay, and a pin with a chain attached. Similar *bullæ*, found at Woolpit, are deposited in the Museum at Bury St. Edmund's.

At Poslingford,³ near Clare, in 1844, on the Hall Farm, were found nineteen flanged celts of early form, a few of which were carefully tooled; and at Westhall⁴ the very curious series of horse-trappings, including the beautifully enameled plates now in the British Museum. In the county of Norfolk, at Carlton Rode,⁵ a remarkable collection of socketed and other tools was discovered in 1845. The Norwich Museum possesses, of this find, five gouges of different forms, one of which has a tang for insertion into its handle, and a very narrow blade; two socketed chisels; a tanged chisel; a socketed punch; a socketed hammer-head with quadrangular socket, and an oblong face much battered; three socketed celts; two paalstave celts; and some fragments of celts and crude metal. In an early volume of *Archæologia*,⁶ two discoveries of socketed celts, etc., are recorded as having been made, prior to 1759, at Helesdon Hall, near Norwich, and in a gravel-pit in the grounds of Hackford Hall, near Reepham. At Unthinks Road,⁷ Norwich, a bronze celt mould and many celts were found; at

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. x, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi, p. 96; *Proc. Suffolk Institut. of Arch.*, vol. i, p. 26.

⁴ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xvi, Plate 22, p. 269.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 51 and 59, and *Archæologia*, xxxi, p. 494.

⁶ *Archæologia*, v, p. 116.

⁷ *Archæological Tour*, vol. iv, p. 327.

Stibbard, near Fakenham, seventy celts and nine spear-heads ; at Horstead,¹ in 1823, thirty looped celts. In the Norwich Museum is a diminutive, socketed javelin-head of very unusual form, which is stated to have been found, with eighteen others, at Oxburgh. . At Eaton,² near Norwich, in 1827, was found a metal celt mould, eleven celts, and fragments of weapons. At Saham Toney eight bronze enameled ring-plates of similar character to those from Westhall, and two leaf-shaped swords. The former are in the Norwich Museum.

The discovery of these hoards, together with numerous isolated examples of celts and other bronze tools, of which vast numbers must have been found and committed to the melting-pot since the time they were in use, testify that though remote from the mineral producing districts, the Celtæ of this portion of Britain were well supplied with metal tools. There is reason to believe also that some of the forms described are of local manufacture, and peculiar to the district. More careful observation about the sites of the discovery of similar hoards in the future may yield satisfactory evidence upon the point.

¹ *Archæologia*, xxii, p. 422.

² *Ibid.*, xxxi, p. 424.

J A D E.

BY W. H. COPE, ESQ.

(Read January 21, 1880.)

I HAVE been led to put together the following remarks on jade, and its employment, by the discussion which has lately taken place in the columns of *The Times* on "Jade Tools in Switzerland", thinking they may interest this Association in following up the subject, on prehistoric jade tools and jade in general. The discussion originated in a paragraph in *The Times*, dated Geneva, Dec. 15,—

"In the course of some excavations now going on in the bed of the Rhone, near Geneva, many interesting objects, assigned by archæologists to the age of polished stone, have been brought to light, the most curious of which is a scraper of jade highly finished, and in a condition as perfect as when it left the hands of the workman. The question arises, and is being warmly discussed by the learned in lacustrine lore, how this instrument, made of a mineral which exists in a natural state only in Asia, can have found its way into the Rhone gravel at Geneva. Was jade ever an article of trade between the West and the East in prehistoric times? Or is this scraper a solitary specimen brought by Aryan wanderers from the cradle of their race in the Hindoo Koosh? As yet no satisfactory solution of the problem has been suggested."

Thus writes *The Times'* correspondent; hence the discussion which has ensued, first taken up by Professor Max Müller, who says the find is very important. Scrapers or cutting instruments of real jade are very rare in Switzerland and elsewhere; and beautiful specimens are to be found in the collection of lacustrine antiquities of Dr. Uhlmann of Münchsen-buchsee, all taken out, by his own hands, from one and the same small lake, the Moossee-dorfsee.

The question arises, as true jade is never found in Europe, could the Aryan wanderers have brought that scraper from the cradle of their race in Asia? Professor Max Müller asks why not? If the Aryan settlers could carry with them into Europe so ponderous a tool as their language, without chipping or clipping a single facet, there is nothing so very surprising in their having carried along, and carefully preserved from generation to generation, so handy and so

valuable an instrument as a scraper or knife made of a substance which is *ære perennius*. Of course, in archæology as in other subjects, such an opinion would not pass unchallenged, and accordingly another correspondent, Mr. B. M. Westropp, says that "there is no need of such a wild hypothesis that the jade scraper was brought by the Aryan wanderers from the cradle of their race in Asia; but that all shews that these jade implements were made from indigenous rocks in the country where they are found. Professor Rolleston says we must judge of the difficulties of the past by what we can see of the possibilities of the present, and that thousands of men have had in their pockets implements which have travelled with the single individuals carrying them in their single lifetime, over much greater distances than this wild hypothesis supposes the westward migrating stone age men to have traversed in many generations. Hence there is no *à priori* improbability attaching to the view in question. Now of nephrite and jadeite it is known that, with the single exception constituted by the discovery of an unworked fragment at Schwemmaal in Saxony, which is apocryphal, no unworked specimen of either has been found nearer to Switzerland than, for nephrite, Turkestan and the environs of Lake Baikal, and for jadeite, China.

Of course it will occur to every one, in the course of this argument, that these jade cutting instruments, or jade axes, could not be carried in the pockets of the stone age men; but possibly they might have been carried in leathern girdles or pouches; whether for barter, or merely as cutting knives or scrapers, I will not say.

I now come to the remarkable and exhaustive letter of Mr. N. S. Maskelyne of the British Museum, and he, in reviewing the previous letters of Professor Rolleston and Mr. Westropp regarding the sources of prehistoric jade, believes Professor Rolleston is right in asserting an oriental, possibly a single oriental, source for the prehistoric jade of the Europ-Asiatic continent; and for these reasons jade celts are very rare. They are found, however, few and far between, from Mesopotamia to Brittany; and they evince the passion of every race of mankind for the possession of green stones as objects endowed with an intrinsic preciousness; and he proceeds to say, if jade were a native product of all or of

several of the numerous countries in the buried dust, over which these jade implements are thus sporadically scattered, how comes it to pass that so remarkable a mineral has never been lit upon by the races of men who have lived and died in those countries since the "old men" wandered over them? One does, indeed, see a small jade celt, once worn in a necklace by a Greek girl, still pendent, as a talisman probably, from that specimen of antique gold jewellery in the British Museum; but it is a celt, not an object of Roman workmanship. One single cylinder among the hundreds of Assyrian and Babylonian cylinders in the same great repository, attests the exceptional character of jade as a material among the peoples who inhabited Mesopotamia; where, however, jade celts have been found of still older date. But among the numerous materials of Egyptian ornamental and sacred art, jade is, I believe, unknown. There is no evidence that Greeks or Romans ever employed jade, or had even a name for it. Had it been a product of the rivers or of the quarries of the Roman world, specimens of it would certainly have survived as the material of gems, or in some other form of art.

The writer then proceeds to say: "It may seem a startling proposition to maintain that the jade mines of the Kara-Kash River, in the Kuen-Luen range, north of the mountains of Cashmere, should have been the sources of the jade celts found over the whole of Europe." The difficulty of believing this seemed all the greater for that, while white as well as green jade may be quarried there, it was only the green jade, and not the white, which thus permeated the prehistoric world. Dr. Schliemann has found jade in the oldest of the cities of Hissarlik.

The introduction of jade, or at least its use, as a material for artistic workmanship in India, dates almost from yesterday, since it belongs to the time of the early Mogul emperors of Delhi, who patronised and encouraged the art. Jehangir, "the magnificent son of Akbar", and Shah Jehan seem to have taken pleasure in jade cups, sword-handles, and ornaments; and the art of inlaid work, that found such exquisite expression in the Taj-Mahal, was copied, under their munificent auspices, in the most precious materials; rubies and diamonds and other precious stones being inlaid

in jade of various colours, which was cut in delicate open-work, and adorned with enamels, in the production of which India is still unrivalled. Fine specimens of this splendid, decorative gem-art in jade may be seen in the Indian Museum, purchased at the suggestion of Mr. Maskelyn from that unique collection of Colonel Charles Seaton Guthrie; and also at the South Kensington Museum, where the fine collection of Arthur Wells, Esq., may be seen and studied to advantage. The British Museum possesses specimens of grotesque figures from New Zealand, rudely carved, with eyes inlaid with mother of pearl; New Zealand hatchets, war-clubs, etc. I exhibit two carved images from New Zealand. They are tablets, or title-deeds to land, and are worn by the owner of the land round the neck. They are lent to me by Chisholm Gooden, Esq. At the British Museum also is to be seen a large tortoise carved in green jade, found at the bottom of a well in India; and a monster piece of green jade in its native state.

Jade, or nephrite, or axe-stone, occurs in masses, which have a splintery fracture. In colour, jade varies from a dark green, through all the lighter shades, to a bluish white and grey; the rarest specimens being of a translucent milk white, resembling in appearance the common opal of the East. The prominent qualities of the stone are a degree of hardness equal to that of quartz, together with extreme toughness and cohesion of parts. It occurs in nodules embedded in slate and granular limestone. Its component parts are—silica, 50; magnesia, 30; alumina, 10; oxide of chromium and water, 10. Before the blow-pipe it fuses with difficulty into a white glass. Although mostly found in eastern countries, specimens are to be met with in the Alps and Piedmont, under the name of "jadeite". In very early ages it was used instead of metal for axes and cutting instruments; and in modern times has been used by the natives of New Zealand. The Mexicans and the natives of New Caledonia, and of Polynesia in general, all work jadeite into implements, useful ornaments, and possibly sacred.

The Chinese word for jade is *yü* or *yüh*, which in Cantonese becomes *yuk* or *njuk*. The character is used to designate gems or precious stones generally.

It is a fact that there is in Europe no ancient name for jade. We find in ancient times the name of *jaspis* (jasper),

jaspis virens, etc. *Jaspis* itself is a word of Semitic origin, but nothing to enable us to identify that name with true jade. In Chinese, on the contrary, we find, from the most ancient to the most recent times, the recognised name for jade is *yü*; but for the mineral itself they have no distinct generic name. It is mentioned as an article of tribute to sovereigns in China. In Professor Legge's translation of the *Shü-King* (Sacred Books of the East), the Iräni name for jade is *yashb* and *yashm*. The word *bejadah* is suggestive of jade.

One of the virtues of jade stone is distinctly mentioned to be the diverting of the calamity of lightning, and it is worn as a talisman against lightning.

The Chinese seem to have been acquainted with jade for the last two thousand years. It is mentioned by Chinese writers in 148-186 B.C. The Chinese procure their jade from the western extremity of the empire, Yarkand, a town on the banks of a river of the same name. Numerous workmen are occupied in working it from the quarries, where it is found in abundance; and more especially in the province of Yüthian, the country of Yü jade. An affluent of the Yarkand, which flows from the neighbouring mountains, rolls in its waters pieces of jade of different sizes. The colour and the size vary infinitely. And here I may mention that the Chinese prefer the rolled to the quarried stones, because any imperfections or faults can be more easily detected. Jade is a government monopoly, and the search is under the supervision of an inspector accompanied by a detachment of soldiers. Twenty or thirty divers plunge into the river, and throw the lumps of jade on the banks. A red mark on paper is affixed to each lump; and when the search is finished, the inspector examines the pieces, estimates the value, and the jade is sent off to Pekin. Yarkand, a city of little Bokhara, or Chinese Turkestan, contains about 120,000 inhabitants, and is about 4,000 kilometres from Pekin. This city, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, was the capital of Kasgar, and was annexed to China in 1757.

In carving jade or agate, or other hard stones, the process, as related by Mr. Summer of Cambay, is as follows. The stones are first fixed on a steel spike, and then roughly rounded with an iron hammer, and then polished with a

composition of lac and corundum¹ variously applied. The holes are bored with a steel drill tipped with a small diamond. Cups and saucers and similar hollow articles are wrought, according to the required external shape, on the steel spike, and a rough polish given on the rough polishing stones. The cavity is formed by the diamond-tipped drill, to the depth of one fourth of an inch, all over the space, until it exhibits a honeycombed appearance. The prominent places round the holes are then chipped away; and this process is repeated until the depth and form desired are obtained. They are then polished upon prepared moulds of convex forms, and of the same composition as the polishing plates which are attached to the turning wheel. The materials which are thus worked upon are the jades, agates, crystals, and cornelians, as well as bloodstones found in the neighbourhood of Cambay.

The Chinese have succeeded in carving and engraving jade with the utmost delicacy. The high dignitaries of state have very often fine vases, cups, etc., beautifully carved in jade, crystals, and agates. I should think (and it is a fair inference to assume) that the Chinese work and carve jade, and render themselves masters of the art, after the manner and fashion I have just described, unless we believe in the marvellous recipe, according to the Chinese authors, in one of the books on the subject, *Wei-tsi-yü-pien*, "It is possible to carve jade by first boiling it for two or four hours in a liquor composed of *suc d'oignon*, *suc de l'ail*, and an ounce of *pimprenelle rouge*. In China a traditional value attaches to jade, as among us to the diamond. Bangles are frequently, indeed generally, made of it, and these bear well recognised values in accordance with their colours; also a kind of glass, made in imitation of jade, for bracelets.

The inventory of the crown jewels of France (1791), among other objects of this material, mentions a cup estimated at 72,000 francs. You will understand, therefore, from this slight history of jade, how the Chinese covet and adore it. I take an extract from a letter by Professor Douglas in *The Times* :

¹ Corundum, a mineral, derived from corind, corindon, or caroum, by which name it is known in the East. Corundum is of all stones the hardest after the diamond, although composed almost exclusively of one of the softest and most unctuous of the earths, alumina. Weight is great, four times as heavy as its bulk of water.



1. Chinese (White).
 $\frac{1}{2}$ size.



2. Indian (Green).
 $\frac{1}{2}$ size.



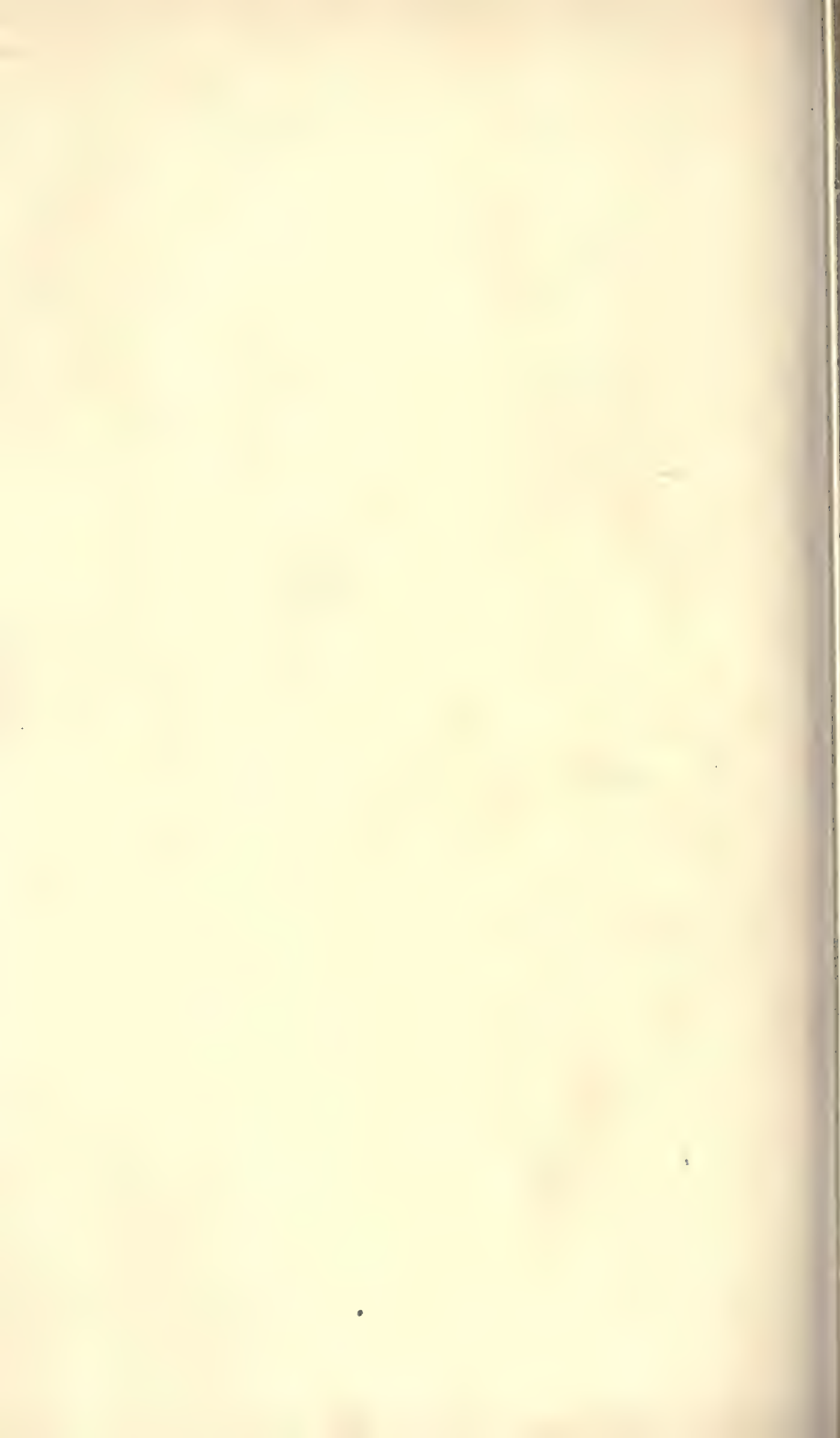
3. New Zealand (Green).
 $\frac{1}{2}$ size.



4. Chinese (White).
 $\frac{1}{2}$ size.

SPECIMENS OF JADE.

1, 2, 4, in possession of W. H. Cope, Esq.; 3, in possession of Chisholm Gooden, Esq.



"According to the celebrated philosopher, Kwan-Chung, who wrote in the seventh century B.C., the contemplation of a piece of jade opens to the eyes of a true Chinaman a whole vista of poetic visions. In it he sees reflected nine of the highest attainments of humanity. In its glossy smoothness he recognises the emblem of benevolence; in its bright polish he sees knowledge emblematised; in its unbending firmness, righteousness; in its modest harmless, virtuous action; in its rarity and spotlessness, purity; in its imperishableness, endurance; in the way in which it exposes its every flaw, ingenuousness; in that, though of surpassing beauty, it passes from hand to hand without being sullied, moral conduct; and in that, when struck, it gives forth a note which floats sharply and distinctly to a distance, music. It is this which makes men esteem it as most precious, and leads them to regard it as a diviner of judgments, and as a charm of happy omen."

As I commenced so I will conclude with a quotation from *The Times*:

"This discovery of prehistoric jade implements, these pieces of polished carved stone which had not even a name in Europe prior to the discovery of America by the Spaniards, has uncovered the foundations of history; of which the jade scraper found among the lacustrine dwellings of Switzerland is the key, not to mere dead remains of a vanished civilisation, but to the languages living men speak, and to the thoughts they think. At every turn the history of jade involves us in a dense thicket of problems. The further the explorer advances, the more entangled he finds himself. As the inquirer advances into the domain of history, jade advances with him. The ancients, though they esteemed it very precious, had not even a distinct name for it. The middle ages of Europe valued the stone, but had no more understanding of the process by which it came into their hands than Greeks and Romans. The Mogul emperors had the jade, which came they hardly knew whence, cut and jewelled and enamelled into the exquisite shapes which drive European jade-collectors mad, after a special form of insanity. We find it also in South America, New Zealand, Polynesia, in the form of tools, amulets, or charms. Clearly what had at first fascinated the world's regard was not toughness, texture, or beauty; it was some recondite association with a sentiment, a legend, which had engrafted itself for once and for all on human nature."

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING, GREAT YARMOUTH, 1879,

MONDAY, AUGUST 11TH, TO WEDNESDAY THE 20TH INCLUSIVE.

PATRON.

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.

VICE-PATRONS.

THE LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER, K.G., Lord-Lieutenant of Norfolk.

PRESIDENT.

LORD WAVENEY, D.L., F.R.S.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.
THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.
THE EARL OF CARNARVON, P.S.A.
THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH.
THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM.
THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.
THE EARL OF WARWICK.
THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE.
THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L., F.S.A.
THE LORD WALSINGHAM.
SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, Bart.
SIR W. COLES MEDLYCOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, Bt., M.P.
SIR H. W. PEEK, Bart., M.P.
SIR FRANCIS G. M. BOILEAU, Bart.
SIR SAVILE BRINTON CROSSLEY, Bart.
SIR WILLOUGHBY JONES, Bart.
SIR EDWARD KERBISON, Bart.
SIR LEWIS W. JARVIS.
SIR EDMUND H. K. LACON, Bt., M.P.
WILLIAM A. TYSSEN AMHERST, J.P.
HENRY BARBER.
COL. ST. JOHN NEWDIGATE BAENE, M.P.
T. W. BENSLEY, LL.D.
EDWARD BIRKBECK, M.P.
JOHN BRINTON, J.P.
LIEUT.-COL. W. E. G. LYTTON BULWER.
J. J. COLMAN, M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A.Scot.
THE VEN. ARCHDEACON EMERY.
JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.
ROBERT FITCH, F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.

JOHN GURNEY.
JOHN GUNN, F.S.A.
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D.D., Dean of Norwich
W. M. HAZARD.
JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.
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CHARLES T. LUCAS, D.L., J.P.
THOMAS LUCAS, D.L., J.P.
REV. C. R. MANNING, M.A.
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REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A.
THE VEN. ARCHDEACON NEVILL.
C. J. PALMER, F.S.A.
THE VEN. ARCHDEACON PEROWNE.
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Vicar of Great Yarmouth.
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
GEORGE TOMLIN, F.S.A.
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J. E. BARNBY
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J. H. BLY
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CHARLES DIVER (Deputy Mayor)
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REV. J. WALKER, M.A.
WILLIAM WORSHIP
C. WOOLVERTON, J.P.
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Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1879.

THE British Archæological Association, which met, it will be remembered, last year at Wisbech, on the north-west border of Norfolk, assembled for the thirty-sixth annual Congress at the opposite angle of the county. During the Congress week the headquarters were at Yarmouth, and on the following Monday they were removed to Norwich, in which city the proceedings closed on Wednesday the 20th.

Yarmouth, although to some of the *profanum vulgus* only suggestive of the herring, contains within it a great deal to recommend itself to the thoughtful visitor; but when we extend the radius of scientific operations to a distance of twenty miles, it would be impossible to find a position in the whole of England which contains more interesting remains of the days long gone by. The inquirer will smile when he is told how the very island there, which now holds a population of forty thousand persons, sprang into being from the action attending the growth of a species of grass which loves to bind and intertwine its roots beneath the sand of the shore. But when the visitor asks the reason of the peculiar arrangement of the streets in the old town, which are intersected at every twenty yards by the long, narrow, alleys or "Rows" as they are called), where there is hardly room for two persons abreast, it will not be difficult for him to accept the theory advanced—not by the native of the place, who most possibly was born in one, and will die in one without giving the question a thought during the whole of his life, but by a casual antiquary—that these ways are thus narrow to enable a comparatively small and weak force (three or four fighting men) to hold their own against a vastly superior body of foreigners, who by the very nature of the coast could hardly be prevented from making sudden rushes and opportune descents upon the attractive booty of the town.

Isolated as this district of north-eastern Norfolk has ever been from the rest of England by the Wash, the Fens, and the river Stour, East Anglia possesses a character and an interest of its own to archæolo-

gists. Although now sparsely populated, in the middle ages it was the centre of the woollen manufacture in England, and its ports and estuaries, shallow at the best of times, but not then filled up, afforded scope for a prosperous trade to be carried on by the small vessels then used. The small size of the "hundreds" and the great number of churches in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, testify to the relative largeness of the population in the pre-Norman period, while in every decayed market town and chief village is seen the large church of late character, with broad, square, west tower (frequently still unfinished), flushed flint and stone panel-work, open hammer-beam roofs, and well carved screens and parcloes. Every feature, grand in proportion but often rough and weak in execution, tells of increased prosperity and ostentatious display of wealth at the close of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth centuries. A singular fashion of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, apparently resulting from the necessities of building with flints, is the round tower so common as a feature of ecclesiastical architecture in the Waveney district. The neighbourhood now being visited contains many examples of both the local varieties of church (the Late Norman and highly developed Decorated), several conventual establishments, and a few military remains.

Although it may be suspected that some of the popularity of the present Congress was due to its being held at a sea-side resort, yet Yarmouth has much in itself worthy of study by the historical and architectural student. Roman remains are abundant within a few miles, both north and west; but the traces of the work of former days within the borough, with the exception of part of the great parish church, go no further back than the thirteenth century. To that period belong the encircling walls which, together with its peculiar situation on a sandy peninsula, shut in by sea and rivers, have cramped it into the peculiar form so aptly compared to a gridiron. To the same time may be ascribed the foundations of the great monastic establishments, Benedictine on the north, Franciscan in the centre, Dominican at the south, and Augustinian across the Yare, with a cell in the middle of the town, which once overshadowed the latter, and the scattered and fragmentary remains of which afford abundant material for study of detail, to those who will search them out, in narrow and ill ventilated passages, and still more confined houses and courts. There are some quaint examples of domestic work, in wood and plaster, of Jacobean date, here and there amongst the beetle-browed, small tiled, sagging-roofed houses. A local type of iron tie in the shaky walls of old tenements, with three reversed scrolls on either side of a central I-shaped stay, is at once vigorous in appearance, and effective in preventing further bulging.

The reception met with from all quarters must have been very

pleasing to the members. During the thirty-six years that the Association has been in existence, it has now held Congresses on three occasions in East Anglia, Norwich and Ipswich having been previously favoured with a visit, and Yarmouth being this year similarly honoured. In 1857 the Association (that year having its headquarters at Norwich) paid a visit to this loyal and ancient borough, and investigated remains of the ancient landmarks of our former history, which are to be met with in many parts of the town. The Association has thus steadily pursued here its work of searching out from the depths of a long past history the links which connect the ages gone by with our present life, and their efforts have been crowned with very great success. As soon as the desire of the Association to continue its researches in East Anglia became known, the Mayor and Corporation at once sent an invitation, and made the necessary preparations for their visit. The headquarters of the Association were at the Star Hotel, where some of the members stayed, while others were entertained by different townsfolk. In the excursions they were received everywhere with great kindness, and as will be seen, they were hospitably entertained on several occasions by gentlemen resident in this neighbourhood.

As studied at annual congresses, that branch of research with which its members are more particularly concerned is evidently associated with the most pleasant remembrances of a past and enjoyment of a charming present. Archæology by this means is not the laborious, wearisome poring into ancient manuscripts, from which has to be brushed the gathered dust of years, letting the long-forbidden sunlight brighten their curious pages; nor is it the mere contemplation of venerable buildings, of churches, with traces of past beauty—in many most happily restored—encrusted with the monuments of illustrious men and women; of castles, from the towers and walks of which anxious watch was kept for York or Lancaster, for king or commonwealth, around and on which were seen standards of the white rose and the red; where Cavaliers and Roundheads afterwards again enriched the soil, and crimsoned the stones with their blood; whose halls, emblazoned with the marks of heraldry, with armour and the spoils of the chase, have echoed with music and song for victory, for an alliance or the favour of a monarch's presence. Nor, again, is it only the looking at the gigantic unhewn blocks at Stonehenge—the greatest record of a people almost unknown, hoping therefrom to see more clearly into the customs of that far-away time when the great stones were set on end; or to trace the remains of the industrious Romans. There are enthusiasts who always find a fascination in journeys of discovery to such places, with the happy hopes of noting what has been overlooked earlier, of adding something to present knowledge of the same, the realisation of which is as precious to

the searcher as a new plant to a botanist, or a new star to an astronomer. The archæology of the congresses of the British Association is all this, and more, and of a kind certain to attract many students. It is not alone to bring to light what has been previously hidden, that the members of the Association annually join their forces and visit many a notable spot, but also to enjoy the best of the summer time, to feel the sweet breezes blow, fresh from the wide sea; to scent the perfume of flowers where they are fairest; to feast in "some oasis bright"; to tread "the enamelled meads" with hearts as glad as all else around bears witness to be. The Association has had many a pleasant meeting within sound of the anthems of the sea; has broken the stillness of hills and valleys the most beautiful in our land, and now holds its thirty-sixth assembly in Yarmouth—a place whose history and a people whose welcome will, we trust, amply redeem archæological shortcomings, and provide an equivalent for æsthetic imperfections. Yarmouth still sends out her fleets—far greater than those that oft went to war; throngs of vessels on peaceful voyages bound, that bring back rich treasures and countless prisoners of the finny legions of the sea: year by year she renews the health and good spirits of toiling myriads, and is still deemed worthy the visit of the first among the princes of the empire.

The great glory of Yarmouth is her parochial church of St. Nicholas, and those members of the Congress who visited the sacred fabric on Saturday, August 16, and listened to the description of it by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., one of the Hon. Secretaries, heard his strictures upon the ill-advised restoration with manifest regret for it, not perhaps altogether unmingled with pride of consciousness that one of the great duties of an archæologist is fearlessly to point out the weaknesses of clergymen and architects, who would pull down the whole of the south side of a church for the mere pleasure of rebuilding it, with as little compunction as if they were manipulating a barn or a stable. The church will hold, we are told, three thousand five hundred persons seated, and, from the spaciousness of the passages, many more upstanding. Its superficial area is greater than that of any other parochial church in England, and it would not be easy to match the sight it presents when filled to the utmost with its frequenters, as it was on Sunday, August 17, to hear the sermon on archæology, and the fervent appeal for the repairing fund, preached by the Rev. G. Venables, the vicar.

It was arranged that the opening meeting should take place at the Town Hall, and that the mayor and corporation should there receive the president and members of the Association. Accordingly, shortly before half-past two o'clock his worship, the deputy mayor, the town clerk, and many of the corporate body assembled in the card and record

rooms, and awaited the arrival of Lord Waveney, and other distinguished members of the society. His Lordship on his arrival was introduced to the Mayor, and shortly afterwards they led the way into the hall, for the purpose of hearing the President's opening address. Before referring in detail to the address, we may go back for a moment to the card room, for the purpose of briefly describing several rare and curious articles of ancient time, exhibited by Mr. T. Proctor-Burroughs, Mr. W. Maclean, and Mr. J. Gunn of Norwich. Among them was a fine copy of the life of Sir Thomas More, dated 1557—one of the rare editions that were published without paging. Also an ancient British shield, dug up by Francis Peggs six feet below the surface, lying in "The Hards", while cutting a drain on a marsh at Sutton. Ancient keys found in a marsh in Norfolk, the oldest of which has the appearance of belonging to the thirteenth century; an old missal, bound in wood, found in the flooring of an old house in Rampant Horse Street, Norwich, also the top of a black jack, a drinking vessel in leather, having on the top of it the following inscription:—

"If you love me, look within me.

Ha ! ha ! knave, have I spied thee ?"

This ancient relic was found in the chimney of a house in Middlegate Street, which was part of an old monastery. A valuable manuscript (1560) of Manship, the original historian of Yarmouth, having the autographs of Honest Tom Martin, the historian of Thetford, and I. Ives, and illustrations of old Roman pottery, were exhibited in the same collection, all the above mentioned articles being lent by Mr. T. Proctor-Burroughs. Mr. Maclean exhibited several interesting mediæval ornaments, Roman antiquities from the Thames and Colchester; a piece of beautiful carving of 1503; a silver-gilt medal of Charles I, having the following inscription: "I could hear both Houses of Parliament for true religion and subjects' freedom stand". Medals of Pope Benedict XIV and of Clement XII (1732 and 50). There were also in this collection some ancient chamberlain's keys, a medal of Charles II, etc.; the story of Pyramus and Thisbe in carving; a choice manuscript of the Koran, from the Emperor of China's palace at Pekin, taken during the campaign of 1860; a MS. *Missale Romanum* of the fifteenth century, on vellum, with twenty fine illuminations, from the collection of the late Mr. T. Rudd of London; a beautifully emblazoned diploma. Mr. J. Gunn, F.G.S., also kindly sent some fragments of a Roman kiln and pottery, a very unique pottery stand from a kiln, coins from Caister, an urn from a kiln, etc. One of the pieces of pottery had clearly defined marks of the potter's hand upon it as he moulded it into shape eighteen centuries ago. The corporation insignia was also exhibited in the card room, and some interesting brass rub-

bings attracted considerable attention, and were inspected with much interest by those present. Maps on the wall showed Yarmouth as it was long ago, when it was almost enclosed by walls, and fortified by lofty towers, to protect the town from hostile invasions from the sea. A bold political caricature in oils of the Commonwealth period excited the curiosity and puzzled the ingenuity of the visitors. This is a production of the seventeenth century, representing a meeting of the Covenanters. It is the property of Mr. T. Proctor-Burroughs.

Soon after half-past two the Mayor and Corporation led the way to the large hall, and his worship, Lord Waveney, the deputy-mayor, Rev. G. Venables, S.C.L., F.R.A.S., vicar of the parish, T. Burton Steward, Esq., S. Nightingale, sen., Esq., T. Morgan, Esq., Hon. Treasurer of the Association; R. Horman-Fisher, Esq., F.S.A.; G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Curator, Librarian, and Congress Secretary; E. Birkbeck, Esq., M.P.; R. M. Phipson, F.S.A.; and C. C. Aldred, Esqrs., took their places on the platform. The body of the hall was well filled with ladies and gentlemen, among the latter of whom were many of the Town Council and their wives, including the following:—Messrs. Wm. Worship, T. Saul, J. A. Norman, R. E. Dowson, E. J. Bonfellow, F. Palmer, H. R. Harmer, G. Davenport, A. B. M. Ley, E. W. Worlledge, Esq., Hon. Local Secretary; J. H. Orde, Esq., Hon. Local Treasurer; J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., C. C. Aldred, Esq., R. M. Phipson, W. Holt, R. Martins, F. Carpenter, J. T. Bracey, W. Barnard, J. H. Bly, J. H. Fellows, F. Dendy, F. W. Ferrier, H. Teasdel, etc. There were also present—Revs. Dr. Raven, R. J. Tacon, A. B. Ley, J. Walker (Bradwell), A. T. Goodrich, C. J. Steward, and W. Maclean, T. Steward, Dr. Bensley (Norwich), Dr. Bately, Mr. J. Gunn, F.G.S., and others.

The Mayor having taken the chair, in opening the proceedings said it gave him very great pleasure indeed to welcome the members of the British Archæological Association to the town of Yarmouth, and he could assure them that the inhabitants of Yarmouth considered that a great compliment had been paid them by their making that place the headquarters of their thirty-sixth Congress. He would ask the members of the Association to believe that it was not only his wish, but the wish of every resident in Yarmouth, that the Congress might be a happy and successful one. He would take that opportunity of complimenting the members of the British Archæological Association upon having so able a President as Lord Waveney. No man was better able to fill that office, and no one was worthier to be President of that Association than his lordship. He would not detain them longer, but all he could say was that his fellow-townsmen would, he was sure, help him to make that Congress a happy and enjoyable one. He hoped that in Yarmouth and the immediate neighbourhood the

members would find sufficient of interest to keep their time pleasantly occupied. Whatever they as townsmen could do to assist them they should be willing to do, and he hoped they would have a very enjoyable meeting.

Lord Waveney then proceeded to deliver his inaugural address, which has been already printed at pp. 1-5.

The customary vote of thanks was passed, on the motion of Mr. Thomas Morgan, Treasurer of the Association, seconded by Mr. Charles Diver, ex-mayor.

The Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D., head master of the grammar school, indicated on a large map, clearly marked in broad black and red lines and blots, the route that he proposed to follow in his walk through the town, and Mr. George Wright, Hon. Congress Secretary, sketched the programme to be followed during the ten days' Congress.

A perambulation of Yarmouth was then made under the guidance of Dr. Raven, the first building visited after leaving the town hall being the mansion of the Carters, on the South Quay, now occupied by Mr. S. Aldred. The house was built by Benjamin Cowper about 1596—a public-spirited townsman, who exerted himself in obtaining letters patent for a collection throughout the kingdom towards the maintenance of Yarmouth harbour in 1635. Cowper sold the house to John Carter, bailiff, in 1641, who on the 9th July, 1642, read the conflicting proclamations of the king and Parliament to the corporation. They resolved to obey the latter, and in this house of Carter's, it is said, the execution of Charles I was determined upon, on the authority of Hewling Luson—a well-known merchant and local historian of the last century, who was told by Nathaniel Carter, who was fourteen years old in 1649. The exterior of the mansion is modern, but on the first floor, approached by a spacious staircase, is a fine apartment. As restored by Mr. C. J. Palmer, the author of the *Perustrations of Yarmouth*, the room affords a fine example of the earliest Jacobean work. It is well proportioned, in the ratio of five in length to three in width, and lofty for a room of the period. The walls are entirely of oak wainscoting, divided into panels of very low relief by moulded uprights and rails, with carvings of ships and fruit at intervals. The ceiling is of plaster, formed into interwoven panels, with small pendants arranged in groups of four, and conventional fruit within the cabled outlines. The projecting parts are picked out in white on a yellow ground. The mantelpiece is of equally rich and heavy character; the furniture placed in it is of like type, and the only glaringly modern feature in the apartment is some stained glass lights, which render it still more dark than it would otherwise be.

A number of remains of the Franciscan priory, founded, it was known, between 1271 and 1296 in Queen and Middlegate Streets, were next

inspected. In some wine vaults entered from the former street were seen the bases of a cloister walk running north and south at what was then the level of the town. It consists of some four or five pairs of triplets of narrow clustered shafts, with fine neck mouldings of good Early English type, set in pairs at 10 ft. span. Another series of explorations of shops, courtyards, and of a house in a narrow "row"—where an elderly dame left her lonely tea table, disconcerted by the large party of visitors peering through the window and doorway—revealed the superstructures of four bays of these buildings, with acutely groined vaults, in which all the ribs and most of the bosses are perfect, although half obliterated by whitewash. Most of the latter stones are treated with figure subjects, and appeared somewhat later in character than the bases in the cellars beneath. General admiration was expressed at the beauty of this groining, and Dr. Raven remarked that the existence of the remains of this priory was almost unknown in the town until very recently.

In Middlegate Street, the remains of the Hall of St. George's Guild were seen. By a certificate dated 1388 it is known that at that time the brothers and sisters of the Guild used to meet in St. Nicholas Church on the Feast of St. George, and after voting grants for a chaplain, etc., dined at an inn. At a later date they seemed to have found funds from which to build a hall for themselves; and the scanty fragments agree with the supposition. There is, in a room off the street, a wide doorway of Early Perpendicular character, with nine members to the somewhat deep mouldings on either side of the arch, above which is a square hood. In the spandrels on the interior are shields; that on the left being the cross of St. George, and that on the right a merchant's mark. The hall has been cut up into rooms; but traces of the masonry and buttresses are apparent, and quiet and solitary research would probably reveal in the houses behind, the outline of plan of the hall.

Further southwards, in Middlegate Street, more remains of the Franciscan Priory buildings were seen in a warehouse, consisting of two pairs of piscinæ, each trefoil-headed, in a south wall; and in rooms above, what appeared like three Early English dormitory lights. In a clothier's warehouses on the same side of the street (east), were seen a series of very interesting remains, imitating in oak the mouldings of fourteenth century masonry. These included three blind arcades; and in another room a flying arch and beams, the latter treated with two rolls separated by a fillet, and stop-chamfered.

A few remains of the Dominican Priory which formerly occupied a large space on the southern portion of the town were seen, consisting of the inner and outer pointed arches of a small entrance, also in a room in Middlegate Street. Dr. Raven mentioned that the Domini-

cans settled at Le Stronde (or the Strand), in Yarmouth, in 1271, just fifty years after their establishment in this country. The Franciscans followed within ten years, and it was interesting to note the difference in style exhibited by the remains of both. The latter, of which there were far the most remains in the town, were marked by grace and elegance; the former by rugged solidity and sternness of workmanship. On the site of South Gate Dr. Raven exhibited on a pole a restored drawing of that structure, as it appeared prior to demolition. It consisted of two massive round towers, pierced for foot passengers, with a deep arch thrown across the road, carrying a chamber above. On the west side a boom could be projected over the river, so as to close access to the harbour.

From this point the members returned, following on the outside the course of the town walls. The license to build these was granted in the year 1284, and the work of erection appears to have been carried forward during a little over a century. They are still very complete, consisting of rubble, faced with cut flints and small red bricks, the last materials more abundant in the patchings and repairs near the top. The walls were from 12 ft. to 20 ft. high, and of considerable thickness, and were furnished with a pointed coping at top. In one or two places the arrow-piercings in single stones at regular intervals are still perfect. Most of the sixteen towers by which it was protected still remain, many of them pretty complete. At the south-east angle of the walls are two circular ones of flint, with panelling formed by single bricks, set stretcherwise on the upper stage of one.

Near St. George's place Dr. Raven pointed out remains of the new mount. At this point the wall makes a short return; and at the time of the dread of the Spanish Armada, Sir Thomas Leighton built this mount with the materials of the charnel-house, on which the townspeople worked with a will, even the grammar schoolboys aiding. At this time the conical roofs of small tiles, which give so characteristic an air to the towers of Yarmouth, were added. At Mr. C. C. Aldred's, who kindly offered tea and coffee on the lawn, leisure was given to more closely examine the wall and one of these towers, and the traces of the post-Reformation private oratory of Sir Richard Bedingfield's family—having wide arches and a domical light at east end—were inspected. Most of the stained glass, which represented saints' heads, was removed by the present owner a few years since. At the north end of the market place, next the churchyard of St. Nicholas, a halt was made on the site of St. Mary's Hospital, of which only the inclosing walls remain, within is a charity school of the last century. This hospital was founded by Thomas Falstolfe in the thirteenth century, and in 1278 William de Gerlingge gave an annual rent for the maintenance of two priests. In 1398 Richard II granted it to the bailiffs of Yarmouth, and in 1419

a forty days' indulgence was granted by John Fordham, Bishop of Ely, to all who aided in its repair. In 1551 the chapel was despoiled, and its revenues diverted to a grammar school, which went on with fluctuating success till 1757, when the corporation stopped the allowance to Dr. Francis Turner, the head master. In 1863 the grammar school was revived on a fresh site, and in 1872 the new school premises near the Denes were opened by the Prince of Wales.

The visitors then proceeded to the site of the north gate, of which a copy of a drawing made in 1806 was shown. It had two square towers; and above the central arch, on the outward face, was represented arcading and paneling of Decorated character. Passing down Rampart Row, on the inner side of the north wall, the last towers near the quay of the Bure were seen; both are irregular polygons, with the usual conical-tiled roof. Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock remarked upon the very early use of brick shown in the town wall, and said other neighbouring examples were at St. Olave's about 1290. Replying to a question, he said herring-boneing was no indication of antiquity; the fashion had never died out.

At Fuller's Hill Dr. Raven remarked that they had now come back to one of the two wide thoroughfares which, in mediæval days, connected the five wide streets running longitudinally through Yarmouth. As they had seen during the perambulation, access between the river and the sea was afforded at short intervals by over one hundred and fifty narrow lanes or "rows". Another cross street, midway between the old ones, was opened nearly seventy years ago as Regent Street.

A discussion took place as to the origin of these rows, Dr. Aldred suggesting that it was caused by the custom of dividing land into narrow strips between the streets, and that each set of people built to nearly the edge of their land, leaving mere passages beyond. Mr. Loftus Brock differed from this, contending that it was simply the result of an endeavour to build within the cramped lines of the town walls, and instanced the parallel case of the "Closes" at Carlisle, and other lanes in walled cities, which from their narrowness could be readily barricaded at each end and defended on sudden emergency. The last place visited was the cell of the Austin friars, in Charlotte Street, which has now become a meeting house of the Society of Friends. The only visible remains of the old work are buttresses within the courtyard, and a moulded entrance to the basement of the street-front, closed from sight by shutters. Within, bare deal benches, bare washed walls and ceiling, and sash-windows, presented as cold a prospect to archæologists as could be possible. Before departing, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Raven for his courteous and well-planned guidance.

In the evening the members and friends of the Association, including

many ladies, dined together at the Star Hotel. Lord Waveney, F.R.S., occupied the chair, and upon his right were the Mayor and Mayoress of the borough. The company was a numerous one, and included the following ladies and gentlemen:—J. J. Colman, M.P., E. Birkbeck, M.P., the Vicar, Mr. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A., Mr. W. H. Cope, Rev. Dr. Cresswell, Mr. E. W. Worlledge, M.A., *Hon. Local Secretary*, Mr. W. Roofs, Rev. J. H. Jenkinson, M.A., Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, and daughters, Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds, Mr. Thos. Dickson, Lieut.-Col. Bramble, Mr. H. J. Green, Rev. Mr. Blaine, Rev. Dr. Raven and Mrs. Raven, Dr. and Mrs. Bensly, Mr. Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. German, Mr. H. W. Henfrey, Mr. G. P. Henfrey, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Mr. Lambert, the Misses Houghton, Messrs. E. Strickland, R. M. Phipson, F.S.A., C. Braid, Mr. Picton, F.S.A. (Liverpool), Mr. and Mrs. Hicklin, Mr. H. E. Buxton, J.P., Mr. C. C. Aldred and Mrs. Aldred, Mr. C. Diver, Sir Walter Stirling, Messrs. T. M. Baker, J. H. Bly, W. Brown, the Rev. T. Burton Steward, Mr. and Mrs. Nightingale, sen., Mr. T. Proctor-Burroughs, Rev. R. J. Lacon and Mrs. Lacon, Mr. F. D. Palmer, Dr. Mould and Mrs. Mould, Mr. and Mrs. A. Cope, Miss Percy Smith, Mrs. Myall, Mr. Rawlings and daughter, Mr. H. Prigg, Mrs. Silver, Mr. German Reed, Mrs. Clagett and daughter, Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., Mr. H. Green, Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., Rev. Mr. Simpkinson, Messrs. E. Hartland, George Patrick, F. W. H. Culley, and G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, etc.

The Chairman gave the usual loyal and patriotic toasts, which were duly honoured. The name of Mr. Buxton was coupled with the toast of the "Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces", and that gentleman responded in a few appropriate words. In giving the toast of the "Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese", the Chairman expressed his regret that the Bishop was not with them, and called upon the Vicar to respond.

The Vicar, in responding, expressed his thanks for the honour conferred by the toast, and at the same time testified to the kind attention given by the Mayor and others to secure the success of the Congress, and the welcome they had given so nobly and well. It was impossible for anyone occupying the position as vicar of the parish, connected as he was especially with a magnificent parish church, which he hoped to see inspected within a few days, not to regard the Congress almost with excitement, and certainly with the very greatest interest possible. He could not but hope that when they examined the walls of that ancient church, and looked upon many of the archaeological objects of interest with which it abounded, they would learn something which would prove useful in the future in carrying on that grand work of restoration, happily begun several years ago, but which he was sorry to say was far from being completed yet. All thoughtful men

must regard archæology as a subject in which all must feel more or less interested. What was archæology? It was one of the subjects which had a very practical effect upon the future of the nation. Some years ago it was said, and regarded as a witty saying at the time, "Why should I do anything for posterity? I should like to know what posterity ever did for me". It appeared to him that posterity *had* done and would do a very great deal for them. Although it was their duty to remember that they were mortal, and the results of their efforts might never be seen by them, yet he did not hesitate to say nothing could be effected by man, mortal as he was, without anticipating the future, even in this life, although the result of that future he might never live to see. The observation he referred to was, he thought, most unphilosophical and erroneous. In point of architecture the future ought to be guided immensely by the past, and the experience thus obtained ought to temper and direct the proceedings of the future. It seemed to him that the present moment was the connecting link between past archæology and the future, which would ultimately weld together a golden chain to encircle the earth with great, grand, and beneficent results. To the past they should look for experience, to the future for the results of the work of that experience. Utilitarian though the age might be, he could not imagine anyone so narrow-minded or blinded to the benefits to be derived from the past as to be unwilling to examine what had been done, and make that somewhat a guide for the future. If they were about to erect a church or any other magnificent building surely one of their prior acts should be to compare their proposals with the shape, form, and moulds which existed ages ago, and if such could be improved upon let it be done, but if not let them stick to the archæological prescriptions; and they would do more to secure fine architecture and magnificent results than by adopting a great deal of the utilitarian process, of which so much was heard in the present day. There was a society for the protection of ancient buildings, which originated with very kindly and beneficent intentions, but which had done incredible mischief to itself and its objects by the extremes to which its members had gone. On the other hand, he could not but believe the conservative feeling it was wished to introduce into the rage for the restoration of old buildings would be found the truest kind of archæology after all. He had a fancy in his mind, one which he had given forth to the public, in which was a dream of a magnificent spire towering up to heaven at the west end of St. Nicholas' Church, and surmounted by a golden cross, which should be the first thing in her Majesty's dominions the rising sun should shine upon—a mark and beautiful symbol of their Christian faith and hopes, and which he trusted would ever symbolise the grand principles of the nation. It had been said the sun never set upon her Majesty's dominions, but

whether that was accurate or not he was not quite prepared to say. He hoped it was, but even if so, the fact did not affect the poet or poetry of what he suggested, for all started with Old England, the *fons et origo* under God of the greatness of the kingdom. He sincerely hoped the day would come when that which was now but a dream, or a mere vapoury shadow, might become more real than it appeared likely to be at present. He would give them one or two questions for discussion when they visited the parish church. He wanted to know, what seemed never to have been fairly revealed, the position of that doorway, of which an ancient dweller in Yarmouth had said, "I desire that at my death my miserable body may be buried just without the northern door of our Lady of Arnburgh's Chapel". He desired to be told the nature of the building which had been enclosed within certain walls, the foundations of which should be bared for inspection. Most of all he would be glad to know where to find that crock of gold, whose value was not less than thirty or forty thousand pounds, to be laid out in the completion of the church; and of all of which he would like to have the fingering. If archæology was worth anything, he would think it doubly valuable when that grand discovery was made. He wished to tell one archæological anecdote connected with one of the rooms at the vicarage, which had been communicated to him by a clergyman, a native of Yarmouth, and a man of much learning and intelligence—the story was also told in the *Perlustration* of their excellent friend, Mr. C. J. Palmer, but he (the vicar) would give it as originally told to him. The vicar then went on to speak of this as referring to an amusing incident in the early life of the famous surgeon, Sir Astley Cooper, who, when confined in the library by his father, Dr. Cooper, then vicar of the parish, for some boyish misdemeanour, climbed up the chimney, and, thrusting his head through the top of the pot, saluted the doctor, who was walking under the trees outside. He asked the members of the Association whether in all their archæological experiences they knew of any other chimney which had had so distinguished a character for a sweep as the library chimney of his house.

The Mayor of Yarmouth then rose to propose the toast of the members of the British Archæological Association, coupling with the toast the health of the noble President, Lord Waveney. They had met that afternoon to welcome the members of the Association to their old borough, and it was with great satisfaction he took that opportunity of telling the members of the Association that from the first until the present moment he had received nothing but support from his fellow-townsmen, and a hearty desire to carry out all the arrangements successfully. In the name of Yarmouth he would give them a hearty welcome to that borough, and he sincerely trusted that during their visit they might find much happiness, and many little incidents worthy

of record. Any assistance that he and his brother townsmen could give them they would most willingly afford.

Lord Waveney, in responding, said he had a double pleasure in returning thanks for the toast so kindly proposed by the Mayor of Yarmouth. First, on behalf of the British Archæological Association, for whom he was privileged to speak, not on account of any merit on his part, but by the good favour of those who had placed him in that honourable position of their chairman. Secondly, he had the pleasure of giving expression to the kind feeling which the Association had met with in that borough. Of course he could speak but little from his own knowledge, although he was prepared to believe everything kindly of those in that borough for the way in which they received that Association. In corresponding and communicating with the officers of the Association he had perceived how thoroughly they were supported in their efforts to make that Association worthy of the reception they had given them. He thought it was an additional pleasure and gratification on that occasion that the ladies were associated in the pursuit of archæological science with those who had given a prolonged study to it. Having referred to the efforts which had recently been made in behalf of the ladies in the matters of education, and to the part which he had the pleasure of taking (from his accidental political position) on behalf of the ladies of his own country (Ireland) in the matter of university education, Lord Waveney, in replying to the toast of the Association, said he wished to refer to the ladies of Yarmouth, who had done no less than the gentlemen to whom reference had been made, for their Eastern wandering philosophers, who had come there to see what manner of country their eastern country was. To them and the men of Yarmouth he returned his thanks for the reception they had given them, and for the further means they would supply for their instruction, amusement, and happy and social intercourse.

Mr. R. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A., next proposed the health of the Mayor and Corporation of Yarmouth, in doing which he alluded to the kind way in which the Association was received on the other side of East Anglia, and their longing to come there on that side of the eastern counties. Being so delighted with their researches on the other side of the county they determined to visit that side. He accidentally mentioned the subject to a friend of his, and he said he should like to name it to the Mayor of Yarmouth. He did so, and they received a most flattering invitation to visit that ancient borough. Mr. Horman-Fisher then spoke of the great kindness the Association had met with, and to the interest they had taken in going round the town that afternoon under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Raven. They had also to tender their hearty thanks to the mayor and corporation for giving them the use of the town hall. Some ten days ago the mayor

visited him at his private residence, and he named to him the fact of his having had a presentation made to him of a silver cradle. This was an event that did not often happen to a man in his position. It was an honour which fell to the lot of few, and he was sure the members of the Archæological Association would congratulate him in the same way as his friends of Yarmouth had done before. He would give them the health of the Mayor and Corporation of Yarmouth.

The Mayor thanked Mr. Horman-Fisher and the company for the kind manner in which the toast had been proposed and drunk. What they had done had been done willingly, and he was very pleased to meet them there that evening. The mayor then alluded to the absence of Mr. C. J. Palmer, who, he was sorry to say, was not able to be present, and whom they would all have liked to see he was sure; and concluded by again thanking the company for the kind reception they had given him.

Mr. Picton, F.S.A., proposed the Members for North Norfolk (Sir E. H. K. Lacon, Bart., and E. Birkbeck, Esq., M.P.), coupling with the toast the name of Mr. Birkbeck. In doing so, Mr. Picton said, after a session of almost unprecedented toil, trouble, and obstruction, he was sure it must be a relief to honourable members to exchange the turmoil of the House of Commons for the quiet retreat of Yarmouth, and to meet the archæological society on the grounds of archæological exploration and topographical inquiry. It might appear at first sight there was little in common with the turbulent atmosphere of the House of Commons and the quiet and serene atmosphere they breathed there. But a little consideration would shew that there was a common ground on which they met, namely, the history of their country. What were they doing in their meeting? They were exploring the relics of the ancient history of the country. Every ruin they examined, every church they investigated, every castle they explored, and the Roman remains they perambulated, told them of the glorious history of their country. Mr. Picton then referred to the examination they had that day made of the ancient walls, towers, etc., of Yarmouth, which had enabled them to set up in their minds what Yarmouth was in the fourteenth century, in the time of Henry III, when he gave a license for building the walls for the protection of the town. Coming from a port very much larger in dimensions than Yarmouth, it had given him a very excellent idea of what Yarmouth was in its mediæval days; and when he compared what the burgesses of Yarmouth did at that remote period with what the inhabitants of Liverpool did about the same time, he felt almost ashamed of his own town. When he looked at the noble churches they built, at the towers and walls and gates they erected, and compared them with the poor, mean, and shabby things his people did in Liverpool, he thought Yarmouth ranked much higher

than they did. Mr. Picton then alluded to the work of the Parliament of the country, and asked what was the history of Parliament but that of progress from darkness to light, from tyranny to freedom, from despotism to self-government, from ignorance to knowledge, from barbarism to civilisation. But Parliament had not done its work. Everything changed, and Parliament was the body which regulated those changes, and prevented revolutions; so that they realised the sentiment of the Poet Laureate when speaking of England as

“The land of fame and old renown,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.”

Those who took upon themselves to do the business of the country in their high court of Parliament, without fee or reward, deserved all the honour they could give them. He believed both sides of the House earnestly desired to do their best for the benefit of the country, and whatever was best in its ultimate result was devised for them. He had, therefore, great pleasure in giving them the toast of the Members for North Norfolk, coupling with it the name of Mr. Edward Birkbeck.

Mr. Birkbeck, M.P., in responding to the toast, said he was very grateful for the honour they had done him in drinking his health. It gave him the greatest pleasure to be there, and take part in the interesting proceedings of that Association. As one of the Members for the county he begged to thank the Association most cordially for honouring Norfolk with their annual meeting that year, and especially for selecting Yarmouth as its headquarters. He was especially asked by his worthy colleague, Sir Edmund Lacon, to express his deep regret at not being able to attend. He wrote to him from the north of Scotland, stating that he should be unable to attend, and asking him to state that he regretted his inability to be there. They should be very soon released from their work, and their labours with regard to the present session would soon be ended. To-morrow, the 12th of August, many would be enjoying the healthy atmosphere of Scotland, and refreshing themselves after the long hours in the House. Others, like Mr. Colman and himself, would be returning to their country duties, and no doubt they should have to give an account to their constituents for the little progress made during the past session. But he was inclined to think that the public would take a lenient view of their proceedings, inasmuch as “circumstances over which we had no control” had to a certain extent, but he hoped only temporarily, curtailed the usefulness of the House of Commons. A long programme of public and private bills was before the House, but little progress had been made. As a young member he deeply deplored it; and it was a great disappointment to the Government that so little progress had been

made. The word "obstruction" had been used by his friend in proposing his health, and he had no doubt that they should have to tell their constituencies why it was that so little had been done. They were aware that the dignity of the House had been very much lowered, and he was sorry to say its powers of usefulness certainly curtailed. That had solely arisen from a small section who thought they were great heroes; but he thought the public did not agree with them. The press gave the public outside very little idea to what extent those Obstructionists had been on their legs during the last session. When bills were in committee, the press did not give the public certain information which they ought to know, namely, to what extent these men had obstructed the measures brought forward. He had a paper sent to him the other day, from which it appeared that during fourteen nights out of the twenty-one nights that the Army Discipline Bill was in committee, these Obstructionists were on their legs, one—82 times; another, 152 times; another, 162 times; and another, 290 times. That would give them some idea of what an uninteresting session they had had. There were many bills that they should have gladly seen passed. Among them was one which had been before the House two or three sessions, brought in by an intimate friend of his, and one of his constituents, Sir John Lubbock. He (Mr. Birkbeck) was sure all present took an interest in that bill, and regretted it had not yet been added to the Statute Book. He was not aware whether they thought any old buildings in that district ought to come under that bill. He was sure it would pass in another session; and if there were any buildings in the county they thought should be protected, he felt confident he would have no difficulty in persuading Sir John Lubbock to add them to the schedule of the bill another year. They must congratulate themselves that foreign and colonial matters were on a more satisfactory footing than they were at the last Congress of the Association. The subject uppermost in their minds was the war at the Cape, and with regard to that they might offer congratulations that the last two or three mails had brought encouraging news. He looked upon the victory at Ulundi as almost the finishing stroke to Cetewayo's power. If it had not been for the heavy surf at Port Durnford, there was no doubt that glorious victory would have fallen into the hands of another General; but they must all rejoice that the success was Lord Chelmsford's. Of his actions, conclusions had been jumped at too quickly. It was easy, sitting in an arm-chair in England, to study, perhaps, the meagre telegrams of what went on at the seat of war; and many critics, upon such information, had been undeservedly severe upon Lord Chelmsford. There were, doubtless, many reasons they did not know, which would account for the long delay in the advance to the front. He (Mr. Birkbeck) contended that delay

contributed to ultimate victory by enabling the commander to complete the requisite commissariat and transport arrangements. Very likely, too, Lord Chelmsford was anxious not to engage the Zulus in a difficult country, where disaster might be feared; and by giving them a certain time to retreat, he was enabled to meet them on fair ground, and give them such a glorious defeat. He hoped that within the next few weeks they would hear that the war had been brought to a happy conclusion, that the colonists would be able to live safely and securely, and that they would be satisfied with the Government request to pay a portion of the cost. It was perfectly fair that the British tax-payer should not be asked to find the money to meet the whole of the bill.

Mr. W. Brown, J.P., with suitable remarks then proposed "The Ladies"; and due honours having been paid to the toast, Mr. Geo. R. Wright, F.S.A., by request of the President, returned thanks for them amidst much laughter; and this being the last speech, the company soon after separated.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12.

The excursion commenced on this day, under the brilliant augury of an August sun, by a long drive northwards, to the Roman camp and mediæval castle at Caister, the churches of Filby and Ludham, and the scanty remains of the Abbey of St. Benet at Holm.

At Caister a series of excavations on the west side of the church, in the Rectory grounds, were inspected. The Rev. Dr. Raven explained that having heard, through the Rev. Mr. Marvell's gardener, that he had dug upon pavement in the garden, he or his boys, in company with the Rector, opened the ground in several places about two months since, and at a foot below the surface they came everywhere upon masses of rubble foundations about 3 inches thick, beneath which was the virgin sand. Near by they found an ashpit containing some coins and a good deal of pottery, on some of which was a representation of a duck. Dr. Raven added that many Roman remains had been found here; and it was controverted whether Caister or Burgh, on the west of Yarmouth, was the Roman station of *Gariaonum*. The weight of evidence, and especially the remains, was in favour of the latter place; but he suggested that Caister was first founded, and that Burgh was subsequently fortified, the camp here being used as a summer residence. Of the Caister Camp but slight vestiges of the enclosing walls remained.

Dr. Raven read a paper written by Mr. J. Gunn, F.G.S., of Norwich, descriptive of a Roman pottery-kiln found in a sand-pit on a farm to

the south of the church, in 1851. Mr. Gunn's attention was called to the kiln by the late Mr. Panchen, carpenter, a most assiduous and successful collector of antiquities. It was laid bare on the falling down of the sides of the pit, and consequently various sections of it were exposed from time to time. It was of clay, roughly worked by hand; and two ledges of the same material, which composed an outer casing of it, were exposed. On these were still standing two blue coloured urns. The kiln consisted of red and white and light coloured clay, of which specimens were shewn. One exhibited a finger-mark, proving that the whole work was done by hand. The whole kiln fell in two days after being discovered. Amongst the remains afterwards found were many contorted urns, and an iron stand on which the pottery had stood during baking. In the same field an abundance of Roman remains, pottery, and coins, and a vault, have been found. Mr. Gunn added that similar discoveries of Roman kilns were made at Sibston, near Caistor, North Hants, the ancient Durobrivæ.

Mr. Loftus Brock said he had investigated for the Association similar kilns at Colchester, to which attention was called by Mr. G. Joslyn. It was very interesting to note the great dissimilarity of the ware made at the various kilns worked by the Romans.

The members then examined a large collection of the finds displayed on a table in front of the Rectory. Amongst these was a bone implement. Mr. Brock called attention to this, saying that it settled a moot point as to the date of such weapons. It was a large bone rudely fashioned into a spear-head, with a groove on the side where it was tied to the wooden shaft. Such implements had been supposed to be of a period long anterior to the Roman occupation; but this discovery, in conjunction with coins and pottery, shewed that at least it was used in Roman times, probably by the native auxiliaries. The coins, Mr. Henfrey said were of the reigns of Pertinax, Gallienus, Constantine the Great, and Constantius, ranging from the second to the fifth century A.D.

Caister Castle, the next place visited, was one of great picturesqueness. Within a still perfect moat, and surrounded by fine trees, are ranges of red brick walling running south and west, now grass-grown and grey with lichens. At the right angle formed by their junction is a lofty circular tower with an octagonal turret rising above it. At the eastern extremity of the site are low domestic buildings. All are in ruin; but the progress of decay is now arrested, as far as possible, by the present proprietor, Mr. John Gurney. In the west wall is a range of several mullioned windows partially bricked up, which appear to have lighted the great hall; and at the south-west angle between the tower is an oriel recess with flamboyant tracery. These details of fenestration are of stone; but the rest of the structure, including the

boldly corbelled machicolations, are of red brick, once plastered on the inner side of the quadrangle. Within the precincts Dr. Raven read an historical paper written by Miss Haddon, on the changes that have taken place in the ownership of the Castle. The paper has been printed above, at pp. 22-26.

Mr. Morgan having vindicated the memory of Sir John Fastolfe from the slurs cast upon it by Shakespeare, Mr. Loftus Brock described the architecture of the castle, remarking first that the parish church of Caister, just seen in passing, was a fifteenth century structure, the older one referred to in Saxon documents being represented by a ruined square tower in a field near the castle. As to the castle, he believed it was built within the moat of an earlier structure, for it was very unusual to see castles of Henry V's time with a square moat planned as this is. The castle was remarkable on many accounts, for the early use of brick, and for being fortified and furnished with a keep at so late a date, in this confirming the President's suggestion that in Norfolk and Suffolk the domestic buildings were moated and fortified to a late period, on account of the dread of foreign attacks. The little oriel on the ground level at the south-west angle seemed to be the ladies' withdrawing room from the great hall, while the windows pointed to the usual position for the chief apartment. Close by on the north wall was the great fireplace of the kitchen. From William of Worcester, who was Fastolfe's secretary, and to whom archæologists owed a debt of gratitude, they learned the position of the buildings in two quadrangles, the domestic buildings being placed to the east in front of the great courtyard.

Carriages were resumed to Filby Church, approached through an elm grove, where an unexpected treat awaited those interested in church architecture. Externally, the chief features of the church are a lofty square tower, ornamented with flint and stone paneling, and heavy crow-stepped parapets; windows of rich Decorated character, with tracery and good return hoods, but very shallow mouldings, splayed quatrefoil lights to clerestory, with rich tracery and a thatched roof to nave, which, like most of the churches in the district, has no parapets. On entering, the fine lofty arcades to nave, supported on octagonal piers, supporting a roof of trussed rafters, and the excellent proportions and lighting, are noticeable. The chancel has been very thoroughly restored, and we observed that the architect has thought fit to introduce into a church—no detail of which, except the font, is earlier than the fourteenth century—an open screen from base of the case to the organ, with shafted openings trefoiled, lancet-heads, and delicate neckings, copied apparently from the purest Early English examples—surely an anachronism.

Mr. Brock, in a short lecture, pointed out how the history of the change of impropriation, which in King John's time was possessed by the king, but which in Edward III's reign passed into the hands of a private family, was reflected in the building. Here they had a church newly erected apparently about the first third of the fourteenth century, reconstructed within a hundred years, the arcades rebuilt, the south aisle altered, and new windows inserted in many places, apparently because the new possessors wished to improve the church to the taste of the day. The plain octagonal font of grey marble, usually called Purbeck, but which he suspected was in this part of Norfolk brought from Derbyshire, seemed to belong to a yet earlier church. In pre-Reformation days they knew by bequests that a light was maintained in St. John Baptist's Chapel, said to have been "in the churchyard" (of which no traces can be seen), and in other chapels in the church; and at that period every village church had its altars with lights at the east end of chancel, and of north and south aisles, and often elsewhere. The interest of the church centred in the fine base of the rood screen. The upper part had disappeared, but traces of holes, now filled up, could be seen where the rood beam went, here called the "perk", and to light which a bequest was left; and he suspected that the pieces of paneled work on some seats were parts of the embowered paneling which so commonly in Norfolk churches had filled up the rood-loft. The base of the screen yet standing was adorned with good fifteenth century cusped paneling, divided into eight compartments. These were occupied by as many saints, each with their emblems painted on wood panels. The work would repay careful study, and would bear comparison with French paintings of the same period. The drawing was fair, the attitudes not stiff for the date, and the colouring harmonious. They represented, beginning from the north side—1, St. Cecilia, bearing a wreath of flowers and palm; 2, St. George, with cross and shield, striking a dragon with his spear; 3, St. Catherine, sword and book in hand, and standing on a wheel, here remarkably small; 4, St. Peter with two golden keys. On the south side—5, St. Paul, having drawn sword and book; 6, St. Margaret piercing a dragon; 7, St. Michael, weighing in scales a black devil against a soul arrayed in white, the latter seeming to have a good hope of escape from purgatory, as it is far the highest; and 8, St. Barbara, with a tower in one hand and a palm (in lieu of a feather) in the other—a figure not common in English iconography. When the upper part of the screen was cut away the top was moulded, in imitation of old work—an unusual attempt to make presentable alterations, caused by change of theological belief. Some discussion followed as to the screen, in which it was determined by traces on the arcading that it extended over the first bay of the nave, and that parcloles inclosed the eastern ends of

the aisles. A small door in the south side of tower arch is of much interest, recalling as it does the time when the churches of the district were refuges from attack. It is of massive oak, closely banded with strips of iron, and having no fewer than seven locks, and an elaborately wrought iron handle.

The members then proceeded towards Ludham, crossing Filby Broad by bridge, and passing by the wayside the ruined church of Burgh St. Mary, of which only a round western tower of flint, now ominously cracking from belfry light to external floor; the fine church of Rollesby, with octagonal steeple of two stages, set on a more ancient round base; and another church in ruins, as in other cases the tower, here square, being the only part that has not been quarried away as building material.

Ludham Church is a very fine example of an unrestored Decorated and Late Perpendicular edifice. Outside, the naked beams, projecting from under the lead roofs of nave and aisles, emphasise the Norfolk method of adding no parapets to walling. The tower is unworthy of such a building, and may, in conjunction with the isolation of the district, possibly account for the neglect of Ludham by topographers and guide compilers. Inside limewash reigns supreme over arcades and walls. The nave roof is a fine hammer-beam construction, supported on corbels, but simply moulded at the angles. The spandrels are filled with pierced carving. The clerestory lights are of large dimensions, and, like the aisle windows, are filled with Perpendicular tracery. At the east end of the church is a reticulated window of wide span. On the south of chancel is a piscina and three richly encusped and crocketed sedilia; the Communion Table is Jacobean. The seats in the nave include low benches, with poppy heads at the west end, and nearer the pulpit some wretched deal pews, clumsy and rickety; in one of these is a child's seat railed off. In the chancel are some chests, and in the nave an octagonal poor-box, greatly broken, eaten, and decayed, the latter containing, in lieu of treasure, filthy cobwebs. The font is richly carved, with figures of savages supporting the stem, and round the bowl the emblems of the Evangelists in duplicate. At Ludham, as at Filby, the best feature is the chancel screen. Here it is very rich, and almost perfect. It is of very ornate Perpendicular work, with heavy crockets and cusps upon every division, and still decorated with colour and gilding, the former disposed in spiral patterns, and now very dim. Above is the rood beam, still in position, beneath this is open screen work, the lowest portion being solid, with exception of central opening, in which are modern half leaves of deal. The panels on the west face are occupied with paintings of saints, not quite so well executed as at Filby, and on the rail runs an inscription, giving the donor's name and the date 1493. The figures were deciphered by

Dr. Raven, and from the half-effaced names below and the emblems are, reading from north to south, St. Mary Magdalene with box of ointment; St. Stephen with stone; St. Edmund, king and martyr, with sceptre and arrow; and King Henry VI, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Gregory (the triple crown is almost effaced), St. Edward the Confessor, St. Wolstan, of Banburgh, with sceptre and scythe; St. Lawrence with gridiron, and St. Apollonia with her tooth held in pincers. Mr. Brock again lectured, pointing out that this church was a Decorated structure, nearly rebuilt in Perpendicular times, and adding that by a little attention the woodwork might be preserved from decay.

After dining at the Crown Inn, Ludham, the excursion was closed by a short drive to the once grand Abbey of St. Benet-at-Holm, which ages ago reared its towers above the low-lying lands alongside the Bure. Around the remains of the Abbey are marshes dotted with willows and elders, and intersected with muddy causeways and ditches. In the distance are the sister towers of South Walsham, and of one or two other churches rising from the trees, while close at hand are two windmills for draining the land. We may wonder at the hardihood of the few religious men who first made their home in this howling wilderness, and at the same time admire their singleness of purpose and indifference to ease. The remains consist of a gatehouse partially inclosed in the sailless and ruined cone of a brick windmill, some of the rubble walling of the church, and numerous foundations and bare patches, and depressions in the marshy pasture. Under the windows of the gatehouse Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read an exhaustive paper on the history and vestiges of this great mitred Benedictine Abbey. This has been printed above at pp. 15-21.

The members then walked over the area, endeavouring to trace the outlines of the church and monastic buildings by the fragments of rubble-work and hard patches on the marshy ait. The general opinion seemed to be that the domestic buildings lay, as usual, on the south side, between the church and the river; but Mr. Reynolds argued, from the newel in the north transept, and other vestiges, that they were here on the north. Flanking the west front, southward, is a line of subterranean masonry which appears to be the cloister bases,—a similar position to those at Wells. The chapter house probably adjoined the south transept.

The members returned to Yarmouth by way of Ludham and Ormesby Broad.

During a further examination of the church at Ludham, Mr. Loftus Brock made an interesting discovery. In the roodloft staircase he found several plain oaken panels covered with whitewash, and so shaped as to suggest that they fitted the spandrels of the chancel-arch. Closer

inspection proved that on these panels (coated since the Reformation with whitewash) still exist the rood-beam figures, that of Our Saviour on the cross, and St. Mary and St. John. The execution is ruder than that of the screen-panels. Such a treatment of the beam-figures is unique.

In the evening a meeting was held in the Council Chamber, about half past eight, to listen to papers from some of the members. The Mayor presided in the absence of Lord Waveney, and the Vicar and other gentlemen were upon the platform, while the hall was filled with ladies and gentlemen. The first paper was read by Mr. Thomas Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., upon "East Anglia in Saxon Times", in which he gave an interesting description of the history of the eastern counties in the early period referred to, establishing his facts by reference to the coins found in this district, to the churches, and other unmistakable relics of the time. The author supported the theory of Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., with respect to the Roman roads of the south of England. He also alluded to Caister and Burgh Castles, and said that the termination "by", which distinguishes the villages in the Flegg Hundreds, shewed them to be of Danish origin. Names with a similar termination were not met with out of the Flegg Hundreds, nor in Suffolk, except the village of Aldeby. Dr. Raven, however, pointed out that there was an Ashby in the Mutford and Lothingland Union, Risby near Bury St. Edmund's, and Barnby near Beccles.

Dr. Raven, who had read a paper at Caister, written by Mr. Gunn, on "A Roman Pottery Kiln discovered at Caister in 1851", said he had a bag of Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon pieces of pottery which he should be happy to shew to any of the audience at the close of the papers.

Mr. Geo. Lambert, F.S.A., then read a very interesting paper on the "History of Maces, and their Antiquity". The mace (*massue* or *masse*) was a weapon used both in battles and tournaments, and was also the common weapon with ecclesiastics, who by the tenure of their office were forbidden to use the sword. Maces were presumed to be the representatives of sceptres, a name derived from the Greek word *skeptron*, a staff or rod carried by kings and rulers as an emblem of power, sovereign or judicial. It was considered as a holy or sacred emblem; and to take an oath and touch the sceptre was to make the most solemn of all adjurations, whence in Homer it was accounted sacred. It dated from the very highest antiquity, and had assumed various forms, from a pole, a leaning staff, a shepherd's crook, and so on to its present form. The mace was formerly made of iron, or wood and iron, and its use was to break the armour of the opponent, and also to unhorse him. Beginning with the year 1344, when the Commons prayed

the King that no one within cities or boroughs should bear maces of silver, except the King's serjeants, Mr. Lambert traced the history of maces downwards, and gave some very interesting particulars with regard to them. To the best of his knowledge, he said, the earliest maces known, and still in existence, were those at Tenterden in Kent, one dated 1649, and the other 1660. Both were cup-shaped, 3 inches in diameter, with a coronet of fleurs-de-lys and crosses, and with a ship in full sail. It was commonly reported that the mace belonging to the College of Physicians was the identical "bauble" inveighed against by the great Oliver Cromwell when he called out, "Sir Harry Vane! The Lord protect me from Sir Harry Vane!" Then stamping his foot on the floor of the House (a signal for his musketeers to enter), he exclaimed, "Take away that bauble! Ye are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you. He has chosen other instruments for carrying on His work."

Coming to the maces of the present day and of Charles II, of which there were almost numberless specimens, Mr. Lambert said these were all crowned, and it had been stated that the crowns were added to the maces (which were formerly cup-shaped) on the re-establishment of Charles II. That appeared to be so from a mace in the city of London, belonging to the Corporation of the Ward of Chepe, dated 1624, in the time of James I, and upon which was an inscription stating that the crown was added to the mace by the inquest of the Ward of Chepe A.D. 1678. The mace bore the goldsmith's mark which answered to the year 1624, thus proving the fact of its being made before the addition of the crown. At New Romney he had lately seen the two maces borne before the Corn Barons of the Cinque Ports, in the persons of their bailiffs, when they attended at Yarmouth to superintend, open, and regulate, the business transacted annually at the grand mart or fair for the sale of herrings, which was granted to the Cinque Ports; and in those bailiffs might be traced the first municipal jurisdiction of their borough over which the Cinque Ports continued their prerogative during the free fair, and whose bailiffs were admitted into court to the hearing and determination of causes in conjunction with the magistrates of their town. It was in the tenth year of the reign of King Edward III that the interests of the two jurisdictions were attempted to be settled, but which was a futile effort, for in the year 1574 a bill was introduced into Parliament to enrol Yarmouth as a Cinque Port, but it was never properly carried out, and it was only in the year 1702 that the government of Yarmouth was settled under Anne in its proper and present form.

Mr. Lambert then referred to the maces of Yarmouth, observing that of the large maces which belonged to this borough there were two made in the year 1690, and bearing the letter *x*. The crowns

did not unscrew, and they were of the ordinary type of all corporation maces of the time of William and Mary. There were five small maces for the five serjeants-at-arms, all of them 7 ins. long, and bearing the Yarmouth arms—half lions and half herrings. There was one larger mace, 10 ins. long, with the arms of England and France quarterly, and a more modern one of an anchor at the base. That he was informed was the Admiralty mace. The silver-gilt mace 6 ins. long was the mayor's emblem of power. It bore the arms of Charles II, and that king's monogram, a double c. There were four shields,—England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Star of the Bath. What was, perhaps, the most interesting part of the regalia was the oar, which was of a much later date, namely, 1784. It was very elaborate, and highly ornamented on the back of the blade with the king's arms, etc. The sword of state, 4 ft. 6 ins. long, had this peculiarity, that it bore the arms of Charles II, but in lieu of the lion of Scotland in the quarterly it bore the Tudor rose. The silver Monteith or punch bowl was made in the year 1688-9. It had a crown for holding wine glasses over the water when they drank the king's health. It was usually brought on to the table after dinner nearly full of water, and with the crown surmounting it, and the glasses in the crown, which were used in drinking the health of the king (James III) over the water. The Scotch gave the bowl the name of the Monteith. They were punished for their loyalty to the Pretender, and they gave it the name of Monteith after the Duke or Earl of Monteith. The large round of beef dish or plum pudding dish, dated 1664, was the gift of Mr. George Morse, and weighed 107 ozs. The loving cup was purchased in 1737, with the remains of the gift of Mr. Morse. In his concluding remarks Mr. Lambert said they knew that it was customary to unscrew the cup of the mace and drink the king's health, but he should like to know why they were always made to hold a quintal.

The Mayor said the punch bowl was a very handsome piece of plate, but he could hardly think of anyone in Yarmouth drinking the health of the king in water.

Mr. Picton, F.S.A., in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Lambert, said he was a high authority in matters of silver and gold and regalia. The paper that he had read had been very interesting, and threw a new light on the regalia of their municipal towns. Referring to the quintal spoken of by Mr. Lambert, he could not think that it represented a dry measure, and he should judge, by the habits of their ancestors, that it was intended to hold liquor. Quintal, being derived from *quinque*, must mean a fifth of some measure, and perhaps it was the fifth of a gallon.

Mr. Lambert informed Mr. Picton that the Yarmouth mace did not

unscrew, and the cup could not therefore be taken off and filled with liquor. He was inclined to think the quintal was a measure for corn.

Mr. H. W. Henfrey then made some remarks on the coinage and numismatic history of East Anglia in Saxon times, with an exhibition of some silver pennies of Ethelred II and Edward the Confessor, coined at Norwich. The paper will, it is hoped, be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13TH.

On Wednesday morning the members of the Congress started punctually at nine o'clock for Burgh Castle. A pleasant drive of two or three miles brought the party to the church, which, although not included in the programme, was visited, and a few interesting objects noted. A ramble down a shady lane, and a climb up a rugged bramble-covered steep, and the members of the Association were within the walls of the Roman camp at Burgh. Here the members were met by Sir Francis and Lady Boileau, who gave them a hearty welcome. Sir Francis stated that his late father (Sir John P. Boileau, a distinguished antiquary, and for many years President of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society) purchased Burgh Castle to prevent its being destroyed by cutting a railroad through it. Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Hon. Congress Secretary, congratulated the country that this ancient monument had fallen into the hands of a gentleman whose object would be to preserve it; and further remarked that when the Association held its Congress at Norwich in 1857, he remembered well the description given of this remarkable fortification, on the spot, by Sir John Boileau, then (as his son was now) a Vice-President of the meeting. The large party, which included J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., and Mrs. Colman, Colonel and Mrs. Lytton Bulwer, Major Leathes, Mr. John Gurney, and other resident gentry, then made a survey of the camp, which stands on high ground above the marshes, and not far from the river. What remains of this fortress, which was almost square, are three of its massive walls, constructed of flints, with bondings of the well known Roman brick. If there ever was a fourth wall it has disappeared. The necessity of a fourth wall to complete the enclosure of the camp may have been obviated by the great natural barrier which the waters of the Yare afforded,—waters that in Roman times participated in the storms of the North Sea, for then Yarmouth was not. The camp commands a fine view of the vast expanse of marsh stretching away to Caister.

An account of the camp was given by Dr. Raven. There can be no doubt, he said, that Burgh Castle is the ancient Roman fortress of

Garianonum. There is only one authority, a great one it is true, Sir Henry Spelman, who identifies Garianonum with Caister. But comparing what is not to be seen at Caister with what is to be seen at Burgh, the balance of evidence is against the conclusion of Sir H. Spelman. The masonry at Burgh is not all of one period. The towers and the upper part of the walls are of considerably later date than the rest of the work. This is clearly shown where there have been settlements. Mr. Harrod, who made excavations under the direction of the late Sir John Boileau, was of opinion that a British earthwork was utilised by the Romans, because the soil within the walls is very much higher than that outside. The first question which naturally arises to the beholder is, was this a three-walled or a four-walled camp? Dr. Raven thought that the members of the Association would, without much hesitation, pronounce it to have been a four-walled or square camp, though there is no wall remaining on the western side next the river. At Richborough there is no western wall, but there are large masses of masonry in a meadow below. Everything on the west side has been carried away, doubtless for building purposes. Mr. Harrod, in his excavations, traced the northern and southern walls for a considerable distance beyond their present extent. Digging in the low ground, he came upon some wooden piles and broken mortar, which, without any straining of inferential argument, may be regarded as the foundations of the western wall. Opposite the Prætorian gate Mr. Harrod showed the position of the Decuman gate. When this area was occupied by the Romans, the country below was a dreary swamp, not a smiling meadow as now, and the waters of the Yare rose much higher than at present, therefore it is not surprising that the west wall has disappeared. With the north this station can have had no communication save by boat *via* Caister. The coins found here are all post-Constantine. A small Byzantine medal is often turned up. This camp was under the command of the Count of the Saxon shore, which extended from Brancaster to near Portsmouth. No doubt there was a paved way up to the Prætorian gate. Some stakes found at Carleton lead to the conclusion that this paved way or road terminated at the Roman station Sitomagus (Dunwich). This camp is not, however, connected with any great itinerary road or any well-known British road, such as the Peddar's Way. The walls of the camp are beautifully faced with layers of red brick and flint, which harmonise under the mellowing hand of Time. Each of the towers has a hole in the centre, which, according to Mr. Ives, who wrote a work on Garianonum, was designed for the reception of wooden turrets, that could be mounted at short notice, and defended by its occupants against any enemy attacking the camp. At the south-west corner of the camp are traces of dwellings. It is in this part of the camp that most of the coins and

other remains are found. A coin of Constantine, minted at Treves, has been found here this year. The Romans must have occupied this place until they quitted the island. It was, however, easy for them to get away in case any difficulty should have arisen between them and the native tribes. We may suppose that the legions did not leave until the time of Theodosius or Honorius.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., followed Dr. Raven with a few remarks on the architectural features of the wall of the camp. Its masonry is like that of the wall in Camomile Street, which was part of the wall enclosing ancient Londinium. The work in the walls is of two periods. The mortar of the lower part is made up with pounded brick, and in the upper part this is alternated with layers which have not this ingredient. The bastions here, like those in London, have been built against the wall, and not bonded with it. In the facing of the wall, however, the whole of the mortar contains pounded brick.

Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., remarked that these Roman camps were made upon mechanical principles. Polybius and others describe a particular kind of camp as made in their times. The early camps were nearly square, like those of Reculver and Porchester. Other camps were in the proportion of 600 feet by 400 feet. Dr. Raven stated that the measurements of this camp would show that it belonged to the latter class, in which case, said Mr. Morgan, it would be such a camp as was described by Hyginus. Alongside the camp at Pevensey, which is next a marsh, piles have been found on which a wall was erected. The bastions at Lympne, as here, are bonded into the wall at the top, though not at the bottom. Within this camp, Dr. Raven added, many horses' teeth have been found, as might naturally be expected when it is known that this was the camp of the Stablesian horse. In a field on the east side of the camp is a hollow, which Dr. Raven and others incline to believe was the site of an ancient amphitheatre, where the Roman soldiers amused themselves with gladiatorial sports. On this point many of the party were sceptical. Several admirable sketches were taken of the front of the fine east wall, with its four bastions, by artists accompanying the party.

When the members of the Congress left the ruins of Burgh Castle, they made for St. Olave's Priory, on the way to which they passed through Belton. Here the round tower of the church, stationed on a hill, occasioned considerable comment, as did all similar structures that so frequently encountered the eye during the day as it roamed across the landscape. But the name of Belton seemed to strengthen the theory which several of the members entertain as to the original purpose of these round towers. Some consider that the name of Belton perpetuates the fire worship of Bel or Baal, and that the towers were used as beacons. We know from curious customs which prevail, parti-

cularly on Midsummer Eve among the people of Scandinavia, that there are survivals of this ancient sun or fire worship, but whether the most ancient of our round towers have any association with it or not, remains at present a mere matter of speculation.

Down what is locally known as a "loke", close by St. Olave's Railway Station, is an ivy-clad wall, from which a similar wall extends at right angles to a rude-looking building, with weeds and herbs growing on its roof. Between this strange-looking structure and the first-mentioned wall is a large square plot of garden ground. Approaching the dilapidated building, over which Nature seems inclined to throw a verdant mantle, it is seen to have a fine pointed arched low doorway and windows. On entering the door the visitor finds himself in one of a series of rooms formed by the sub-division, a fine groined and vaulted crypt. A labourer's family occupy this remnant of the priory of St. Olave's, which was a small house belonging to the Austin canons.

Mr. Loftus Brock gave a description of the priory, as it stood in its prime, so far as he was able to do so, after a study of the few fragments here and there remaining. The priory was founded by Roger Fitz Osbert in the reign of Henry III. An account of it and its priors is given by Dugdale. Other documents than those cited by that writer, referring to this religious house, have been recently discovered at Cambridge. This priory had but five or six monks, and it was amongst the first that were dissolved. The crypt, all but perfect, is divided by a central row of polished marble shafts, and is vaulted with brickwork, another illustration of the use of brick at an early period. The upper storey was evidently reached by two staircases. The view that the church adjoined the wall beyond the garden, which in that case would have been the cloistered court, was supported by the fact that bones had been dug up behind it. Behind the crypt cottages is an old barn, which twenty-five years ago had a carved roof and a few Gothic windows, now bricked up, called in tradition "the guests' room." This was undoubtedly the strangers' hall. This priory, with its present associations, is another illustration of that air of desolation which now encircles these memorials of the past.

Major Leathes, V.P., exhibited to the members of the Congress, before leaving, a very fine Roman sacrificial vessel bearing the maker's name, dug up in the neighbourhood.

The party then proceeded to Fritton Church, which proved to be one of great interest to the members of the Congress. Mr. Brock, who had made a previous intimate acquaintance with the religious edifices of the district, again gave the information, and furnished explanations always desired by archæologists. This church, which has a round tower, is dedicated to St. Edmund. Sir John de Mauteby in 1376 requested that his body should be buried in this church of St. Edmund,

before the altar of St. Mary. There is a little niche in the south wall, near the chancel, and a corresponding one in the north wall, in which statues (before which lights were constantly kept burning) were, no doubt, placed. The peculiarity of the church is in the manner in which it was enlarged about 1350. The church consists of a small nave and a chancel, which is lower than the nave (both thatched), and a sacrarium, which is a step lower still. The pretty little apse has three beautiful small Norman windows with zigzag mouldings, and one surrounded with the original ornamental colouring. This is not the only bit of mural colouring in the church. On the wall opposite the south door is a fine fresco of St. Christopher, who is represented bearing the infant Saviour. This representation of St. Christopher is more common in churches in Norfolk and Suffolk than in any other part of England. The entrance to the chancel, because of its low arch, resembles the entrance to a vault; only it is wider. Chancel, north wall, and tower, are Norman; but the south wall was built in 1350, when the church was enlarged on that side only. The consequence of this method of enlargement has been to leave the north side of the chancel in line with the north wall, while the south side is several feet from the south wall. Much of the material of the old south wall had been used in making that erected in its stead. The materials of the tower shew which was the quarry whence the materials were obtained. Both the brick with which the round tower is lined, and with which it is freely dotted on the exterior, and the large masses of stone, came from the walls of the Roman station, Garianonum. A good example of the Jacobean Communion Tables, which Macaulay says were "irreverently termed 'oyster-boards' by the Papists", is a feature in the church which marks another phase of ecclesiastical history.

At Fritton the members made a halt, on the invitation of H. E. Buxton, Esq., and Mrs. Buxton, who hospitably entertained them at luncheon in a marquee erected on the lawn. The warmest thanks of the Association were given by acclamation to Mr. and Mrs. Buxton for their kindness, on the proposition of Mr. J. Brinton, V.P.

A round tower again appeared to view when the party reached Herringfleet. This church, dedicated to St. Margaret, belonged to the Priory of St. Olave. When that Priory was dissolved, its lands were handed over to some layman, and no provision was made for the spiritual needs of the people. But the condition of the church shews that the needs of the parishioners have not been forgotten by those who have received the endowments. Mr. Loftus Brock was unable to say that the round tower of this church is of Saxon date; but the east window of the tower is unquestionably Saxon; though whether it was taken from some older Saxon tower, or was made by Norman masons acquainted with Saxon work, is uncertain. The three other windows

of the tower have architectural features common to the Norman and Saxon styles. In fact, nearly the whole church is of the Norman period. But the great feature of interest in the church is the patch-work of painted glass in the east window, brought from time to time from the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury or from the Continent. A great portion of the glass is Flemish, and is to a great extent copied from designs by Albert Durer or his followers. The arms of Edward the Confessor and of St. Edmund appeared in the window, which confirms the statements that the fragments came from the great Abbey. In a window of the south aisle are specimens of English painting on glass in the fifteenth century. A very small window in the north wall contains painted glass, which is certainly not of a later date than the fourteenth century. Part of the old rood-screen has been utilised as a front of an organ-loft at the west end of the church. The Register dates from the year 1706. The living is a Donative entirely independent of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and is without any settled incumbent. It is in the gift of Major Hill Mussenden Leathes, who is lord of the manor and Prior of St. Olave's. It is in the latter capacity that he has a right to appoint any clergyman to the living, the stipend being also in his discretion. Major Leathes receives a yearly payment from the rector of the adjoining parish of Burgh, in acknowledgment of his rights as Prior of St. Olave's, and has likewise ecclesiastical rights as lord of the manor of Reedham, in Reedham, in Norfolk. A small school has been erected.

The Herringfleet Hills, in this parish, command a fine view of the Waveney valley. Herringfleet Hall, situated in a well wooded park, with commanding views, contains a choice selection of pictures by the old masters. But the gems of the collection are six cabinet-pictures by Herman Van der Myn, which are considered to be some of the most highly finished paintings in existence, and were bought in the early part of the reign of George I for £10,000.

After glancing at Somerleyton Rectory and Church, under guidance of the Rev. C. J. Steward, M.A., the party hastened on to Lowestoft to inspect the grand parish church dedicated to St. Margaret. A detailed description of it was given in a paper by Mr. J. L. Clemence, read by Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., which has been printed at pp. 34-39.

On the return home to Yarmouth, time would not permit of a visit either to the ancient fishing village or modern watering-place of Lowestoft, and the party proceeded to Corton, where they were received by Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., who gave them a very cordial reception, and afterwards hospitable entertainment at the hands of Mrs. Colman and her daughters, who presided very gracefully at a well furnished tea-table, etc. The very interesting carvings, principally from abroad,

which abound in Clyffe House, attracted no little attention. A beautiful specimen of Jacobean carved work (Sir Benjamin Wrench's doorway) from Norwich, was considered to be a very fine example of the workmanship of the period, and Mr. Colman to be very fortunate in possessing it. After an inspection of the fossil remains in the museum, a vote of thanks and cheers were given to Mr. and Mrs. Colman. Yarmouth was not reached till a quarter past eight.

In the evening the members of the Association again assembled at the Town Hall, when the following papers were read : 1, "The Saxon Shore in Britain, and the various Roman Stations on the South-Eastern and Eastern Coasts", by Mr. Charles H. Compton; and 2, "An Account of Eight recent Discoveries of Coins in Norfolk and Suffolk", by Mr. Henry Prigg. Both papers were of an interesting character, and were listened to with evident pleasure by the audience. Mr. Compton, in the course of his paper, referred to the difference of opinion that existed as to whether Burgh Castle or Caister was the ancient Roman Gariannonum. Sir H. Spelman thought it was Caister; but he (Mr. Compton) was of opinion that it was Burgh Castle. Mr. Compton also referred to the fact that a submerged forest might be seen at Brancaster at low water. The bones of deer and mammoth had been found; but there had been no trace of man seen, although it was probable they would be found if a thorough inspection of the forest could be made.

Mr. Prigg then read his paper with reference to some finds of coins which had been made in Norfolk and Suffolk. He gave some interesting particulars of eight hoards of coins found at different places within the last twelve years. At Feltwell, near Brandon, three hundred Roman *denarii*, of the early middle period, were turned up by a man ploughing. At Lakenheath, not far from Feltwell, a small pot containing Roman brass coins was found; and four years ago another find of Roman *denarii* was made at Lavenham, near Sudbury. These were found in a small vase, and also turned up by a man at plough. They were of the period of the early emperors. Two years ago, while a man was ploughing at Icklingham, Suffolk, on the site of a Roman camp, a vase was turned up containing nearly four hundred *denarii* of the latest emperors, in a beautiful state of preservation, as bright as when issued from the mint. Not far from that place, at Mildenhall, a large hoard was found of pennies of the second coinage of Henry II, again turned up by a man at plough. They represented mints of the district, among which were many of Ipswich. Perhaps the most valuable find was that made three years ago at Welnettingham, near Bury St. Edmund's, of a large hoard of groats ranging from Edward IV to the second coinage of Henry VIII, Richard II groats, and foreign groats. These were found by a man in pulling

down a chimney. In concluding, Mr. Prigg drew attention to a brass which he believed came from a church in East Norfolk, and had been surreptitiously obtained. It was in two pieces, and was to the memory of Anthony Bedinfeld, third son of Edward Bedinfeld, who died on the 1st of February 1574. Bedinfeld was a family living in that neighbourhood in olden times, and he believed there were some members of the family now in Norfolk and Suffolk. He mentioned the matter so that it might be ascertained where the brasses came from.

Mr. Henfrey mentioned the fact that there were in the British Museum three silver pennies of Edward the Confessor, coined at Norwich, and found at Thwaite in March 1831-2, which were of a very interesting character.

The proceedings of the evening terminated with a vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had read the foregoing papers; and the company, before separating, again examined with great attention the many objects of rare antiquarian interest in the temporary museum in the Council Chamber.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1880.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

Boileau, Sir Francis, Bart., Kettering Hall, Norwich
Penfold, Hugh, Rustington, Worthing
Stevens, Henry, F.S.A., New York

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Oct. 1879, Fourth Series, No. 40. 8vo.

" " for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xi, iii, Nov. 1879.

" " for "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. v, Fourth Series, April 1879, No. 38. 8vo.

" " for "Address of the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects", Dec. 1879. 4to.

To M. L'Abbé Arbellot for "La Verité sur la Mort de Richard Cœur de Lion". Paris, 1878. "Notice sur le Tombeau de Jean de Langeac (Cathédrale de Limoges)." Paris, 1869. And "Notice sur la Jubé de la Cathédrale de Limoges." Paris, 1878.

Mr. H. Watling, of Earl Stonham, exhibited rubbings of Romano-British work, also the silver base of a metal bowl, and some coins and tokens, of which Mr. Brock promised to furnish a detailed account hereafter.

Mr. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, spoke of the changes in progress at the Tower of London, and the increased facilities for obtaining a general view of the building, from the removal of the houses in the immediate vicinity.

Mr. R. C. Way exhibited an Indian medicine-box covered with the petrified skin of a snake ; half of a cannon-ball found on the site of

Allington Castle, near Maidstone, the residence of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was executed for rebellion in 1554; and an oval medallion bearing on the obverse St. Anthony of Padua (half-length profile to the right) accompanied by a nude youth. Legend, s'. ANT'. D'. PAD'; on the reverse, the B. V. Mary with the child Jesus pointing to a shield charged with a lily, and inscribed DIVI IOSEPHI....

Mr. R. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A., exhibited an oval pebble about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, worked roughly, with a groove at one end, for attachment by a thong to a handle for use as a weapon.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited a document containing an extract of Court Roll of Woking A.D. 1654, found in a box in the ground during excavations at the church of Ewhurst.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen exhibited a lamp from the Shetland Islands, and read the following:

DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT OIL-LAMP FROM SHETLAND.

BY MR. J. R. ALLEN.

The oil-lamp of iron, now exhibited, came from Shetland, and is a good specimen of the form which was in common use in Scotland up to quite recent times. So rapidly, however, has it been superseded by the paraffin-lamp and gas, that except in the most remote islands along the coast it would be difficult to find one now existing. The name by which this kind of lamp is known is a "cruise". The shape will be best understood from the drawing. It consists of two little round, shallow pans with sloping sides and pointed spouts, one placed above the other. The upper one contains the oil, and the wick comes out of the spout. The object of the lower is to catch any oil which may run over. The upper pan is hung on a little projecting iron bracket riveted into the back of the lower pan. In this bracket are four notches; the lowest square, and the others V-shaped. When the pan rests in the square notch, it is horizontal, and full of oil; but as the oil burns away, a fresh supply is brought towards the wick by shifting the pan on to the next notch, and thus tilting it forwards. The lamp has a swivel at the top, and a hook for suspension. The upper pan is lifted by means of one of the projecting rings on each side of the hole by which it hangs. The dimensions are as follow: height (without swivel and hook), 7 ins.;



breadth of pan, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. at top, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at bottom ; depth, 1 inch ; length, over spout, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

There is a lamp of tin still used in Shetland, on the same principle as the "cruise", only that the spout is a closed tube instead of being open. One of the iron lamps in my possession exhibits the transitional form, as the spout is much longer, and the edges bent inwards so as to form a kind of half tube. The shell of the common whelk is used in place of an iron "cruise" in Shetland, and forms a very good substitute.

There are a few specimens of "cruises" in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the best is engraved in their *Proceedings*, vol. iii, p. 406. A beautiful one, of brass, from Rikjavik, Iceland, may also be seen in the Edinburgh Industrial Museum.

The iron "cruises" are entirely of wrought metal; and Mr. Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A. Scot., has shewn me a stone mould in his possession, used for hammering the iron plate into the required shape. This mould was brought from Shetland some few years ago, together with a lamp which had been fashioned by its help.



Mr. Allen also read a paper on a "Cist with Axe-head Sculptures, near Kilmartin, in Argyllshire", and exhibited plans and drawings of the same. The paper will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, suggested that the rake-like figures on the cist were allied to the Ogham letters.

Mr. I. H. Jeayes read a paper on "Documents relating to Ancient Confraternities." The paper will be printed hereafter, with translations of the documents.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., read a communication from Prebendary Scarth concerning the discoveries at Bath by Mr. Mann. These will form the subject of a future paper.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1880.

H. S. CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

Hodgson, Philip Fancourt, College of Arms, Queen Victoria St.

Hyde, Mrs. Moore, 77 Cambridge Gardens

Stovin, Rev. Charles Frederick, 59 Warwick Square

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library :

To Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., for "Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Rings in the Collection of J. Mayer, Esq." 8vo. 1879.

To the Author, J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, F.R.S., F.S.A., for "Memoranda of the Tragedy of Hamlet." London, 1879.

Mr. J. T. Irvine reported the discovery of a very beautiful slab, of the fourteenth century, containing a female effigy, under the floor of the chapter house of Bangor Cathedral. The inscription is "Hic jacet Eva quæ fuit uxor Anwel, cujus anima propitiatur Deus." It is stated that there was, in the fourteenth century, an owner of the Penrhyn estate of this name, and it is conjectured that the stone was put up to her memory. It is evident, from the character of the stone, that it was put there by some person of distinction in the neighbourhood. The slab was covered with about 18 inches of rubbish. But the description of this is reserved for a future occasion, when, it is hoped, some detailed account of it may be given, accompanied by an illustration.

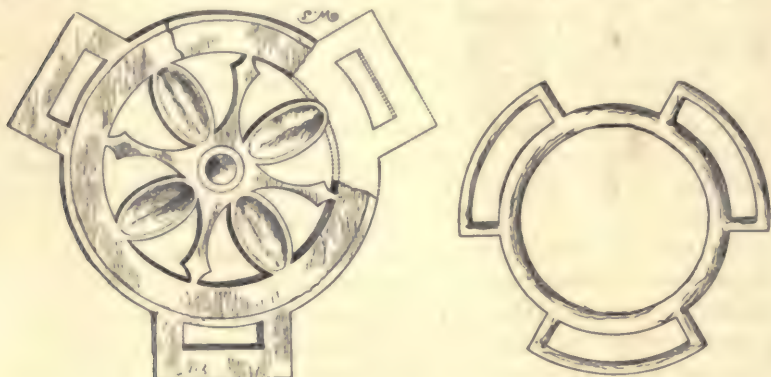
Mr. R. Blair, of South Shields, sent for exhibition the impression of an intaglio of the Roman period, in red carnelian, discovered lately on the site of the Roman castrum at South Shields. He writes :

"I have purchased it from the widow of the finder. Mr. King, of Cambridge, to whom I sent it for inspection, in congratulating me on the acquisition of a more valuable intaglio than he had supposed, he having on first sight taken the subject for the common one of a mounted Cupid, writes, 'On more minute examination I discover the rider to be seated sideways, to have a female coiffure, and the great eagle's wings appropriated to Victory, and not the dumpy dove's wings that designate the god of love. Here, then, we have an easily intelligible allegory of some notable success gained by a cavalry charge. This is a design of which no other example has ever come under my notice, and which probably is unique. The work, too, though without finish, has much spirit, and tells its story with all possible distinctness. In short, it is an intaglio very desirable to any collector.'"



Mr. Blair also reports : "A month or two ago a curious bronze article (fig. 1) was exhumed at the same place. When I first saw it I at once came to the conclusion that it was connected with horse-trappings. I send a drawing of it, full size. You will perceive that it unfortunately is not quite perfect. My opinion as to its use is confirmed by reading in a paper, *Di sepolcreto Etrusco scoperto presso Bologna*, by the Conte G. Gozzadini (Bologna, 1854), p. 25, where a similar object (fig. 2) is figured (N. 8, tavola vi), a copy of which I also enclose,—'Forse è parte

di falera equina ; da cui forma pari indichi l'ufficio di congiungere tre corregge della bardatura, e può aver tenuto luogo dell' anello che ora si usa per la camarra, avendone la robustezza opportuna ; due equali



erano insieme sorraposte, altrove ve n' era una sola.' It does seem singular that this remote castrum should be connected, by the discovery of similar objects, with an Etruscan burial-place in Italy."

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following note from Dr. Hooppell: "We have found another inscription at Binchester ; but it is very faint. There is, however, enough to fix the dedication to the *Matres Tramarinæ*. By very careful scrutiny of the stone I make out the whole : thus,

M A T R
T R A M A R
E Q V I T . A L
V E T T . C . R .
V . S . L . M .

I.e., Matribus Tramarinis Equites Alæ Vettonum, cives Romani, vota solverunt libentes meritis."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew presented several objects for exhibition, all the products of Eastern art, and of greater or lesser antiquity. A Rhodian wine flask of olive-coloured glass, 12 inches in height, flattened to a breadth of $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, corroded by contact with the earth, yet possessing a strange internal lustre. This flask was exhumed from beneath Northumberland House, Strand, and probably belongs to the history of the former palace, as its age may be claimed for the sixteenth century. Two specimens of ancient Rhodian glass, lately brought to London, one of pale green and flattened, with the characteristic bell mouth, the other globose, with a swelling but elongated neck of clear rich peacock blue—a reference to the glass treasures of South Kensington will testify for the rarity and peculiarity of these Eastern vases. A lamp and peacock, in brass or bronze, of ancient Indian art. The lamp, like

the bird, bears a sacred character in Hindoo mythology. A deeply incased plinth bears a peacock with spreading wings and tail, and from its back rises the five-stemmed sacred tree, each stem adorned with leaves, apparently bamboo, and each stem supporting an almond-shaped lamp about 2 inches in length. The height of the structure, as a whole, reaching $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A lively discussion arose on the words of the exhibitor:—that recalling the ancient Jewish connection with Persia, and the supposition that the tribes of Afghanistan are closely connected with and descended from the lost ten tribes of Israel, it is hardly possible to disassociate a Jewish traditional influence from the object before us. There appears in it an imperfect and distorted tradition of the seven lighted sacred lamps of the tabernacle. The discussion was taken up by Captain Josephs, who illustrated the subject by reference to the old silver Jewish family lamps used on the festival of the dedication of the temple, and called attention to the Jewish title of honour and command in the “*melek*” of the Afghan chieftains. The selection of the graceful bamboo as the stem seemed natural to the Eastern artist rather than the rare and crooked almond, although it should be noted the oil cups are shaped as half almonds in the husk.¹

Mr. Mayhew then laid on the table two Japanese dishes of earthenware, thickly enamelled in bluish grey, mottled with black, each containing large models painted in natural colours of the wrasse, spotted lamorna, silver carp, a fish resembling a roach, and a small tortoise. These works of art by some Japanese Palissy elicited an opinion from the Chairman that for such modelled ceramics the West is (with much more) indebted to the East, and not the East to the West. A fine cup and saucer of egg-shell, white internal, but black external surface, enamelled in colours, with birds, scrolls, leaves, and flowers of delicate and exact execution, was added to the Japanese exhibition. The chairman called special attention to these objects, as things being most worthy of observation themselves, and of excessive rarity. In anticipation of the extensive display of wrought jade, ancient and modern, by Messrs. Cope and Cuming, a cartouched snuff bottle of artificial white jade, and a basin, coloured to represent a pale sea green jade, were added by Mr. Mayhew.

Mr. W. G. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited four flint implements of considerable size and in good condition, lately picked up by him in the London streets, where the roads were in course of repair.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a jug of Flanders ware of the end of the seventeenth century, with a chevroned pattern on a dark blue ground, and lozenge ornaments at top and bottom.

¹ In the Cuming collection is a sacred *pancharty*, or lamp for five wicks, the oil-cups for which are of the same form as above.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Librarian*, exhibited a coloured drawing by Mr. G. F. Tenniswood, F.S.A., *Draughtsman to the Association*, of the Early Norman doorway in the north side of Patcham Church, near Brighton, built up in the wall. Some further notes on this doorway are promised.

In illustration of the paper about to be read the Chairman exhibited the following jade articles :—

1. Ancient axe blade of dark green jade, the edge nearly straight.
2. Ancient axe blade of a somewhat lighter green jade, rounded at the edge. From Western China, 1859.
3. Amulet, a perforated disc, surrounded by dragons, beautifully carved in white jade or yu stone. From China.
4. Axe blade rounded at the edge, of light green jade.
5. Discoid blade of a nbout—an instrument used in cutting up enemies; of deep green jade.
6. Full-sized drawing of the nbout, showing the mode of fixing the blade to the end of the haft. From New Caledonia.
7. Pocanarma, the talasmanic fish hook, an object of the greatest rarity; of light green jade or pounamu stone.
8. Large tiki (or ancestor) with mother of pearl eye.
9. Small tiki with red eye, both of dark green pounamu stone. From New Zealand.
10. Drawing of a New Zealand meri¹ or patiti, of dark green pounamu stone, fourteen inches and three-eighths in length and four inches and seven-sixteenths in breadth. In the collection of our Vice-President, Mr. John Evans, F.S.A.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited several objects composed of jade, viz., 1, knife handles; 2, New Zealand axe; 3, New Zealand button; and 4, group of Chinese children, in low relief, from some inlaid work.

Mr. W. H. Cope then read his paper on "Jade", which has been printed above at pp. 63-69. The paper was accompanied with a magnificent collection of upwards of thirty-five specimens of jade from hina, New Zealand, and other places. These, with the objects exhibited by Mr. Brent and the Chairman, formed such a collection as has seldom been witnessed before.

In the discussion which ensued, Captain Josephs, Mr. Wright, the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, and the Chairman took part. Mr. Dymond described several similar species of stones brought from India to European graves.

Mr. Birch then read a paper on "Ancient Documents" from Ely, Wells, Norwich, and other places, which will be printed hereafter if space permits.

¹ For a notice of the *Meri*, see *Journal*, x, p. 109; and for implements of jade or nephrite, xxiv, p. 182, and xxv, p. 79.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1880.

T. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treas.*, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Associates :—

Brangwyn, W. C., 11, Beaufort Buildings, Strand.

Floyer, Frederic A., 7, River Terrace, Putney.

Peckover, A., F.S.A., Sibaldsholme, North Brink, Wisbech.

Walford, Edward, M.A., Hampstead.

The following local members of council were duly appointed :—

Blair, Robert, County of Durham.

Margoliouth, Rev. Dr., County of Buckingham.

The following presents to the library were announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors :—

To Paul Schumaker, for “The Method of Manufacturing Pottery and Baskets among the Indians of Southern California”. 8vo.

To the Society, for “Report of the Operations of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, 1878, 1879.” Philadelphia, 1880. 8vo.

To C. R. Smith, F.S.A., for “Discovery of Altars, Coins, etc., near the Site of Procolitia, on the Line of the Roman Wall.” London, 1879. 8vo.

To the Society, for “Report of the Council of Art Union of London for the year 1879”. 8vo. 1879.

Mr. Henry Prigg exhibited the impression of a leaden seal found lately at Icklingham. The seal is of the thirteenth century, and bears an ornamental cross between four mullets. Legend: s. WIL[L]ELMI. BERCARI[I]. D[E]. BAT, *i.e.*, William, the Berger or Shepherd of Battisford, co. Suff.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, *Hon. Sec.*, read the following note by Mr. R. Blair of recent discoveries at South Shields: “I send herewith the impression of a very beautiful intaglio, discovered some months ago, in red jasper, bearing a youthful head and bust, most probably of the young Caracalla typified as, and with the caduceus of, Mercury over the shoulder. It has been originally set in an iron ring, a portion of which was found with the gem. It belongs now to the Rev. J. Stephens of this town. I send also an impression of another intaglio in real jasper of a man standing near a tree, holding a hare by the hind legs, at his feet a dog. It is a little damaged at one side. The site of the cemetery attached to the castrum is now being excavated to a uniform depth of about 3 feet for building purposes. Within the last seven days three graves have been disturbed. The bodies seem to have been

simply buried in the ground, with a stone at the head and another at the feet. One of them, a female, had four bracelets on her right wrist, and near were discovered five or six small beads of various colours, which may have formed a necklet; a fragment of bone, which probably is a portion of a comb, was also found with this body. With the other two bodies, apparently of strong well-made men, there was no trace of anything buried. The *locus in quo* is not many yards from the place where the Palmyrene tombstone was unearched some time ago. We may therefore hope ere long to find something of antiquarian value. In September of last year there was discovered by an Irish labourer, engaged in laying water pipes on the military way near Wallbottle, about midway between the Roman stations of Condercum and Hunnum, *per lineam valli*, and almost touching the south face of the wall of Hadrian, a slate coloured pear-shaped vase, about 14 or 16 ins. high and 36 ins. in circumference at its widest part, containing about 6,000 coins, principally of the dark and disastrous period between the accession of Valerian and the accession of Aurelian. Most of them are or have been coated with silver, and the rest are of billon. I therefore think that they have all been intended to pass as denarii. There were only about eight coins of the Emperor Aurelian in the hoard, and on this account I consider it may be safely assumed that they were buried early in his reign. At the last meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries (on the 28th inst.) a paper on the subject was read by Mr. Clayton of The Chesters, and to it I added a tabulated statement of about 5,000 of the coins, prepared from the bulk of them, in the possession of Mr. Clayton, and from lists supplied by the present holder of the remainder. Of the coins preceding Valerian, it will be seen from the following summary there are single specimens of Otacilia, Hostilian, Trebonianus Gallus, and Æmilian, and two of Volusian. I think the most curious thing in connection with this find is that there are single coins of Macrianus and Quietus, *tyranni orientis*, connecting, like the Palmyrene tombstone, the far distant West with the East, and showing the wide dominion of the Romans. I now give the summary, which may be interesting, as follows:—

Otacilia	1	Marius	24
Hostilian	1	Tetricus Senior	422
Trebonianus Gallus	1	„ Junior	91
Volusian	2	Macrianus	1
Æmilian	1	Quietus	1
Valerian	44	Claudius II	690
Mariniana	2	Quintillus	91
Gallienus	901	Aurelian	8
Salonina	134		
Saloninus	17		4574
Postumus	443	In possession of finder, not yet	
Laelianus	6	examined	436
Victorinus	1693		
			5010

"One or two of the coins of Postumus have the *SALVS PROVINCIARVM* reverse, with a youthful head, ascribed by some numismatists to the younger Postumus. Several of the coins of Victorinus, of the equity type, have a portrait very unlike that of the emperor in question, and more like that of his predecessor, Postumus, which probably may be accounted for by the die sinkers not being accustomed in the early years of the reign of Victorinus to his profile. Another coin from the find, bearing the obverse inscription *GALLIENVS AVG*, is in every other respect, including the 'image' of Claudius Gothicus, with the *SALVS* reverse. Can this be a restored coin? All the coins that I have seen are in good preservation, not one being illegible. Mr. Clayton's paper will be published in the forthcoming part of the *Archæologia Æliana*, and will be illustrated by an engraving of the urn (now belonging to Mr. Clayton), and by autotypes of thirty-six of the coins."

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a green glass bottle from Canterbury diggings, and another, of somewhat different shape, dredged up from the sea near Whitstable; also a Persian tile of deep blue colour, glazed, with the final letters of a Persian inscription, inlaid in white, green, blue, and other colours.

Mr. J. W. Grover, C.E., exhibited a flint implement with horn handle, from the Lake of Bienne in Switzerland, and a worked flint from railway excavations near Thetford.

The Rev. Mr. Maule exhibited, through Mr. Brock, *Hon. Sec.*, a collection of fictitious antiquities of well known form, including a metal diptych, and a *plaque* or badge dated "A.D. 1011"! A wish was expressed by several members that an illustrated paper might be prepared on these and similar objects (the work of a late fabricator), as a warning to collectors against acquiring such forgeries.

Mr. R. Fitch of Norwich, whose splendid collection of rings and seals was only seen by very few of the visitors at the late Congress, sent through Mr. C. R. Smith, V.P., F.S.A., the impression of a gold ring found some years since at Brancaster. He believes it to be the only gold Christian ring at present known. It bears two heads facing, and was in all probability a marriage or betrothal ring. The legend is probably *VIVA[s?]* IN DEO; but the final *s* in the first word is somewhat indistinct, and the word may be, perhaps, *vivam*, or a contraction for *vivatis*. The work is very rude.



Mr. Tenniswood, jun., exhibited a series of rubbings from the original metal plates in the *corona* of the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. These are of the twelfth century, and of great artistic merit. A paper upon them is promised by Mr. Tenniswood on a future day.

Mr. Cope read the following communication from Major H. Stratton

Bates, formerly Native Interpreter to the Forces in New Zealand, relative to the jade objects from that colony :

"In the course of your paper on the subject of jade, you spoke of its connection with the Maoris of New Zealand. I think you may be interested in reading the copy of a letter I addressed to the Editor of *The Times* a few days ago, but which has not been considered sufficiently interesting for publication as I presume. I wrote it thinking that the theory of a religious feeling on the part of the Maoris regarding the stone is incorrect, and may lead to ethnological errors. I may be wrong ; but I do not think I am, though it is seventeen years since I was in New Zealand. But during my ten years' service there I had much to do with the natives, and I have had a good many 'greenstones' in my possession. The emblem of sovereignty alluded to in your lecture is, I suppose, a *mere pounamu*, a greenstone weapon or battleaxe like a flattened sodawater-bottle. Such a weapon hangs near me as I write. They were carried by chiefs. New Zealand 'sovereignty' is, of course, a modern innovation.

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"JADE.

"The Cranhams, Cirencester. Jan. 20, 1880.

"SIR,—In the several letters and articles which have appeared in your columns on the subject of jade, it has been more than once stated that jade is regarded by the Maoris of New Zealand with a mysterious feeling of religious reverence. I am inclined to think that such a statement is misleading. As Interpreter to the Forces in New Zealand, and magistrate in a native district, I had, many years ago, frequent discussions with the Maoris on the subject of the greenstone (jade) ornaments and weapons ; and when asked why they set so high, and in some cases so enormous, a value on these stones, their invariable answer was that they were '*ohuas*' (heirlooms) from '*nga tipuna*' (their ancestors). Any very valuable piece of greenstone always had a history connecting it with persons of note of bygone generations. I believe that the affection and reverence entertained for these greenstones was mostly on account of their association with ancestors who had passed away. The dull, opaque stone was comparatively of little value. The semitransparent description, which they called '*hinangu*', was very rare and very valuable, and pieces of this sort always had histories.

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

H. S. B."

A second communication from Major Bates was as follows : "I venture to remark that the greenstone ornaments worn round the necks of the wives of chiefs were the 'titled deeds' of the land, that such a theory is entirely new to me. I never heard of it in New Zealand ; and as in 1862 and 1863 I had, as Native Interpreter to the Forces, and also as Native Interpreter to the then Governor, Sir George Grey (himself one of the greatest authorities on native customs), a great

deal to do in investigating the case of disputed ownership of land, which had led to the war of 1860 and 1861, and which was the cause of the renewal of hostilities in 1863, I must, I think, had such a custom prevailed, have become acquainted with it. True, the possession of a well known '*heitiki*' (greenstone image worn round the neck) would be in some cases collateral evidence of the wearer having the principal right or '*mana*' over a piece of land, because the ornament would connect him or her with some former chief whose title had been undisputed. So far, and so far only, could the greenstone be looked on as a titledeed of the land. If the greenstone were lost or stolen, it would give no title to the finder or thief. I can conceive, however, and I believe it has frequently happened, that on the sale of a block of land, a greenstone ornament or a greenstone weapon (or, failing either of these, some other weapon) was handed over as a symbol that the power over (the '*mana*' over) the land was transmitted. It must be borne in mind, too, that though the chief had the principal right over the land, he could not alienate it without consent of the tribe. The land belonged to the community. It was disregard of this custom which led to most of the bloodshed in New Zealand since our occupation of the country. Whatever may have been the feeling with regard to greenstone in bygone times, the feeling for the last thirty years at least in New Zealand has been one of reverence for it on account of its association with former owners. All else is forgotten.

"But I should say that Sir George Grey, now in Auckland, N. Z., knows as much as any one since the death of the late Sir Donald Maclean, whose opinion would have been the first. The late Dr. Thomson, whom I knew in New Zealand, says with regard to this ornament (worn, by the way, as much by men as by women),—'The *heitiki*, the most valued of all their ornaments, was a curious image representing a human being with an enormous face and badly shaped legs of disproportionate size. The image is not unlike a Hindoo idol. Some *heitikis* were about the size of shillings, others were as large as plates, and most of them were made of greenstone. This ornament was suspended round the neck, and handed down from father to son. When a long absent relative arrived at a village, the *heitiki* was taken from his neck and wept over for the sake of those who formerly wore it. *Heitikis* were deposited with the bones of the dead until they were removed to their final resting-place. Every tradition regarding this image is forgotten; but it is evidently connected with their mythology. *Haumia-tiki-tiki* is the god of cultivated food among the New Zealanders; and *tiki* in various South Sea islands is the name of an image.'¹

"I myself wore a *heitiki* on my watch-chain in New Zealand, and

¹ Thomson's *Story of New Zealand*, vol. i, p. 201.

more than once Europeans have suggested to me that my influence with the natives was connected with the greenstone. This was in no way the case. I wore it because it excited interest, and started conversation; and engaged as I was in obtaining information for military and civil purposes, it was often convenient to start a conversation on general subjects. Moreover, when going amongst strange tribes, I was recognised by it. I have given most of my greenstones away; but I have a *heitiki* (greenstone image or neck-ornament), an ear-drop, and two adze-heads, also a piece of rough, unworked stone. If you would like to exhibit them, it will give me pleasure to lend them to you; but of course they must be very inferior to those in the British Museum."

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited a MS. of the beginning of the sixteenth century, entitled "The Voyage of Italy", containing a description of the method of making the overland journey to Rome, with detailed and pithy accounts of the sights on the way, and in that city.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Librarian*, read a paper, which will be printed hereafter, upon "A recently discovered Fresco in Patcham Church, Sussex", and exhibited a drawing to scale, coloured, of the picture, which contains the subject of "The Resurrection of Our Lord."

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Teniswood, Mr. Brock, Mr. Birch, and the Chairman took part. Mr. Patrick described the method of preparing *tempera* paintings such as these. Mr. Grover pointed out the peculiarities of the artistic production of frescoes.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., on "Dozmare Pool, Cornwall", which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1880.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Local Member of Council was unanimously elected: J. T. Irvine for Staffordshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the undermentioned presents to the library:

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxvi, No. 144. 1879.

" " for "Wurtemberghische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte." 1879. Parts I-IV.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following communication:

ROMAN REMAINS FOUND ON THE LODDON, AT BASINGSTOKE.

BY J. STEVENS, ESQ., M.D.

I had, in October, an opportunity of inspecting, with Mr. Cooksey, the Secretary to the Archæological and Field Club lately formed at

Basingstoke, some interesting relics which had been recently discovered by Mr. Cooksey in the Loddon Valley at Basingstoke. The remains were found at about 4 feet in depth, under the top soil capping the ordinary valley drift, which at this spot is about 4 feet in depth, on the north bank of the Loddon, in the parish of Newtown.

The relics consist of pottery of the Romano-British period; but scraps were present of later glazed ware, apparently mediæval, which had occupied a higher level than the Roman ware, but had become intermingled with it during removal. There is nothing remarkable in the discovery, further than it indicates another site of occupation by the Roman people, who, judging from the remains so frequently unearthed by plough and spade, must have spread themselves pretty generally over North Hampshire. The crockery is similar to the ware found at other sites, and consists of the handles, rims, necks, and bases of urns, bowls, ampullæ, and pateræ or saucers, of various sizes, in the ordinary reddish, brown, buff, and blue-black earthenware, mostly adapted for culinary purposes. The blue-black is Upchurch; and there is a finer red terra-cotta called "mock Samian" and a piece of genuine Samian, besides some sections of vessels of better form and material, bearing crossbar and other designs, which appear to be in type Durobrivian.

Pieces of glass, part of an iron tool, and a small bronze swivel, which might have been an appendage to a dog-chain, were among the relics; while roof-nails and broken tiles, together with sections of flue-bricks, paving, and ridge-tiles, remind the investigator that at all events a Roman building once stood here; if, indeed, its basement is not still lying underneath the soil. The site is worthy of further research, and its investigation will most likely be carried out by the Basingstoke Field Club.

The following resolution was proposed by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, and seconded by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, and carried unanimously:

"This Association has heard with regret that among some needful works, it is proposed to face with new stone the old Fraternity of Carlisle Cathedral, and to remove the whole of the later additions. Since the effect of these works will be the obliteration of the ancient appearance of the building, and also the evidence of its later history, this Association hopes that reconsideration may be given to the works with the object of modifying them."

Mr. H. Watling, of Earl Stonham, forwarded for exhibition a series of coloured drawings from rood-screens in Oxfordshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. The screen at Bloxham, Oxon., has suffered considerably from damp. On the north wall of the church are fragments of a mural painting of St. Christopher; and over the chancel-arch, on the left

side, are traces of another painting, of "The Last Judgment", the other side being destroyed. The great west doorway is a fine specimen of carved work, and exhibits, on brackets supported by the twelve Apostles, a representation of "The Last Judgment" also. This church was extensively renovated by Cardinal Wolsey, who probably had his likeness introduced into the screen. The painting appears to be of the date of the Cardinal. The figure here referred to has a scarlet cloak and plain cap, and nimbus, with a gold band and white flowers.

From Walpole St. Peter's, Gateley, and Burlingham, Mr. Watling sent three figures, St. Ethelburg, or "*Adria*", in grey habit and white wimple, staff in left hand, gold nimbus with black border; St. Wihtburg, a finely designed figure with red vesture, white ermine skirt, green mantle lined with ermine, ermine tippet, gold belt, long hair, head crowned and nimbed,—the left hand holding a model church labelled "*Ecclesia de Est Dereham*",—two does or hinds at her feet, labelled "*Sancta Withburga Virgo*"; and St. Sexburh, with red garment, ermine skirt, blue mantle lined with ermine, large gold morse as brooch, long, flowing hair, green nimbus lined with gold; right hand holding a tower or spire, left hand a green palm-branch; at the base, "*Sancta Sexburga*."

From Woodbridge Church screen, rough, mutilated, but now restored, Mr. Watling sent figures of St. Kenelm as a youth, crowned, nimbed, with long brown hair, green, flowered gown, ermine tippet, holding a long sword in the right, and book in the left hand; and St. Oswald crowned, and wearing a gold nimbus with black lining, light brown robe, white skirt, ermine tippet; in right hand a drawn sword, in left a golden reliquary. From Herringfleet Church a patched and mutilated figure from the north side of the choir, originally in the Monastery of St. Olave, near the bridge. It has been assigned by some, but with little reason, to St. Guthlac. The head of this is tattered, with white nimbus, the feet bare, book in hand, no scourge.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming added to his previous exhibition of jade objects two more curious examples. The first, the figure of a tiger couchant, of Yu stone or white jade, with protruded tongue of bright red carnelian. Of Indian workmanship. The tiger is sacred to the goddess Parvati, the consort of Mahadeva. The second is an ancient idol from New Caledonia; the head of disproportionate size to the nude body, with the arms straight by the sides. It has a woe-begone, crabbed, and lachrymose expression of face. These two specimens are examples of the lightest and darkest varieties of jade.

Mr. Brock exhibited the long glass neck of a large bottle or carboy, found recently in digging at Moorgate Street; and an earthenware plate with a flashed pattern, of Staffordshire make, found in the ground at Bishopsgate Street.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited a rough rubbing of a mural stone slab from the church of Sedgebrook, co. Lincoln, now placed in the Markham Chapel, on the north side of the chancel. He said : " The inscription is almost illegible, but may be read, ... "mensis Januarij anno domini mcccclxxxiiij cujus anime propitiatur Deus." The letters are cut sharply, and almost give the idea that they have been filled at one time with metal. This kind of memorial tablet is still frequently met with, although at first sight it appears uncommon, and most likely succeeded the older style of brasses for such purposes. It has somewhat the appearance of a Roman altar-stone adapted to a much later use. No account of the tablet appears in any book I have been able to consult on the subject, and therefore I have no information to give upon it; although, if the subject should be deemed worthy enough, I have no doubt the Rev. Canon Drake, rector of Sedgebrook, would help me. The church is interesting, having Norman or Early English work in it; and what is most interesting, part of the rood-loft still existing over one of the aisles, although that portion of it once containing the screen and entrance to the chancel no longer remains."

Mr. Wright also described, and again exhibited, the MS. shewn at the last meeting, on which it is hoped a paper may be given.

Mr. Alfred Myers, F.S.A., exhibited three fine bronze figures of Osiris recently brought by him from Gournay, and one from Medinet Abou.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., exhibited two fine solid, ovoid Sassanian gems of pierced agate, recently brought from Bagdad. The legends upon them, although not yet deciphered, are probably the names of the chieftains whose portraits are cut on the stones. They date as far back as five hundred years at least before the Christian era.



Mr. Theo. Pinches, of the British Museum, read a paper entitled "The Terra-Cotta Tablets of Babylonia and Assyria." This was illustrated by the exhibition of a number of original tablets and cones from the excavations.

The Chairman then read a paper on "A Portrait of Henry VI in Eye Church, Suffolk", and exhibited a drawing of the picture referred to. The papers will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 3, 1880.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Fryer, Alfred C., Elm Hirst, near Wilmslow, Cheshire, was duly elected an Associate.

The following Honorary Foreign Corresponding Members were duly elected :

H. Brugsch-Bey, Gratz
 Aug. Mariette-Pasha, Cairo.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", January to March 1879. Second Series, vol. viii, No. 1.

To Henry Phillips, jun., Esq., of Philadelphia, for his tract, "Worship of the Sun. The Story told by a Coin of Constantine the Great." Philad., 1880. 4to.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, alluded to the careful preservation of the wall-pictures in the Carpenters' Hall by the Carpenters' Company, who have caused them to be taken down, framed, and glazed, and placed in the parlour of the new Hall.

Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited a Flanders jug of the seventeenth century, with the device G. R. ensigned with a crown, and believed to refer to Gulielmus Rex, *i.e.*, William III of England.

Mr. R. Earle Way, F.S.A., exhibited a series of objects discovered recently in the ground at King's Head Yard, Southwark : 1, a fragment of an earthenware money-box ; 2, portion of a glazed bird-feeder or salt-cellar, with double pan and crossbar ; 3, base of a Samian vase with potter's stamp LVPPA ; 4, a gilded metal popgun with the piston and arming for affixing the paper diaphragm at the muzzle. Mr. Way also exhibited a native letter in the Malayalim character, on a slip of palm-leaf.

The Rev. Mr. Welsh, formerly of India, described the method of writing on and using these slips of palm-leaf in Travancore. Dr. Phené also described the method, which he had himself observed, of making and using these documents.

Dr. T. J. Woodhouse exhibited a pair of fetters purchased lately by him at St. Alban's. The key is permanently affixed in the lock, which is of the seventeenth century.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Librarian*, read some notes on the discovery of a large basin of Roman masonry by Mr. Mann at Bath. Mr. Mann, contractor for the Mayor and Corporation of Bath, has discovered and studied this, and to him is due the credit of the matter. Mr. Mann has made correct drawings and plans to scale, and will give a correct ground-plan of the entire system of the foundations, which are octagonal. Large masses of lead-sheets have been found overlapping the sides, and under the floor.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following notes on

A ROMANO-BRITISH INTERMENT FOUND AT FIRGROVE, NEAR
LONGPARISH, HANTS.

BY J. STEVENS, ESQ., M.D.

Details of this interment should have been laid before the Association earlier, the discovery having occurred in June 1879. The following notes were, however, taken at the time, and are in every respect authentic. A ploughman engaged in his ordinary calling on Firgrove Hill, immediately overlooking Longparish, came on a human skeleton lying in the chalk rubble underlying the thin soil; and some particulars of the discovery having reached Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., and myself, we proceeded to investigate the interment. From observations made on the spot, together with diligent inquiry into every particular, we find that the bones occupied an oval grave of about 5 feet in length, 2 feet in width, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in depth, on the brow of Firgrove Hill, and at about 60 yards distant from the fir plantation. There had evidently at no time been a tumulus, and there are no tumuli in this district; but from circles of the soil in the same field being differently coloured, it is possible that similar interments lie immediately near.

The position of the skeleton indicated that the body had been placed in its grave of chalk on its left side, the knees being flexed, and drawn up towards the chest, the right leg crossing the left one, the right arm lying across the chest, and the left one flexed so as to bring the hand underneath the face, as people often lie during sleep. A small food-vessel occupied the space between the shoulder and the face, which was found to be $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, 3 inches in width at the mouth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the base, and capable of containing six ounces of fluid. Unlike the early Celtic vessels of this kind, it is sufficiently compact to have contained fluid. At the request of Lady Portsmouth the vessel was forwarded to Lord Lymington, Firgrove being the property of the Earl of Portsmouth.

The position of the body is important, as it was found lying with the head towards the north, the feet southward, while the face pointed due east. The remains were those of a female of about middle life, the teeth being well preserved, and the height about 5 feet 2 inches or 3 inches. The bones were friable, and on removal became somewhat fragmentary, from the water penetrating as the grave shallowed; otherwise bones lying in dry chalk will remain intact for an indefinite period.

The accompanying engraving represents the vessel about one-half its natural size. It is black, without ornamentation save a plain ribbon round its swell; but it is perfectly kiln-baked and lathe-turned, its colour being due probably to stifle-burning. It is certainly Romano-British, and similar to the ordinary Upchurch ware so frequently met with at Roman sites in North Hampshire.

There is nothing very remarkable in finding bodies in the position above detailed, with accompanying small vessels, in various parts of England; but they are usually considered to be Celtic, whereas here we have a Celtic form of interment with Romano-British pottery, which is an unusual combination. That the burial is of the Romano-British period is unquestionable; and some peculiarities in the arrangements of the dead, as well as in the character of the accompanying vessel, bear considerable resemblance to an interment which was discovered at Cruxeaston Rectory, which is distant from Firgrove about six miles, in December 1856. Here was found a female of similar age and stature, accompanied with a Romano-British vessel; but the Cruxeaston



vessel is finer and of more elegant manufacture, it being Durobri-vian in type, although probably moulded in the New Forest. It is indented at the sides, and known as a thumb-pot; and similar to a vessel found among the Roman pottery at Finkle, the whole of which, with the North Hampshire pottery generally, was considered by the late Mr. Kell to have come from the New Forest kilns. A singular peculiarity in the Cruxeaston remains is the presence of extensive necrosis on the shaft of the right femur at its lower third. The tibial end of the bone is absent; and the broken end of the upper part of the bone shews that caries extended completely through the body of the bone, so that fracture must have existed at the time of death.

In remarking on the differences between the interments, the Firgrove body rested on its side, with the face pointing eastward; while the Cruxeaston remains were placed with the head westward, and the feet eastward. If on its side, therefore, as Mr. Money has observed, the face must have pointed either to the north or south; but if it extended on its back, in the Christian position, the vessel gives denial to it as being a Christian interment; and it has been suggested in a paper on the remains, published in the sixteenth volume of the *Transactions* of this Society, that the orientation of the body might possibly refer to placing the body in the most convenient position to meet the sun at the time of the interment, thus pointing to solar worship. In the introduction to his work on *The British Barrows*, the Rev. Canon Greenwell has pointed out that the inference is generally, although not universally, that the body was placed in the position most favourable to bring the face opposite the sun. When the head was north or

south, the face was east or west, according as the body was placed to meet that part of the day suitable to the aspect of the sun. Thus as a rule it is found that bodies have this relative position of side and head.

It is quite in accordance with the slow development of an uncivilised people, such as were the Britons, that although the Britons, after the incoming of the Romans, ultimately partook of the Roman character in their burial-practices (which consisted chiefly in the incineration of the dead), some portions of the community might have lingered on in the practice of the funeral usages of their Celtic ancestors. Or, taking another view in explanation of the peculiar character of the Firgrove interment, it is possible that this might be a British burial belonging to an early period after the advent of the Romans.

It is the desire of Mr. Money and myself to express our thanks to F. H. Bagge, Esq., for his kindness in furnishing us with the use of the Cruxeaston remains, and also for the letter thereon addressed to the late Rev. Mr. Bagge, from Dr. Plumpton.

Dr. J. S. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A., read his paper on "Recent Excavations and Discoveries at Pergamus." This was illustrated by a very large collection of miscellaneous diagrams, photographs, and sketches, and considerable attraction and interest were manifested. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Site of Mediolanum.—Mr. T. Rought Jones, of Market Drayton, in a recent communication to *The Athenæum*, writes,—“In Horsley’s *Britannia Romana* he ends a discourse on this station by observing that ‘if Mediolanum be placed anywhere near Draiton, we can then go on in our rout with ease and success.’ I have to announce that the anticipation of this antiquary has been realised; and I have the gratification to inform those interested in Roman remains of the discovery of a hitherto unknown and unnoticed Roman camp, close to the old road from London to Chester, at Bearstone, Salop, on the north bank of the Tern, about four miles and a half to the north-east of this town. The camp is on the estate of E. F. Coulson, Esq., of Bellaport, Salop, who with considerate courtesy has given me permission to make what examination I think necessary. A superficial inspection has revealed

the remains of a smelting-place and some rude pottery. If any one wishes a key to the position of the camp, let him consult the second and tenth itineraries of Antoninus, and at Condate (Middlewich), at Rutunium (Bury Walls), at Bovio (Tiverton), for there appears to be a *consensus* of opinions on these stations, describe on an Ordnance Map at each place a circle of the radius, in Roman miles, to Mediolanum, as given by Antoninus, the intersection of the three circumferences will be a very short distance from the Bearstone Camp. This will be a somewhat different process from the straining and cramping of the distances to force this long-lost station at Chesterton. I hope, in other communications, to fully and fairly establish my claim to having solved the riddle of Mediolanum."

Old Prints.—According to *The Standard*, the authorities of the British Museum have arranged for an important sale of prints during the month of April. Such sales are of rare occurrence, and the forthcoming one will be particularly interesting because the large collection of duplicate impressions which will then be disposed of (probably within the walls of the Museum, and not at a public auction room), includes a considerable array of works by many of the great original engravers, impressions of which the Museum, by reason of its duplicate possessions, has no further need.

Gaelic literature has recently sustained a serious loss by the death, at Dublin, of Mr. Joseph O'Longan. The lithographic copies of old Gaelic volumes, reproduced by the Royal Irish Academy at the suggestion of their Librarian, Mr. J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., were the work of Mr. O'Longan. With a rare knowledge of the older Gaelic he combined great dexterity and elegance as a fac-similist of MSS.

Ancient Documents at Wells.—An interesting discovery has lately been made at Wells, of upwards of a thousand original documents, some of which date back to the thirteenth century. Many of the seals are in a beautiful state of preservation. They were found in an old oaken press in the Almshouses.

Prehistoric Weapons.—A splendid collection of ancient weapons has recently been presented by M. P. du Châtelier to the Cluny Museum. They were discovered in a megalithic tomb buried in a vast tumulus in Finisterre, and consist of six poniards, a sword, and two axes in bronze, thirty-three flint arrow-heads, and other arms, including what is supposed to be a commander's *bâton* in polished stone.

Coral Land is the title of a new work which Messrs. Bentley and Sons, of London, are about to publish, from the pen of Mr. H. Stonehewer Cooper, whose experience and knowledge of the great South

Sea are of no ordinary character. We may expect an exhaustive treatment of the British colony of Fiji; the old religion, customs, and manners, of the now converted cannibals will be fully described. The same remarks will apply to the Samoan group of islands. Tonga, with its quaint traditions and peculiar burial rites; the Marquesas and the Tuamotus, with their ocean-hidden wealth of pearl-shell and Chinese luxury, *bêche de mer*, will be graphically described. The same may be said of the vast archipelago of the Carolines, the Line Islands, and that home of inveterate anthropophagi, the dreaded Solomon group. Mr. Stonehewer Cooper has chosen an untrodden field for his literary labour, and we shall look forward with much interest to the publication of *Coral Land*.

Historic Notices of Rotherham. By JOHN GUEST, F.S.A.—This work is a marvel of research; such a production as might have been expected from so painstaking and conscientious an antiquarian and local historian as Mr. Guest. It is in some sense a wonderful book; the work of a man who has attained the venerable age of eighty years, yet retains no small share of youthful enthusiasm. It is a monument to his patience, his perseverance, and his industry. The illustrations are numerous, and remarkably well executed. We venture to congratulate the venerable but evergreen author upon the completion of his great work, for it deserves, and will probably obtain, the attention not only of those who from local associations are interested in its subject matter, but also of all who are engaged in antiquarian research. Owing to the very pleasant and graphic style of the writer, its perusal will be found to be anything but tedious by the general reader, while at the same time there is a sufficiency of documentary extracts to satisfy the most fastidious of antiquarian *savans*. We are also bound to express our admiration of the great attention which the publisher and printer, Mr. Robert White of Worksop, has paid to this work. It reminds us of the old days of printing, when the art enlisted in its service men who bestowed upon it a patience and care which are not common in these days of hurry and large demand. The engravings are, many of them, worthy of careful study, and the *tout ensemble* of the book merits that commendation with which the author acknowledges the painstaking and ability of his printer and publisher.

“*Eikon Basilike. The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings.*”—Interest concerning the authorship of the *Eikon Basilike* has been stimulated by the recent discovery of letters and papers among the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I, which appear to necessitate the publication of a new edition of the work. The new edition is reprinted from Dugard's original edition of 1648, and is accompanied by a preface by Mr. E. Scott,

M.A., of the British Museum, in which the criticism of the last fifty years is briefly summarised, and the new evidence is set before the reader at considerable length, deduced from papers already mentioned, and from an unpublished letter from Dr. Gauden and his wife to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland. This edition is accompanied by a facsimile of the frontispiece, found only in copies issued from Dugard's press, and gives the key or explanation to the engraving, which has not hitherto been noticed by writers on the subject. The work will be published by Mr. Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, very shortly; but it is proposed to issue a small subscription edition, bound in vellum, with red edges, at 4s. each, post free.

The discovery of a fresh Roman inscription in one of the Roman stations in the county of Durham, by the Rev. Dr. Hooppell, is announced. It is unfortunately only a fragment, the ends of the lines being all that we have. The inscription was probably 5 or 6 feet long in its original state; its breadth is 1 foot 6 inches; and it consisted of seven lines.

..... EQQ	A portion of the second line has been intentionally
.....	erased. It is a question whether there is an s or not
..... ERRITQ	after the c in the final line. This inscribed stone
..... NDXIT	may have been erected in the consulship of Aufidius
..... 'LO. IN	Fronto and Cornelius Anullinus, A.D. 199, when Seve-
..... 'FAV. I. LE	rus and Caracalla were associated as emperors, and
..... VLLIN.C.	when, I suppose, Geta had the title of Cæsar.

Escombe Church.—Dr. Hooppell also writes that the effectual repair of the interesting Saxon church at Escombe is being actively proceeded with. A very substantial oak roof, with stone shingles outside, is being put on, all the thirteenth century principals being retained. The original floor has been found at a depth of 2 feet below the recent level. The superincumbent earth will be removed. Several fragments of most interesting early sculptured work have been found, and it is hoped that more may be discovered before the work is completed.

Congress at Arras.—The forty-seventh session of the "Congrès Archéologique de France" will take place this year at Arras, in the Pas de Calais, opening on the 29th of June, in the Palace of St. Vaast, and lasting for eight days. Four grand medals will be distributed by the Society on this occasion. The programme includes the discussion of thirty-two distinctly separate points of local and departmental archæology. Among them a description of the megalithic monuments of the Department of the Pas de Calais and Nord, the proceedings of Cæsar, researches into the origin of the *Attrebati* and *Morini*, the ecclesiastical and monastic antiquities, and deductions obtained from the latest excavations and discoveries in the district. Intending adherents should communicate with M. Adolphe de Cardevacque, Trésorier du Congrès, Rue Saint Jean-en-Ronville, 21, à Arras.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1880.

WALSINGHAM PRIORY.

BY THE LATE T. J. PETTIGREW, V.P., F.S.A.

WHO has not heard of the glories of Walsingham Priory? No place of pilgrimage in our island can surpass it in renown, nor equal it in the reception of choice and costly gifts. The value must have been very great, for Erasmus, who visited it in 1511, declares its magnificence to have surpassed every thing he had before seen; to be the seat of riches, gold, silver, jewels, etc.,—" *Divorum sedes! adeo gemmis, auro argentoque nitent omnia!*" Roger Ascham, when at Cologne in 1550, wrote, "The Three Kings be not so rich, I believe, as was the Lady of Walsingham." Many of our sovereigns made journeys to the Lady of Walsingham. Henry III was here in 1241; but pilgrimages were made anterior to that date. Edward I was at the Priory in 1280 and in 1296, and Edward II in 1315. From Rymer's *Fædera* (vi, p. 315) we learn that in 1361 Edward III gave the sum of £9 to John Duke of Brittany to pay his expenses of a pilgrimage to Walsingham. Bartholomew Lord Burghersh willed a silver statue of himself to be offered to our Lady in 1369. Henry VII went thence from Norwich in the Christmas of 1486-87, and he sent as an offering his banner after the battle of Stoke, which terminated the Wars of the Roses. He also gave to the Priory a silver-gilt figure of himself, kneeling. Henry VIII rode thither in the second year of his reign, and gave 6s. 8d. as his offering. The inventory of things taken at the time of the suppression of the monasteries, in the reign of this sovereign, would be exceedingly interesting, but it is not known to exist. In 1534 the value

of the Priory was taken, and the offerings made in the previous year amounted to £201:1s. in the Chapel of the Virgin; £2:2:3 at the sacred milk of the Virgin; and in the Chapel of St. Lawrence, £8:9:1½. The clear annual value of the spiritual and temporal possessions was stated to be £391.

Only one letter relating to Walsingham Priory occurs in the collection published by the Camden Society, preserved in the Cottonian Library, Cleop. E. iv, fol. 231. It is from Richard Southwell to Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, and is as follows:

"It may please your good lordshipe to be advertised that Sir Thomas Lestrangle & Mr. Hoges, accordinge unto the sequestratyon delegate unto them, have ben at Walsingham, & ther sequestred all suche monney, plat, juelles, & stuff, as ther wasse inventyd & founde. Emoung other thinges the same sir Thomas Lestrangle & Mr. Hoges dyd ther fynde a secreete preveye place¹ within the howse, where no channon nor onnye other of the howse dyd ever enter, as they saye, in wiche there were instrewnmentes, pottes, belowes, flyes of suche strange colers as the lick non of us had seene, with poysons, & other thinges to sorte and denyd gould & sylver, nothing ther wantinge that should belonge to the arte of multiplyeng. Off all wiche they desyered me by lettres to advertyse you, & alsoo that frome the Satredaye at night til the Sondaye next folowinge was offred² at ther now being c.xxxiijs. iiijd. over & besyd waxe. Of this multiplyeing it maye please you to cawse hem to be examyned, & so to advertyse unto them your further pleasuer. Thus I praye God send your good lordshipe hartye heltho. Frome my pore howse, this xxv. of Julii, a° xxvij° (1536).

"humblye yours to commande,

"RIC. SOUTHWELL.

"To the right honorable and my syngular good lord, my lord preveye seale."

The Rev. James Lee Warner, in a memoir read before the

¹ Different opinions are entertained in regard to the purposes to which this place was devoted. It would seem, from its description, to have been a laboratory in which alchemical or "multiplyeng" processes were conducted; but it has also been suggested to have been the manufactory wherein the sacristan melted the metals suited for his craft of casting *signacula* and *ampullæ* for the pilgrims. (Rev. Mr. Warner in *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, xiii, p. 133.) Blount's *Law Dictionary*, 1670, says, "Anno 5 Hen. IV, cap. 4, it is ordained and established that none from henceforth shall use to multiply gold or silver, nor use the craft of multiplication; and if any the same do, he shall incur the penalty of felony." It was, no doubt, a breach of this law which the sequestrators had in their minds as a subject for further inquiry. Patents were granted to certain persons by Henry VI, to enable them, notwithstanding the statute, to pursue researches for the Elixir, or Philosopher's Stone, which was to enable them to produce or multiply gold and silver at pleasure. At length, in the first year of William and Mary, the restraining statute being found wholly inoperative, it was repealed.

² *I.e.*, offered by the pilgrims at the image of our Lady of Walsingham.

Archæological Institute at Cambridge, and printed in their *Journal*,¹ has referred to a ballad in the Pepysian Library, which gives us a relation of the history of the Priory, with the legend attached to it. It was founded by Richoldie, the mother of Sir Geoffrey de Favriches. The precise date is unknown; but it may be conjectured to have been early in the twelfth century, as the principal gifts made to it were in the time of William Turbus, Bishop of Norwich from 1146 to 1174. In a list of the priors on the back of one of the leaves of a chartulary, Ralph is given as the first prior; the date of whose election must have been about 1183, twenty years having elapsed from the entry of the canons into the church of Walsingham to the death of Ralph. Richard Vowel was the nineteenth and last prior, and his signature stands at the head of the list of subscribers to the acknowledgment of supremacy in September 1534;² and in August 1538 the Priory was surrendered to Sir William Petre, commissioner for the visitation of the monasteries, a great favourite of Cromwell, Privy Seal, the General Visitor. The acknowledgment of supremacy was signed by the prior and canons, and sealed with the conventual seal preserved in the Treasury of the Exchequer at the Chapter House, Westminster; and the surrender was found entered on the Close Roll, 30 Henry VIII, at the Rolls' Chapter. These have been printed by Mr. Warner.³

The seal of the Priory has been engraved by Mr. Warner.⁴ On the obverse it presents a cruciform church of Norman character, with a central tower, and two smaller ones at the ends, east and west. The roof of the church is tiled, and a crest of small intersecting arches runs along its ridge. A round-headed aperture in the nave, and another in the choir, represent heads as within the church; and a larger or rather demi-figure, in a position of supplication, appears in the door in the transept. It is an aged figure with a beard, wearing a hooded garment without sleeves. The inscription around the seal reads—

✠ Sigillum Eccl'ie Beate Marie de Walsingham.

¹ Vol. xiii, pp. 115, 133.

² In this year the "image of our Lady of Walsingham" was brought to London by special injunction from Lord Cromwell, and together with images taken from other places of pilgrimage was burnt at Chelsea.

³ *Journal of Archæological Institute*, xiii, pp. 128-131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii, p. 126, and also in Harrod's *Gleanings*, etc., p. 177.

On the reverse is the Virgin Mary seated under a canopy, on a high-backed chair or throne, with the infant Saviour on her knee. She wears a low crown, and holds in her right hand a foliated sceptre. Around is inscribed the angelical salutation—

✠ *Abe : Maria : Gracia : Plena : Dominus : Tecum.*

Mr. Warner assigns the execution of the seal to the latter part of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the word "*Plena*" the letter *d* usurps the place of *n*. A peculiarity not of frequent occurrence is to be seen in this seal. It has an inscription upon the edge or thickness of the seal like those of Norwich Cathedral, the city of Canterbury, and a few others.¹ Mr. Warner states the inscription on the edge of the Walsingham seal to be a leonine verse, of which the following portion has been deciphered :

"*Virgo : Pia : Genitrix : sit : nobis*"....

To Walsingham Priory three different coats of arms have been given.² They are, *argent*, on a cross *sable* five billets of the first ; *argent*, on a cross quarterly, pierced *sable*, a tree erased *vert* ; and *argent*, on a cross *sable*, five lilies stalked of the first. Tanner is the authority for the last ; and it appears impaling the bearing of Vowel,—*gules*, three escutcheons *argent*, each charged with a cinquefoil pierced of the first. The colour of the cinquefoils is faded ; but there can be little doubt that the escutcheon commemorated the last Prior, Vowel.³

Mr. J. Gough Nichols, in his *Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury*, by Desiderius Erasmus, has copied from the Harleian MS. No. 791, p. 27, the Articles of Inquiry for the Monastery of Walsingham. The questions proposed must be admitted to be very pertinent in relation to the superstitious practices which were there exercised :

ARTICLES OF INQUIRY FOR THE MONASTERY OF WALSINGHAM.

(*MS. Harl. 791, p. 27.*)

"1. In primis, whether there be inventarie allweys permanent in the house, betwene the priour & the brethern of this house, aswelle of alle

¹ See Sir Frederic Madden's observations in *Archæologia*, vol. xx.

² *Taylor's Index Monasticus*, p. 26.

³ The arms are engraved by Mr. Warner in the *Journal* of the Institute, xiii, p. 127, and by Mr. Harrod in his *Gleanings*, etc., p. 155.

the juelles, reliques, & ornaments of the churche & chapel, as of alle the plate & other moveable goodes of this house. *Et si sic exhibeatur.*

"2. Item, yf there be no such inventarie, whether there be any bokes made thereof, & of the guyfte of the juelles that have bene geven to our Lady. *Et si sic producat.*

"3. Item, whether any of the said juelles, ornamentes, plate, or goodes, hath bene alienated, solde, or pledged, at any tyme heretofore. And yf there were, what they were, to whome they were solde, for how moche, whan, & for what cause.

"4. Item, what reliques be in this house that be or hath bene moste in th'estimacion of the people, & what vertue was esteemed of the people to be in theym.

"5. Item, what probacion or argument have they to shewe that the same are trewe reliques.

"6. Item, in howe many places of this house were the said reliques shewed, & whiche were in whiche? & whether the keepers of the same did not bring about tables to men for their offering, as though they would exacte money of theym, or make them ashamed except they did offer.¹

"7. Item, for what cause were the said reliques shewed in divers sundry places more than altogether in one place.

"8. Item, what hathe th'offring made to our Lady & to the said reliques bene worth a yere when it hathe bene moste? What commonly? And what the last yere?

"9. Item, yf the said reliques be nowe layde aside, howe long ago, & for what cause they were so.

"10. Item, what is the greatest miracle, & moste undoubted, whiche is said to have bene doone by our Ladye here, or by any of the said reliques? & what prouffe they have of the facte, or of the narracion thereof?

"11. Item, whether than (yf the facte be welle proved) the case might not happen by some naturalle meane not contrarie to reason or possibilitie of nature.

"12. Item, yf that be proved, also whether the same might not procede of the immediate helpe of God? & why the successe of that case shoulde be imputed to our Lady, and yet that to the image of our Ladye in this house more than another.

"13. Item, whether the miracles were wonte to be declared in pulpite heretofore, and for what cause they were soe? A Whitesonne Monday, the faire tyme, they were wonte to be opened.

"14. Item, what is the sayng of the buylding of our Lady chappelle, & of the firste invencion of the image of our Ladye there? What of the house where the bere skynne is, & of the knyght, & what of the other wonders that be here, & what proves be thereof?

"15. Item, whether they knowe not that men shulde not be lighte of credite to miracles, unlesse they be manifestly & invinciblie proved.

"16. Item, whether our Lady hath doone so many miracles nowe of late as it was said she did when there was more offering made unto her.

"17. Item, what prouffe were they wonte to take of the miracles that the pilgremes did reporte shoulde be made by our Lady? & whether they believed the parties owne report therein, or toke witnes, & howe they toke the deposicions of the same?

¹ This last clause is interlined in the MS.

"18. Item, whether our Ladye's milke be liquid or no ? & yf it be, *interrogatur ut infra.*

"19. Item, who was sextene upon a x. yeres agoo or therabout, & lett him be exactly examined whether he hath not renewed that they calle our Lady's milke whan it was like to be dried up ; & whether ever he hymself invented any relique for the augmentation of his prouffit ; & whether the house over the welles were not made within tyme of remembrance, or at the lestewise renewed."

* * * *

These inquiries have been materially influenced by the writings of Erasmus, whose description of Walsingham has been questioned. Mr. Nichols, however, esteems his account as accurate as could be expected from any person writing from recollection. He describes the two churches, the Priory and the wooden chapel of the Virgin, to which he made a pilgrimage, and according to a letter written by him to Ammonius, intended to leave as his donation some Greek verses. He directs his friend to look for them ; but it is rather doubtful whether they were sufficiently prized by the unlettered monks of his day to be preserved ; and it looks, perhaps, something like an indulgence on the part of Erasmus to have made such an offering. The lines are, however, given in the edition of his works published by Froben at Basle in 1540 (tom. v, p. 1109), and have been thus translated :—

"Hail, Jesus' Mother, blessed evermore !
 Alone of women God-bearing and virgin.
 Others may offer to thee various gifts :
 This man his gold ; that man, again, his silver ;
 A third adorn thy shrine with precious stones.
 For which some ask a guerdon of good health,
 Some riches ; others hope that by thy aid
 They soon may bear a father's honoured name,
 Or gain the years of Pylus' reverend sage.
 But the poor poet, for his well meant song
 Bringing these verses only, all he has,
 Asks in reward for his most humble gift
 That greatest blessing, piety of heart
 And free remission of his many sins.

"THE VOW OF ERASMUS."

Having stated thus much in regard to the history of the Priory, we must now refer to the valuable labours of the Rev. J. Lee Warner and Mr. Harrod in the excavations made by them in 1853 and at a still more recent period. To these gentlemen we really owe all the information to be obtained in regard to its site, for notwithstanding its internal gran-

deur, all evidence in relation to the different portions of the building would seem to have disappeared. For the relative position of the conventual church, the chapter house, dormitory, refectory, and cloister, with the wishing-wells, fish-ponds, etc., and the town adjacent, I must refer you to Mr. Warner's plan of the northern portion of Walsingham, and ground-plan of the conventual buildings. Of the latter, Mr. Harrod has also furnished us with a plan pointing out the several parts which may be attributed to Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, styles of architecture. Furnished with materials from such authority, I now proceed briefly to give a summary of the statement by which its several parts may be distinguished.

Of the earlier or Norman period but little now remains, and that consists of a passage at the south-east corner of the cloisters. Many additions have from time to time been made, as is apparent from the various periods of architecture exhibited. Mr. Harrod considers the west end of the church, recently excavated, as of the late Early English time; but Mr. Warner is of a different opinion, and assigns it to the Early Decorated. The refectory and dormitory are of pure Decorated; and a good engraving of a reading-pulpit in the former is given in the Norwich volume of the Institute (p. 188), which had previously, but not so accurately, been drawn by Cotman. Mr. Warner has restored the noble window at the west end of the refectory, and a good representation has been given of it by Mr. Warner¹ and Mr. Harrod.² The original buttery-hatch remains. The crypt under the south part of the dormitory is very perfect, though its entrance is now blocked up.

The chapter house and other parts are demolished, but Mr. Warner has traced their foundations. The east end of the church is the only portion remaining of it above ground, and this is of the Early Perpendicular period. There are two lofty stair-turrets with external buttresses covered with niches and canopies of beautiful tracery, having the arch of the east window and the gable above it pierced with a small circular window. The recent excavations at the west end are very interesting, and are also of the Perpendicular period.³

¹ *Archæological Journal*, xiii, p. 125.

² *Gleanings*, etc., p. 159.

³ See illustration in *Arch. Journal*, xiii, p. 118, and Harrod's *Gleanings*, etc., p. 171.

In *The Pilgrimage* of Erasmus (for a translation of which we are indebted to Mr. J. Gough Nichols) we learn that a chapel stood apart from the church, which he designates "graceful and elegant", for the worship of the Virgin. The building, he says, "is unfinished, and it is a place exposed on all sides, with open doors and open windows; and near at hand is the ocean, the father of the winds." Remains of this chapel have been sought for in vain. The ground has been trenched to the east, but no discovery has hitherto been made. We will hope that future researches may reward Mr. Warner and Mr. Harrod for the zealous labours they have so ably and assiduously devoted to the illustration of this interesting Priory.

ON PLACE-NAMES IN NORFOLK.

BY J. A. PICTON, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read August 19, 1879.)

THE local nomenclature of any district offers a very interesting subject of inquiry. It is generally calculated to throw light on the succession of races by which the country has been inhabited, the circumstances of their settlement, the languages which they spoke, and the incidents of their history. The subject is thus worthy of study both ethnologically, historically, and philologically.

Norfolk is not inferior in interest to any other part of England in these respects. The Cymry, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, have left behind them memorials of their respective occupations; some in a tangible form, others in the incorporeal but probably more enduring character of the names of the places where they settled.

If we examine carefully the map of England, we find the greater part of the names of our shires, towns, villages, and hamlets, formed out of our own tongue, and having a distinct and intelligible meaning; if not in our current, modern speech, at least in that spoken by our direct ancestors. We find patronymics such as Billing, Palling, Blickling, Harling, etc.; the description of habitations or collections of habitations, the *tons, wicks, hams, steads, cots, stowes*; natural features, such as *ford, brook, well, den, dale, holt, wood*, etc. We have also relative positions, as *high, low, east, west*, etc. This suffices for a general description of the ordinary local nomenclature, which indicates that at some time or other the country was colonised by a race cognate with ourselves, who were in sufficient strength to occupy the country, and call it by their own name. But if we look a little closer we discover other phenomena. We find in various places, and especially round the coast, intrusive patches of names allied to, but not identical with, the Saxon nomenclature. Such are *by, thorpe, toft, hoe, thwaite*, etc. These overlies the Saxon names, and shew that subsequently to the Saxon settlement another race, proved by their language to be Danes

or Norsemen, dispossessed in these localities the previous holders, and gave their own names to the lands.

Proceeding further, we find other names of a different tongue underlying the general Anglo-Saxon stratification, and evidently of older date. A large number of towns and villages in various parts of the kingdom have their names terminating in *chester*, frequently modified into *caster*, *caistor*, *xeter*, such as Dorchester, Colchester, Lancaster, Exeter, Wroxeter, Caistor, etc. We can trace these through the Saxon *ceaster* to Latin *castra*, the term for a fortress. There are other names, such as *Colne*, Lat. *Colonia*; *Pontefract*, Lat. *Pons fractus* (broken bridge), which point in the same direction.

Many names of Anglo-Saxon origin also refer to Roman remains existing at the time of the Saxon settlements,—Ermin Street, Watling Street, Stretton, Stratford, the Foss-way, indicate existing Roman roads, called in Latin *strata*. Lexdon is a corruption of *Legionis Dunum*; Leicester, of *Legionis Castra*. Here, then, is indelible proof of the existence in England, for a long period, of the strong, powerful, and to a great extent beneficial, supremacy of Rome. We next find the remains of names which have been Latinised; versions of appellations in a previous language, borne before the Roman invasion. London is traced back to Lat. *Londinium*, which is simply the Cymric *Llyn-din* (the fort in the pool or marsh) with a Latin termination. So in Norfolk, *Brannodunum* (now Brancaster) from Cymric *Bran-don* (Crow-hill). York, Exeter, Wroxeter, and other towns, take their names from similar combinations.

The rivers generally, and the prominent features of the country, where there are any, usually preserve their original Celtic names. The Esk, the Axe, the Avon, the Dee, the Don, the Douglas, the Yarrow, etc., retain the names conferred long before the Saxon or even the Roman invasion. The mountains of the North of England, Helvellyn, Blencathra, Pen-y-gant, etc., also retain their Cymric appellations. From this we gather that previous to the arrival of the Saxons or of the Romans there are clear evidences, apart from written history, that the country was peopled by a Celtic race, who have left behind no traces but the names apparently indelible, which they gave to the great features of Nature. Beyond this the inquiry will not carry us. If

there were inhabitants in England previous to the Celtic immigration they have left behind no trace of their language. Whether any constructive remains exist of that early prehistoric period may be a question.

We have thus existing in England, independent of all written records, clear indications of the successive waves of population which overspread the country and left their indelible marks behind. We have a *tableau* of history before our eyes, inscribed on the face of the country itself in characters which cannot be mistaken. We shall find the county of Norfolk full of interest in regard to these unwritten records, which throw so much light on the history and progress of our country. This county is intensely Saxon, or rather Anglian, in its nomenclature, the vast majority of its place names being derived from this source. It offers, however, interesting reminiscences of each of the successive races which have occupied the district.

There are no prominent features like the mountains of the north, which have borne from time immemorial their original Celtic names, but the majority of the rivers, the Great and Little Ouse, the Bure, the Yare, the Yarrow, the Ant, the Wensum are unmistakably Cymric. There is an absence in this county of the earthworks, the stone circles and cromlechs, which in the west and north perpetuate the prehistoric associations.

Whatever may have been the cause of this paucity of remains, there is no doubt that when the Romans pushed their conquests in Britain they found the present district of Norfolk and Suffolk in the occupation of a powerful tribe called the Iceni, who entered into a friendly league with the Romans. This was afterwards broken by the rebellion under the famous Boadicea, A.D. 60, which was suppressed with much cruelty by Suetonius Paulinus, who garrisoned the country, and included it in the province called Flavia Cæsariensis.

The Romans have left behind many reminiscences of their occupation, which lasted nearly 400 years. The road called Icknield Street, which commenced at the ford or bridge over the Thames at Staines, entered Norfolk at Thetford, and continued to the stronghold of Venta Icenorum (Caer Gwent), now Caistor, near Norwich, following nearly the line of the present railway. The road is still the highway,

and indicates its origin by the names of places, such as Long Stratton, Stratton St. Mary's, Stratton St. Michael. At Icklingham, on the same road, are the remains of a Roman villa. From Icknield Street another road called the Peddar Way ran north-west to the coast, terminating at Branodunum, now Brancaster. East and West Caistor on the east coast mark the site of Gariannonum. Remains of villas have also been met with in other parts of the county.

Another important work of the Romans is the vallum or embankment which extends round the north-west coast from near Wisbech to within a short distance of Lynn. It was originally intended to restrain the encroachments of the sea, but the sea has long since retired, and left a margin of fertile land along the outer edge of the vallum. It is a noble work, worthy of the engineers who constructed the aqueducts of Rome and the Pont du Gard, in France, and is likely to endure as long as the fame of its authors. The proximity of this vallum or wall has originated the names of the villages along its line, Walsoken, Walton, Walpole St. Peter, Walpole St. Andrew.

Norfolk was not one of the earliest settlements of the Saxons in Britain. It was not until the end of the sixth century that the descent was made. About that period there seems to have been, from some cause or other, a general movement amongst the warlike races occupying the modern Schleswig and Holstein, which led to their emigration on a large scale ; so large indeed that the settlers eventually gave their name to the whole of England. Norfolk and Suffolk soon succumbed to their attacks, others advanced northward and westward, and thus the kingdoms of east and middle Anglia were established. It is remarkable that the island anciently called Mona, at the western extremity of North Wales, should have taken its name from the Angles, Angles-cy.

Their system of colonisation has left its indelible mark in the place names of the country. The mode in which it was effected is worthy of special notice. Any person casting his eye over the map of Norfolk will be struck with the large number of names of places ending in *ling*, *ing*, *ing-ham*, or *ing-ton*. This termination is a patronymic, like the Gaelic *mac* or the Irish *o*, referring to a common progenitor, and binding the tribe together by a mutual compact for

protection. The division of the conquered country would naturally be conducted on settled principles, derived from the actual position of the conquerors. As an army they had obtained possession, and as an army they distributed the booty which rewarded their valour. In the field each kindred was drawn up under an officer of its own lineage and appointment, and the several members of the family served together. This organisation would naturally be followed in the distribution of the land. Originally the land was held in common by the tribe. Cæsar, in describing the Germans, says: "Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios; sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierint quantum et quo loco visum est agri adtribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt."¹ Whether this was the case at the time of the Saxon settlement is rather uncertain. Very soon, however, the possession of land became a passion, and was the distinctive mark of a free man, a portion of the land being, however, still held in common for the purposes of pasture.

The Angles would seem to have been a very comely, good-looking race. From this part of the country came the beautiful children, whose exposure in the slave market of Rome so excited the admiration of Pope Gregory that he exclaimed, "Non Angli sed Angeli, si forent Christiani." Their descendants, at least of the fairer sex, do not appear to have degenerated.

The tract of land on which each tribe or clan settled was called the *Mark*, and was generally named from the patronymic derived from the common progenitor. Thus Framlingham was the home of the tribe of Framla; Hamlington, the town or enclosure of the children of Hamla, and so on. The word *mark* had a legal as well as a territorial meaning. It represents those who dwell upon the land in relation to their privileges, rights, and duties. Each mark, consisting of cultivable land, was usually separated from its neighbours by a tract purposely left forest or waste, preventing

¹ Cæs., *De Bello Gall.*, vi, 22.—"Neither has any one a certain quantity of land, or a definite boundary; but the magistrates and chiefs in each year appropriate to the families and relations of the men who are allied together such a quantity, and in such a position, as they think proper, and the next year require it to be changed."

encroachment on the one side or the other. The term came subsequently to be applied to the debateable lands separating one principality from another. Hence the title "Warden of the Marches", or marquess in England, and that of markgrave in Germany. The frequency and close neighbourhood of the patronymic place names in Norfolk, compared with their sparseness in some other counties, would indicate that the district was settled with a comparatively large population in very early times. The great number of parishes points to the same conclusion. The counties of Lancaster and Norfolk contain about the same area. Lancashire is divided into six hundreds, Norfolk into 33. Lancashire has 66 parishes, Norfolk 666. The marks are more indistinct in the former, and were originally separated from each other by extensive tracts of forest, moor, and bog. In Norfolk they press so close on each other that there never can have been the distinction which the theory would suppose. It is to be hoped that this close association would promote friendliness and mutual help.

These settlements or marks, then, bore the patronymic of the tribe or family which colonised them. Many of them bear the name pure and simple, such as Hickling, Harling, Blickling, Dalling, being respectively the race of Hickla, Harld, Blickla, and Dalla. This system of nomenclature dates from a very early period. We read in the 18th chapter of the Book of Judges that a marauding party of the tribe of Dan emigrated to the country of the Zidonians, and after taking by force the city of Laish "they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father." What was thus done by the Danites of old was similarly practised by the Greeks at a later period in their colonisation of Italy and Sicily, and in more modern times to some extent has been adopted by the European colonists in America and Australia. A large number of these patronymics in process of time had a suffix attached, descriptive of the later aspect of the settlement, such as Sandringham, Dersingham, Swannington, Haveringland, Billingford, etc. The suffix *ham* is the most common in connection with the patronymic.

In the northern counties the intermediate names of places between the central *marks* either usually indicate their relative position with respect to this central point, as East-

ham, Sutton, Norton, Westwood, etc., or they take their appellations from the natural features of the country in its wild state—*fen, moor, wood, holt, den, dale, hurst*, etc. This arose from the sparseness of the population, the greater distance between the *marks*, and consequently the ruder and wilder state of the country. Such is not the case in Norfolk; the patronymics are packed so closely together as to indicate rather an excess of agricultural population at this early period.

Next to the patronymics perhaps the most interesting suffixes are the *burghs* or *burys*. When the Anglo-Saxons settled down to enjoy the fruits of their conquest they did not generally make their headquarters in the cities or *castra* which had been founded by the Romans. They rather avoided them, and left them to decay, and it was not until a much later period that a certain number of them were resuscitated, and grew again into importance. The Saxons preferred the open country, and for protection selected suitable sites, where they threw up earthworks, within which, in case of attack, they could enclose their flocks and herds for safety. Many of these afterwards grew into important towns—Edinburgh, Peterborough, Loughborough. Canterbury, although a Roman station owes its name to the Saxon fortification. Richborough, in like manner, though a remarkable specimen of the Roman castrum, owes its name to its occupation as a Saxon *burh*. In Norfolk the large number of the marks required a corresponding number of the *burhs* or strongholds. These have for the most part disappeared, and left no record. Some still remain, and a considerable number are identified by the names which commemorate them, such as *burgh, burrough, Ryburgh, Southburgh, Bawburgh, Whinbergh*, etc. Then come the *tons*. The word signifies an enclosure, and was applied to a cluster of houses, with their fields and hedges, generally situated at the meeting of cross roads. These are very numerous in Norfolk, such as Witton, Somerton, Bacton, Swanton, etc. Next come the terminations in *ham*. Fakenham, Foulsham, Downham, Dereham, etc. *Ham* in its original signification meant a single dwelling, in contradistinction from *ton*, which applied to a cluster, but its application extended by degrees, so that the distinction became obliterated. The *hams*, as might be expected, are very

numerous, probably the most so of any of the suffixes. *Stead*, A.S. *stede*, means a station, field, or farm, thus Hemstead is the land belonging to the *ham* or home. Plumstead points to the fruit garden. Worstead has the honour of giving its name to the material of a very important article of clothing. *Wick* or *wich* signifies a village or street—Bastwick, Crostwick, Dudwick. Norwich in all probability was so called when Caistor, the Roman Venta Icenorum, was deserted, and the town to the north took its place. Mr. Isaac Taylor¹ assigns a Norse origin to Norwich, on the ground that it was situated on an arm of the sea, and was visited by the Danish fleets. This is, however, scarcely consistent with the facts. Great changes have taken place in the relative position of land and water along the eastern coast. Norwich must have been founded previous to the Danish irruptions, for the fact of its having been harried and burnt by Sweyn, the father of Canute, in A.D. 1004, clearly shows that it was already in existence as a flourishing town.²

Worth, signifying land connected with a public way, is found in such names as Ramworth, Panxworth; but they are not very numerous in Norfolk. *Thorpe*, a term for a village, as Shouldham Thorpe, Ashwell Thorpe, is of tolerably frequent occurrence. *Stow* or *Stoke* usually indicates a place for business, as Chep-stow, Stow-market. It is found in Norfolk in a few instances, such as Stow-Bardolph, Stoke-Ferry, Stockton. *Croft* and *cot* indicate small detached holdings.

Natural features, such as *Ford*, *Den*, *Well*, *Burn*, *Shaw*, *Heath*, are found in most localities. Harsford, Waterden, Welborne, etc.

These suffixes embrace nearly the whole of the Anglo-Saxon place-names in Norfolk; but there is another important element yet to be considered, viz., the Danish or Norse influence. When the Angles and Jutes left their original seat on the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic, they were succeeded by a cognate but distinct race, who colonised Norway and Denmark. They were eminently skilled as sea-rovers, and visited in turn nearly every shore in Western

¹ *Words and Places*, p. 173.

² "Her com Swegen mid his flotan to North-wic, and tha burh ealle gehergode and forbærnde." (*Saxon Chron.*, A.D. 1004.)

Europe, harrying and plundering, and finally settling down into one of the noblest races which humanity has ever produced. From the eighth to the eleventh century they were the scourge of the coasts of England, and have left behind them enduring records of their prowess and power. Their settlements are always to be traced as an intrusive element by their place-names. The south-east of Norfolk abounds with them. The hundreds of East and West Flegg are filled with Norse names. Flegg signifies *flat*, and may be either Norse or Anglo-Saxon; but the hundreds of Grimshoe, North and South Greenhoe, and Forehoe, unmistakably indicate a Norse origin. The Danish suffix *by*, equivalent to *ham* in Anglo-Saxon, is numerous found in such names as Rollesby, Filby, Thrigby, Ormesby, Herringby. We recognise here also the Norse patronymics of Rollo, the great chief who conquered Normandy; Orme, the bold sea-rover whose name is attached to so many posts on the western coast. *Hoe*, a mound or eminence, is found in Hoe, Limpenhoe, Haddiscoe, and others. *Toft*, with the same meaning as Anglo-Saxon *croft*, is found in Lowestoft, Toft Monks, etc. *Thwaite* (Norse *thveit*), an outlying cottage and field, is found in Thwaite village and Hall. *Field*, as a suffix, occurs in many places in Norfolk, but is much more abundant in Suffolk. It may be either Saxon or Danish, but is most likely of Norse origin, *Fjeld* occurring very frequently in Danish and Norwegian place-names.

The above may suffice for a succinct explanation of the derivation of place-names in Norfolk. I have confined myself almost entirely to the suffixes and patronymics; but there is another class of great interest, which time will not allow me to enter upon. I mean the prefixes. Many of these are easy of solution, and are contemporaneous with the suffixes to which they are attached. Some, however, present more difficulty, and not improbably may be derived from Celtic names previously existing. It is a subject worthy of inquiry, and properly pursued may cast some light on the prehistoric circumstances of the district.

NOTES ON A CIST WITH AXE-HEAD SCULPTURES, NEAR KILMARTIN, ARGYLESHIRE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read January 7, 1880.*)

EXAMPLES of prehistoric sculptured art are of such rare occurrence in this country that the few specimens which have survived to the present day should be looked on with unusual interest, and treasured with more than ordinary care. The sculptures of the period referred to are generally found either on natural rocks or in connection with sepulchral monuments, such as chambered cairns and megalithic structures. Now, although there are probably several thousand dolmens and menhirs spread over the face of the country, there are only a very limited number indeed which are shaped artificially, or ornamented with any kind of carving. The standing stones, cists, and rocks, in the neighbourhood of Kilmartin, near the Crinan Canal, in Argyleshire, are an exception to the general rule, as several of them are sculptured chiefly with cup and ring-marks. There is, however, an ornamented sepulchral cist, the interest of which far surpasses that attaching to any of the surrounding remains, or, indeed, to anything else of the kind in Scotland.

This remarkable relic of prehistoric times was discovered ten years ago by the Rev. R. J. Mapleton of Duntroon Castle, under whose able guidance I had the privilege of visiting it last summer, and to whom I am chiefly indebted for the following particulars. The drawings exhibited have, however, been prepared by myself from rubbings, sketches, and measurements taken at the time.

The cist in question is situated one mile south-west of Kilmartin (see Ordnance Map, 6 inch scale, sheet 69), in a field close to the factor's house at Shockavullin. Kilmartin is at the mouth of the glen leading up to Loch Awe; and below the village, on the flat ground formed by the widening out of the valley, are numerous remains of cairns, standing stones, sepulchral circles, and cists, amongst which is the one now to be described. A small plantation at present

covers the site;¹ but fifty years ago it was a gravel bank surrounded by moss, and the sculptured cist was laid bare, together with two others, in trenching the ground at that time. Of these two associated cists, the first lies 5 feet to the north of the sculptured one; and the second, 26 feet to the north. The first cist was partially destroyed in making a limekiln. The cover is gone; but the two side-slabs and one of the end-slabs remain. The side-slabs are nicely grooved to admit the end-slabs. The second cist is beautifully formed. The cover is just below the surface of the ground, and measures 10 feet by 4 feet. The inside of the cist is 4 feet 4 inches long, by 2 feet 2 inches broad, by 2 feet 3 inches deep; and the side-slabs are 5 feet 6 inches long, grooved as in the previous case. The orientation is south-west.

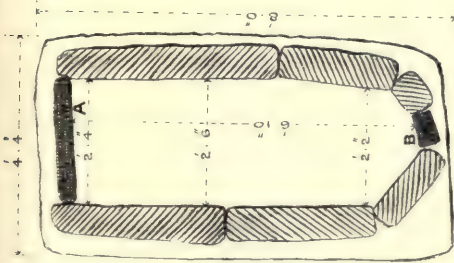
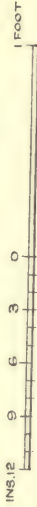
We now come to the third or sculptured cist. Its form and construction are unusual in the locality, and it is composed partly of slabs and partly of a built wall, being thus a transition between a chambered and an ordinary cist. The form will be apparent from the plan and section. The dimensions inside are as follow: width, varying from 2 ft. 2 ins. to 2 ft. 6 ins.; length, 6 ft. 10 ins.; depth, 3 feet. The cover measures 8 ft. by 4 ft. 4 ins., by 9 ins. thick. The orientation is almost east and west.

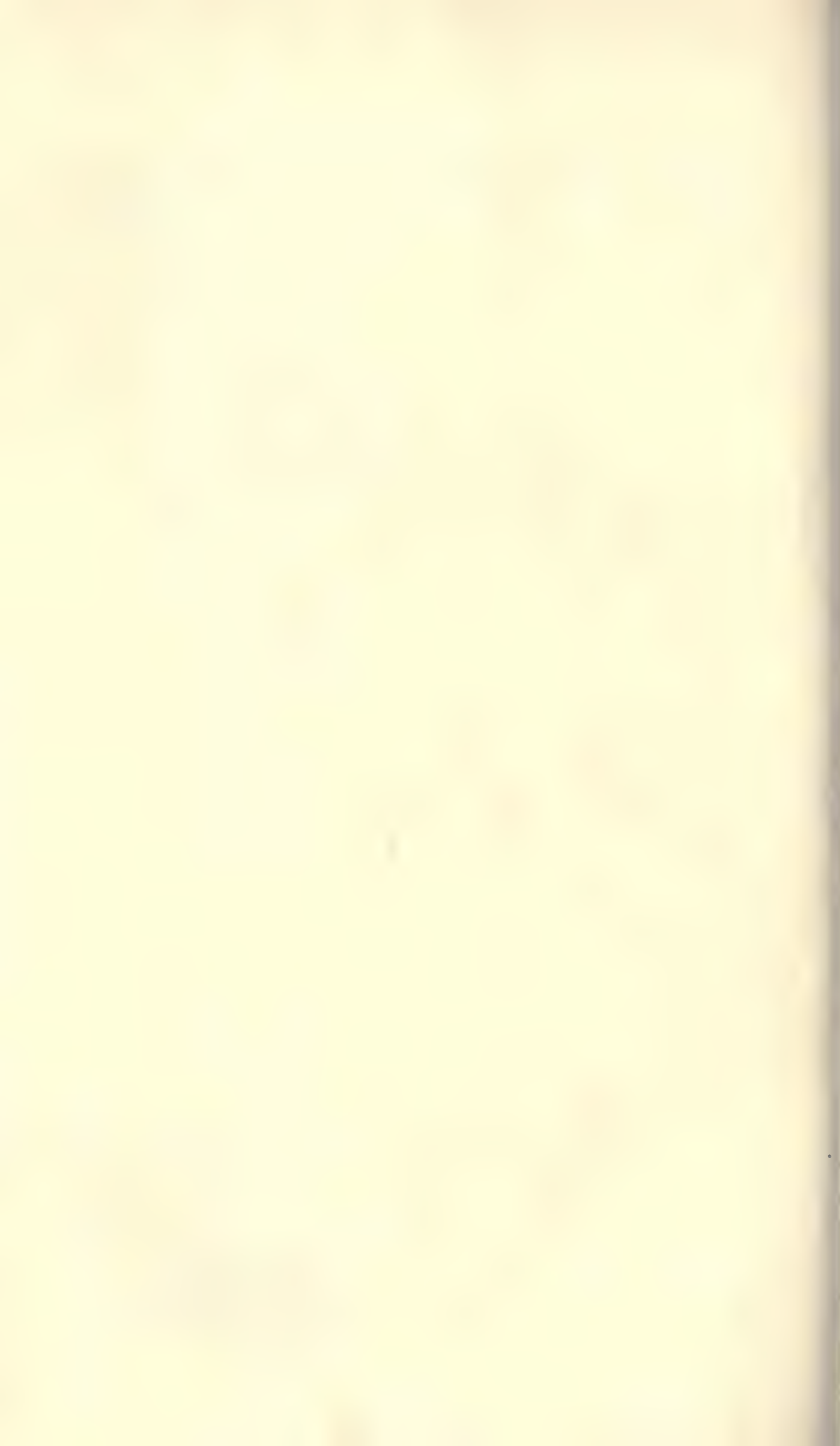
The great point of interest in this cist, which forms the *raison d'être* of the present paper, lies in the fact that two of the stones composing the sides are elaborately sculptured, in a manner to which no parallel case is to be found in Great Britain, although, as will be seen subsequently, there are a few similar examples in Brittany and Sweden. The sculptured slabs are marked A and B on the plan. The stone A forms the west end of the cist, and measures 2 ft. 6 ins. broad by 3 ft. high, by 4 ins. thick. On it are incised the representations of seven axe-heads, from the form of which there can be little doubt that they are intended for bronze weapons. The depth of the incisions is barely an eighth of an inch, so that it is clear that these carvings are purely pictorial, and not moulds for casting, as has been suggested. The tool marks are very distinct, and resemble pick dressing. This is a most important feature, as it may

¹ See paper by the Rev. R. J. Mapleton in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. viii, p. 378.

enable the period to which some of the cup and ring marks belong to be determined. The character of the dressing is unmistakable. The style of the carvings is best seen from the drawing, which has been accurately reduced from a rubbing. The largest axe-head measures 9 ins. long by 7 ins. broad, and the smallest 5 ins. long by 4 ins. broad. In two cases the cutting edges are beautifully rounded, but in the others they are flatter. The one at the lower right hand corner is of rather different shape from the rest. The surface of the slab is tolerably smooth, but does not appear to have been dressed. The carving on the stone B is not so intelligible, and although it resembles somewhat a figure on one of the stones of the Mane Lud, Locmariaker, Brittany, it is difficult to say what it represents. The stone B is at the east end of the cist, and directly facing the stone A, the sculptures in both cases facing towards the inside of the cist. It measures 3 ft. 4 ins. long and 6 ins. by 7 ins. at the top, and 8 ins. by 4 ins. at the bottom, and is of metamorphic slate. The carving consists of a groove running almost the whole length of the stone, and a series of ten short grooves leading out of it at right angles. The distance between the short grooves varies from 2 to 4 ins. The dressing is similar to that of stone A. No remains were found in either of the three cists, and if any existed they must have been destroyed when the ground was trenched fifty years ago.

This concludes the description of the cist, but before leaving the subject I will give a short list of the other remains in the immediate neighbourhood, which are as follows. Between the sculptured cist and Kilmartin, lying along the centre of the valley, is a splendid group of five monoliths, known as the stones of Largie, two of which are covered with cup and ring marks. A few hundred yards to the west, on the further side of the road, is a very perfect stone circle 40 ft. in diameter with a cist. Further up the valley, along the middle of it, is a line of four stone chambered cairns. On the hill above the valley to the west, near Tayness, is a rock covered with cup and ring marks, and commanding a bird's-eye view of the whole of these remains. Half a mile south-east from the sculptural cist, further down the valley, is a fine cup and ring rock at Bal-uachraig, close to the high road to Ardrishaig. Half a mile





further on again to the south-east are the seven standing stones of Balameanoch, three of which have cup and ring marks. There is also another cup and ring rock about a mile south-west from the sculptured cist in the garden of Poltalloch House. It appears that the open part of the Kilmartin valley has been in prehistoric times a vast cemetery, and I think that the connection of cup and ring marks with sepulchral monuments is here very strongly brought out. Seven miles off, close to the Crinan Canal, is a cup and ring rock at Cairnbaan (white cairn), and immediately below it is a cist, the end slab of which had a series of concentric diamond-shaped rings carved on it.¹ A mile to the east of this is the celebrated Achnabreck sculptured rock, which has several hundreds of cup and ring marks, covering at least a surface 100 ft. square. Close to this also are several standing stones. Between Balymeanoch and Cairnbaan, one mile north of the latter, is Dunadd, where the Dalriadic Scots landed in the sixth century. There is a fort still remaining, and a supposed footprint carved on the rock.²

To return now to the axe-head sculptures. The only other example of a sculptured axe-head in Great Britain, which I have seen mentioned, is one on a standing stone in the Island of Arran, off Scotland. A short description of it appears in a note to Sir Jas. Simpson's work on cup and ring marks, but no drawing is given. Sculptured axes and axe-heads occur at the following places in Brittany:—1. On eight of the stones composing the sepulchral chamber and passage of the tumulus of Gavv Innis, Morbihan. 2. On the capstone of the Dolmen des Marchands, Lockmariaker. 3. On two of the stones of the Mané Lud, Lockmariaker. 4. On the right support of the entrance to the Men-er-Rethual, Lockmariaker. 5. On a support of right side of chamber of the Dolmen de Kerveres, Lockmariaker. 6. On a slab at the entrance to the chamber of the Mané er Hroek, Lockmariaker. 7. On the roof of the chamber of the Dolmen de Kercado, Carnac. 8. On the support of left side of entrance of the Dolmen de Penhap,

¹ This stone is now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. It is illustrated in Plate 13 of Sir James Simpson's work on Cup and Ring-Marks, where most of the other stones referred to are also described.

² *Proceedings of the Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xiii, p. 31.

Isle aux Moines. 9. On three of the stones of the Dolmen du Petit Mont, Arzon.¹

In Sweden the most celebrated example of an axe-head sculpture on the walls of a sepulchral chamber is at Kivik. On natural rock surfaces representations of axes are of frequent occurrence, as for example at Simvishund, and at Tegneby, Backa, and Hviltycke, in Bohuslän.²

In conclusion, I venture to express a hope that the Kilmartin axe-head stone may be at no distant period deposited in the proper place for the reception of such objects by the laird of Poltalloch, I mean in the National Museum of Scottish Antiquities in Edinburgh. There, side by side with other works of the same kind, with which it may be compared, it will be of great value to the archæologist, whereas in its present position it is doing no good to anyone, and moreover runs considerable risk of being destroyed. Such relics as this are national property, and it is high time that both the Government and also private individuals should recognise the fact that they are so.

¹ See *Sculptures lapidaires et Signes gravés des Dolmens dans le Morbihan*, par M. le Docteur G. de Closmadeuc. Vannes, 1873. Also paper by Samuel Ferguson in vol. viii of the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 399-451.

² See *Compte Rendu* of the International Congress of Anthropology and Archæology held at Stockholm, 1874, pp. 453-87.

EASTER EGGS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

(Read April 16, 1879.)

To the uninitiated there can appear but little affinity between a Good Friday bun and an Easter egg, and yet the history of these two dissimilar objects is closely blended and interwoven, inasmuch as one was an offering to, the other an emblem of, an ancient and renowned goddess who by universal consent has been styled "the Queen of Heaven", and who was worshipped under various names by various nations. She is the Astaroth of Holy Writ, the Astarte of the Phœnicians, the Isis of the Egyptians, the Ishtar of the Babylonians, the Mylitta of the Assyrians, the Anaitis of the Persians, the Alilet or Alitta of the Arabians, the Diana of the Greeks and Romans, and the Eastre, Easter, or Eoster, of the Teutons. The egg seems to have been a more or less conspicuous adjunct in the worship of the Queen of Heaven, and it is, perhaps, almost needless to add that it was the mundane egg which was typified by the *ovum* of a bird; and we sometimes see representations of the mundane egg encircled by the serpent of immortality. In the Temple of the Dioscouri, in Laconia, was suspended a large egg, which is described as surrounded by a serpent; and from this mystic union of the egg and serpent sprang the egg and tongue ornament so frequently introduced in the Ionic order of architecture. But the serpent must not beguile us of the egg, which with the Keltic Druids was the symbol of the goddess Creirwy or Llywy, the daughter or emanation of the Luna-Arkite divinity, Keridwen, with whom may possibly be identified the famous old witch, Mother Goose, whose story is so marked by the presence of a golden egg. The deities of the pagans became the demons of the early Christians, and the Lady of the Egg was thus counted as a witch; and many an egg-eater made it a constant rule to break out the base of the empty shell, to destroy the power of the evil spirit. Hence came the saying,

"When you've eaten the egg, both yellow and white,
Break open the bottom, and kill the sprite."

Divers ceremonies have served to keep in remembrance the veneration paid to the egg by the old Keltic nations. Take, for example, the following "Fête of the Eggs", held at La Motte du Pougard, an ancient Druidical barrow situated at a short distance from Dieppe, in the midst of a plain covered with corn. This fête was celebrated annually on Easter Monday, and was only abolished at the time of the Revolution. It is thus described in *The Mirror*, xi, p. 233: "A crowd of persons of both sexes came from the neighbouring villages, and met together round the barrow, forming what is called in the country an 'Assembly'. A hundred eggs were put into a basket, and placed at the foot of the eminence. One of the troop (now united in a circle) took an egg, which he successively carried to the top of the mound till they were all placed there. He then brought them back, one by one, till they were all replaced in the basket. In the meantime another man belonging to the same 'Assembly' 'ran the eggs' as it is called; that is, went as fast as legs would carry him to Bacqueville, a large village about a mile and a quarter from the spot; and if he returned before the hundredth egg was replaced in the basket, he gained the prize of the course, consisting of a hog's-head of cider, which he afterwards distributed among his friends. The whole 'Assembly' now gave themselves up to rejoicing and amusement, and danced in a ring round the pile, representing a chain without end. The egg figured in this rural fête in memory of the serpent-egg consecrated by the Druids. It was also an emblem of the year, as is attested by the accounts of many religious ceremonies in different nations."

It is curious to observe the various opinions which have been held respecting the egg in connection with religion. Hutchinson, in his *History of Northumberland* (ii, p. 10), when speaking of Easter eggs, says: "Eggs were held by the Egyptians as a sacred emblem of the renovation of mankind after the Deluge. The Jews adopted it to suit the circumstances of their history, as a type of their departure from the land of Egypt; and it was used in the Feast of the Passover, as part of the furniture of the table, with the Paschal lamb. The Christians have certainly used it on this day, as retaining the elements of future life, for an emblem of the Resurrection."

From these speculations pass we on to the more tangible form of the Easter eggs, called also Pasche, Pash, Pace, or Paste eggs,—all words being evidently a corruption of *Pasque* (Easter); and let us bear in mind that this season of Easter is so denominated from the Teutonic goddess Eostre, who is on all hands acknowledged to be one and the same with the Biblical Astaroth, the Queen of Heaven, and who, under her Egyptian form of Isis, bears on her head a large egg; possibly that of the ostrich, for the old Egyptians highly prized the eggs of this gigantic bird, and probably suspended them in their temples in the manner the Coptic Christians still suspend them in their churches.

It is, perhaps, impossible to decide when Easter eggs were first stained with various colours, and adorned with religious emblems and subjects. That the custom of painting eggs is of high antiquity may be inferred from the fact that objects of terra-cotta, in form of large ostriches' eggs, painted with figures, have been found at Polledrara, the necropolis of Vulci, and of which examples exist in the British Museum, which remind us of a fine ostrich egg decorated with various hues, which a few years since was seen depending from the ceiling of a cottage at Shoreham in Sussex.¹

The practice of staining and decorating sacred eggs probably commenced in the East and travelled westward. Dr. Chandler, in his *Travels in Asia Minor*, when speaking of the Greeks says, "they made us presents of coloured eggs and cakes of Easter bread"; and in the *Museum Tradescantianum* (1660, p. 1) we read of "Easter eggs of the patriarchs of Jerusalem." Hakluyt, in his *Voyages*, says of the Russians: "They have an order at Easter which they alwaies observe, and that is this, every yeere, against Easter, to die or colour red with Brazzel" (Brazil wood) "a great number of eggs, of which every man and woman giveth one unto the priest of the parish upon Easter Day in the morning. And, moreover, the common people use to carrie in their hands one of these red egges not only upon Easter Day, but also three or foure days after; and gentlemen and gentle-

¹ Painted eggs were formerly favourite ornaments for rooms. In the Sale Catalogue of Fonthill Abbey we find the following: "Lot 73. An ostrich egg, painted in subject from Teniers, with ormolu mount." "Lot 1587. An ostrich egg beautifully painted, and mounted on an ormolu plynth." I have a fine egg of a green turtle, on which is painted a sperm whale raising its head above the waves.

women have eggs gilded, which they carry in like manner." We have a later notice of these eggs in Clarke's *Travels in Russia*. When describing Moscow he tells us: "On Easter Monday begins the presentation of the Paschal eggs,—lovers to their mistresses, relations to each other, servants to their masters,—all bring ornamented eggs; the meanest pauper in the street presenting an egg, and repeating the words '*Christos Voscressi*' (Christ is risen), may demand a salute even of the Empress."

In Europe the Easter eggs have been more diversely ornamented than those of the East. In the *Saturday Magazine* of April 6, 1839, appeared an interesting little paper on Easter eggs, illustrated with woodcuts of two Italian examples, copied from some MS. work in the British Museum, but of which neither title nor date are furnished; but which seems to have been written *circa* 1716. One of these eggs is sawed in half, and hinged and tied together with ribbons, the interior being lined with gilt paper, one concavity displaying a figure of St. Cecilia seated at an organ, the other a standing effigy, playing on the gittern, both persons being cut out of silk and adorned with gold. The exterior of the egg shows a flaming heart, surrounded by flowers. The second engraving is of an undivided egg, less decorated than its companion. It is painted with a maund or basket in the midst of flowers, and is stated to be the work of the nuns of Amelia—a small city about thirty miles from Rome. We are further informed that "the Venetian noblemen present eggs to the ladies and nuns, adorned with their portraits curiously limned thereon, and in Germany they have ways of adorning eggs with foliage and other devices, all in transparent work, which is cut out with *aqua fortis*." In our day the Easter eggs of Germany are simply stained red, at least such as are sold in the streets and at fairs.

The artistic taste and skill displayed on the Easter eggs of Continental Europe far surpass anything seen in English examples, our own good folk seeming pretty well content with staining or marbling the religious bauble, seldom attempting the limning of devices. Still a few cupids and true love knots, and such like emblems of affection, may occasionally be found on Easter eggs sent as presents, and on which the name of the recipient is sometimes added.

A curiously decorated egg is now before us, which exhibits a singular blending of Pagan and Christian feeling. It is of a bright red colour, the emblems on it being cut out of gold and silver paper. On one side is the crescent moon, with a large star above it, bespeaking the presence of Astarte or Easter. On the opposite side is a serpent, surmounted by a cross-*tau* between the letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, and ensigned by the *Chirho*; and between the obverse and reverse of the egg, if such an expression be allowable, are conjoined trigons and small stars. This *bizarre* object is pierced, and a green cord with tassel runs through it, to permit of its suspension. It is evidently of very recent date, but manifests a survival of old tastes and ideas.

The next example of the Easter egg is simply marbled with three or four different colours, the most conspicuous being a bright crimson irregular band surrounding the greatest swell of the shell. This fine egg of a Spanish goose displays the Kentish taste of some seventy or eighty years since.

Such marbled eggs as the above were wont to be used in a childish sport, where eggs were struck one against the other, and the one which escaped destruction in the process was always regarded as a hero and a prize. This game is neither confined to England nor to Europe, for it is also found in the East. Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities* (ed. 1849, vol. i, p. 171), says, "The learned Hyde in his *Oriental Sports* tells us of one with eggs among the Christians of Mesopotamia on Easter day and forty days afterwards, during which time their children buy themselves as many eggs as they can, and stain them with a red colour, in memory of the blood of Christ, shed as at this time of his crucifixion. Some tinge them with green and yellow. Stained eggs are sold all the while in the market. The sport consists in striking their eggs one against another, and the egg that first breaks is won by the owner of the egg that struck it. Immediately another egg is pitted against the winning egg, and so they go on, till the last remaining egg wins all the others, which their respective owners shall before have won."

Easter eggs were preserved by many persons under a belief that they possessed some occult power to protect the

dwelling from mischief, hence even within the present century might occasionally be seen festoons of coloured eggs suspended on the walls of apartments. Mr. Jewitt, in his paper on the *Ancient Customs of the County of Derby*, given in our *Journal* (vii, 205), says, when speaking of Easter, "Pasch eggs are still to be seen, beautifully ornamented, hanging in festoons over the chimney piece, or put by carefully in corner cupboards of cottages, and they are religiously preserved and handed down as heirlooms."

Within a few years Europe has made a fresh start in the way of Easter eggs, Germany taking the lead in the matter. The thin fragile shell is at times converted into a box, but more frequently the egg is imitated in porcelain, ivory, mother-of-pearl, bronze, or silver, and made to open on hinges, and within are deposited trinkets and other objects of ornament and utility. Such casket eggs are presented by one friend to another at Easter-tide, just as gifts are exchanged at the New Year.

The imitation eggs for Easter are not always of box fashion, witness those curious ones of glass, containing a representation of the crucifixion, formerly made at Venice,¹ and those of iron, of Russian fabric, of which an example is kindly submitted by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. This rare and curious egg is cast hollow, and perforated at either extremity, for the convenience of suspension. On one side, in low relief, is represented our blessed Lord ascending in clouds from the tomb, with a banner in His right hand, whilst at either end of the tomb kneels a weeping figure. On the opposite side is a disc, surrounded by rays, and bearing the words *Christos voskress* (Christ is risen). This most interesting specimen may be assigned to about the end of the seventeenth century, and was found in Liverpool Street in 1872.

Among the humbler imitations of real egg may be named those of coloured wood and stained marble, not forgetting the compound of sugar and whiting, known as *sweet stuff*, and of which some one has told us under the title of—

THE LOLLIPOP EGG.

"At Easter we get a fine egg for the nonce,
But 'tis naught but shell and colour and puff;

¹ One of these Venetian eggs formed part of lot 260 at a sale at Sotheby's Rooms, Feb. 11, 1879.

- I'd greatly prefer the confectioner's thing ;
The egg that's fashioned of lollipop stuff.
- "The real egg is hollow, and fragile and void,
T'other is solid, and strong as a rock.
The first you can crush 'twixt the finger and thumb,
The second will bear a jolly good knock.
- "The only mere suck you can give to the one,
Is just through a hole that's made in its base ;
The other may make a nice lump in the mouth,
And suck it, suck it, and leave not a trace.
- "O ! give me the egg which is sweet all the year ;
That never can addle, that ne'er can spoil ;
That e'er comes to our hands all ready for use ;
That needeth no poaching, and needeth no boil."

Such is a slight and hasty glance at the early origin and long career of the ever famous Easter egg. Typical of the earth, and sacred to the Queen of Heaven, it has been regarded with religious veneration, far and wide, from days of untold antiquity down to the passing hour. And yet there are countless thousands who look with reverence on the stained and decorated bauble, without a thought as to its Pagan birth and real signification. Generation after generation follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, heedless as to where those steps once led, ignorant of all that should invest old usages with respect and interest. The practice survives long after the spirit is defunct, that which was once holy becomes a mere pastime ; the sacred emblem in the temple of worship sinks to be the plaything of the child ; faith and knowledge imperceptibly fade away together, growing fainter and fainter with advancing years, till at length a thick cloud of obscurity is spread abroad, dark as the veil of night, and only dimly lit by a few flickering sparks, which the waste and wreck of ages have spared to us. But we must not dwell longer on this theme, and will conclude with the following reflections on—

AN EASTER EGG.

- "We gaze upon a tender egg ;
A thing mayst say that is not rare,
And yet a marvel passing strange,
Proclaiming God's eternal care.
Frail prison house of dormant life,
The primal home of feather'd race.
A mystic cloud involves thy form,
If we thy story strive to trace,

The dove which heralded dry land
Did issue from a simple egg ;
That egg was tiny, fragile, weak ;
 Could man have thought such aid to beg.
Within an egg the world seem'd knit,—
 The ark was but an egg for man ;
That egg did teem with vital spark,
 Which through the world from thence hath run.
An egg is typical of tomb ;
 But from this tomb a life did rise,
Redeeming life for all mankind,
 Immortal through its sacrifice.
The Lunar goddess claim'd the egg,
 As mother of the earth and sky ;
So glorious did she gleam above,
 Who could her claim on earth deny ?
Whatever name she bears below,
 The nations long to her hath bow'd ;
To her hath homage lowly made,
 And life and riches often vowed.
Her name may change with changing time,—
 Astarte, Easter,—still the same,
The sacred egg men think her due ;
 The goddess still they think hath claim.
Mingling of creeds, of faith, of love,
 Pagan and Christian meeting here :
An Easter egg is pagan yet,
 Though Paschal title now it bear.
Well, let it bear what name it will,
 It still doth hold its ancient place,
It still doth speak of sacred rites,
 It still doth speak of Heaven's grace :
At least so speaks to those that will
 Of mystic rites and fashions ken ;
Of rites which rose in distant times
 To guide the minds and hearts of men.
Long may the Easter Egg be prized
 An emblem of Almighty power ;
Long may it speak of saving grace,
 Of Heaven's rich and holy dower."

DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT CRYPT AT ALDGATE, RECENTLY DEMOLISHED.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

(*Read March 21, 1877.*)

It might reasonably be supposed, from the vast amount of attention that has been given for generations to the antiquities of the city of London, that our knowledge of them was exhausted. Something very similar to this has not unfrequently been said ; but the discoveries made from time to time only shew us that a large field for investigation still remains.

I had the pleasure, not very long since, of reporting to this Association upon the discovery of the ancient Norman crypt in Corbet Court, till then unknown ; and I have now a similar gratification with respect to another, which, as in the former case, has been brought to light only to be speedily destroyed. In the former case it may be doubted if its existence were known away from the house itself. In this instance, although it may have been known to a few individuals, no description was made public until just prior to its demolition.

The ever increasing demands of modern traffic for wider streets have led to changes even in the width of what our forefathers designated the High Street of Aldgate, and which was considered a wide thoroughfare. The recent widening of Jewry Street at its junction with High Street has led to the removal of part of a block of timber-built houses in High Street of old date, but probably not much, if anything, earlier than the time of Elizabeth. The works attendant upon their removal caused it to be noticed that the basements of these houses were not ordinary cellars, but were in fact of greater age than the old houses above them, and of much interest from their being vaulted with acutely pointed arches. Through the courtesy of Mr. Sequeira I was enabled to examine a portion of these arches in the cellar of his house (No. 1, Jewry Street), and I found that the arches were continuous through the whole of his basement, and

that they extended beneath those of the adjacent houses. Beyond these my researches were stopped, westward, by a modern brick wall ; but on a careful examination of the structure of the vaulting-ribs, it became apparent that the building extended still further in that direction. Mr. Nash of No. 15, Aldgate, readily assented to an investigation, and with some difficulty I was able to trace the continuation of the vaulting over the whole of the north area of the basement of his house ; but although this extended to the back of the Jewry Street portion also (having a frontage to Aldgate as well as Jewry Street), no trace of extension of the vault farther to the south, along Jewry Street, remained ; but it may be supposed, from the small closed apertures at each end, that the structure originally had some extension both south, down Jewry Street, and west along Aldgate.

The original arrangement was very much obstructed by cross-walls and other still more recent works, which altogether detracted from the effect of the ancient vault, and which must have been, when clear and unencumbered, one of the most elegant of the City crypts ; indeed, so greatly was the appearance marred by these, that it was only when the old work was measured piecemeal, and laid down to scale, that the regularity and continuity of the plan became apparent. The crypt was in the form of the letter L, and divided into five compartments of almost equal size, of which one was to the north-east, and two to the south, and two to the west ; but it will be noticed, by reference to the plan, that they are not regular squares, since they follow the irregularity formed by the line of frontage of Jewry Street. They were originally all open and uninterrupted, forming a single apartment. Each compartment was vaulted by transverse and cross ribs of greenstone, neatly moulded and of varying size, and with a boldly carved boss at the junction. These latter were for the most part formed of grotesque heads, terminating in a fringe of well shaped foliage, sprigs of which sprang from the mouths ; and the mouths were in every case prepared for iron rings, one of which remained at the demolition.

The divisions of the vaults were formed of similar ribs, and there were arches against the wall ; but these latter were formed of a chamfered order only. These all sprang from corbels ; in some places only of a chamfered projection,

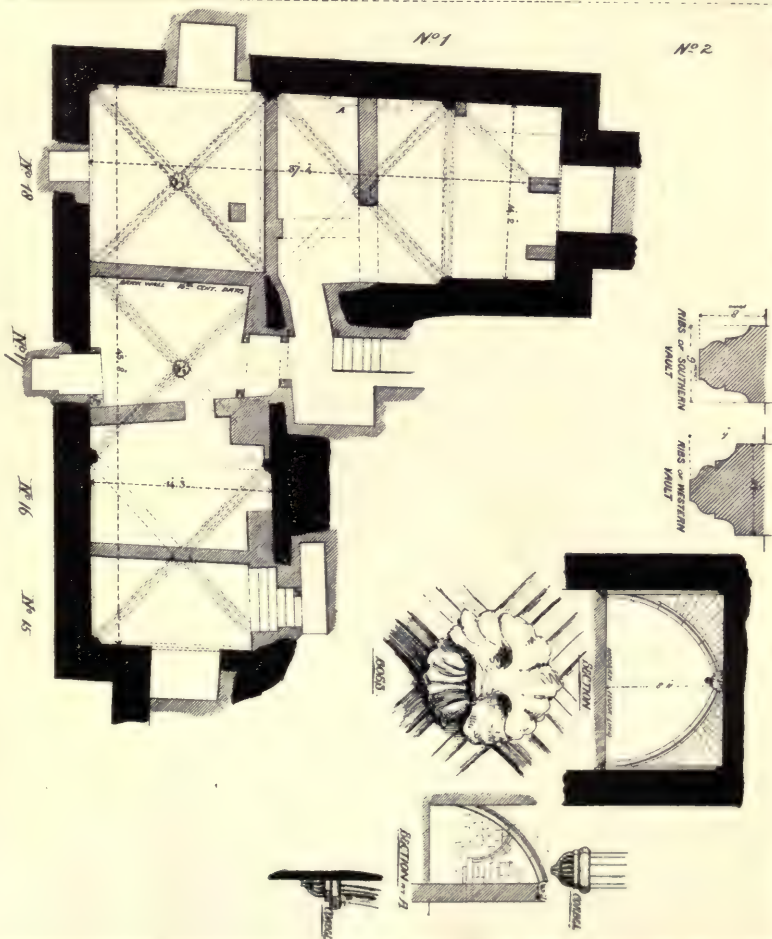
SITE OF ALCATEA

MOSES MOSES AND SONS
ADDITIONAL PREMISES
No 89 ALCATEA

No 37 JEWRY ST

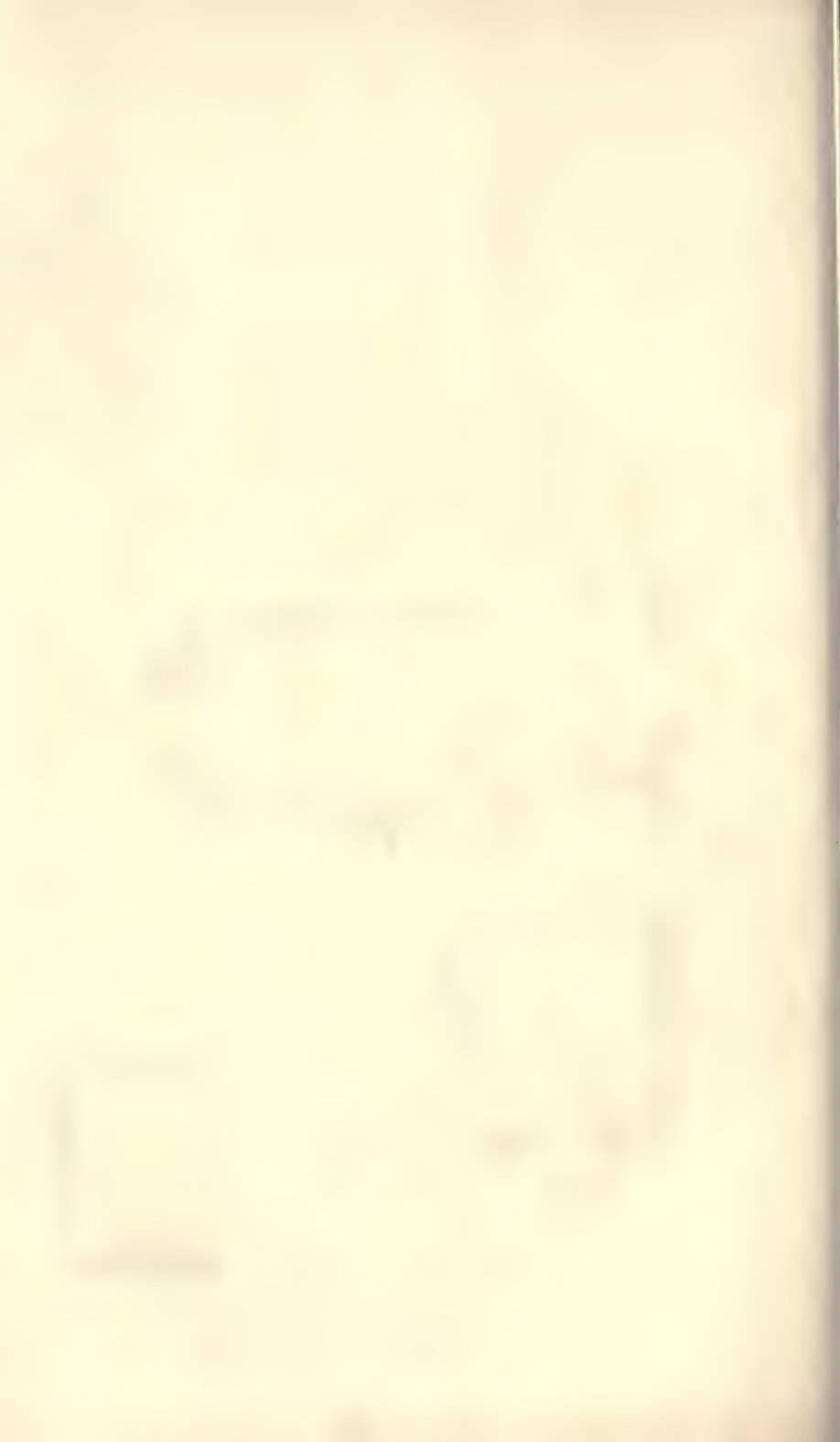
THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN WALL OF LONDON

JEWRY STREET



ALCATEA HIGH STREET

CIVIL ENGINEERS' DRAWING



but in others they were moulded caps boldly carved. The vaulted ceiling and also the walls were built entirely of chalk squared into small blocks, very neatly cut, the latter still remaining firm and solid; but some of the ribs and much of the ceiling were badly dilapidated, and some of the ribs had fallen. In the centre of the south wall there was a recess, low down to the floor-line, and enclosed with a semi-circular arch, chamfered, and only 3 feet 5 inches from the floor to its apex. This was bricked up, and it looked very much like the commencement of a passage; but there was no trace of this on the opposite side, where any continuation was obliterated by modern work. A taller opening at the west has also been already alluded to.

It is probable that the original entrance was on the site of the modern wooden staircase; but there was no trace of it. There were no remains of any windows; but it is probable that some light was obtained from an opening on the site of a modern area from Aldgate. The want of light at once explains the use of the rings for the suspension of lamps.

The extreme length, from north to south, was 37 ft. 4 ins.; from east to west, 45 ft. 8 ins. The height of the centre of the bosses from the late floor-line was 8 ft. 11 ins. This floor-line, however, was of modern date, and only formed of an accumulation of earth; but during the demolition, and from the excavations made for us by order of the City authorities, it was very apparent that the original floor-level was fully 4 ft. below this. There was, however, no trace of an original paved floor in any part of the building, and it is probable that it was formed only of rammed earth.

Beyond the architectural evidences of the building it has no history. There is not the slightest mention of the crypt in either Maitland, Wilkinson, Noorthouck, or in any later histories of London. Stowe evidently refers to the houses, which must have been of modern date in his day, and opposite his own house, when he says: "There have you, on the south side of Fenchurch Street, over against the well or pump, amongst other fair and well built houses, one that sometime belonged to the Prior of Monte Jovis beyond the seas, in Essex. It was the Prior's Inn when he repaired to this city." The house above the crypt is not singled out, and there is no mention of the latter. This is the less to be wondered at when the interesting crypt, for so long sup-

posed to be the remains of the old church of St. Michael,¹ was actually beneath, or close to the house in which Stowe lived,—a stone's throw from this crypt, and in front of Aldgate Pump; and which, if he knew of its existence, he did not consider of sufficient importance to be chronicled. Stowe himself speaks of the great raising of the soil in this immediate district, and refers to the curious discovery of a large stone gateway, with the traces of the wooden gates, burnt and still remaining, which were discovered between Billiter Street and Lime Street in 1590, on the building of some new houses in Fenchurch Street on what was before a garden. These were entirely buried beneath the accumulated soil.

The fact that Stowe does not chronicle the supposed crypt of St. Michael has often given occasion for expressions of surprise; but in reality it may be supposed with reason that these vaulted basements were so common in his day as not to call for much attention. Their formation was a necessity. The ground then, as now, was "made earth" to a great extent. Not to so great a depth, it is true, as at present, but still so much so as to require in every building of importance a foundation of great depth; and in the case of domestic buildings, this would have given the occasion for the formation of a basement as an economic arrangement. We have recently seen the depth of the ancient foundations of St. Antholin's Church recently removed with great difficulty; and the same may still be seen in the remains, waiting for removal, of the church of St. Michael, Queenhithe.

The great number of known crypts in the city may still be added to by fresh discoveries, and we may hope for this as some compensation for the loss occasioned by the demolition of so many. New houses were built on the east side of Lime Street by Sir Thos. Cullum after the Great Fire of 1666, but it was only about the year 1750 that it was ascertained that there was an ancient crypt beneath the soil.

¹ The widening of the corner next the renowned Aldgate Pump led, in 1874, to the demolition of this ancient crypt, considered by many authorities to have been a portion of the basement of the Church of the Holy Trinity, but which has been shewn to be a domestic structure, and not ecclesiastical. It is so far satisfactory to know that on the destruction of this ancient relic its vaulting-ribs, columns, and other architectural members, were laid side by side, and buried on their own site, with a solid packing of concrete. We may be thankful for small mercies when an ancient building stands in the way of modern improvements; and the above is worthy of record.

This was occasioned by the falling in of part of the basement, and a vaulted chamber 10 ft. square and 8 ft. deep was found.

Only a few months ago a small crypt was discovered almost in the centre of Monument Yard, but it was covered in again before I had any opportunity of investigating its construction.

The crypt under review was clearly that of a domestic building. There was nothing of an ecclesiastical character about it, and it resembled in many of its details the crypt before alluded to beneath Stowe's house; and I consider that they were both almost, if not quite, identical in age. I attribute them to the middle of the fourteenth century. There is a capital paper on the former by Alfred White, Esq., F.S.A., in vol. iv, page 223 of the *Journal* of the London and Middlesex Society, with plans and details, and the form of the arches, arrangement of the ribs, and particularly the pattern of the bosses, may be compared with those now produced, and it will be noticed that the bosses are almost identical.¹

This district of Aldgate is important with respect to London topography. I shall, however, only call attention to the close proximity of the Roman city wall. This extended along the opposite side of Jewry Street, where much of it still remains. Any passer-by may notice that the pavement is higher than on the west side, and the reason is that it rests on the solid mass of the wall, which is buried for 11 or 12 feet beneath it. I saw a paving stone raised some years ago at the junction of Messrs. Moses' new premises and the house No. 37, Jewry Street, and found that the Roman tiles of a bonding course were directly beneath. When the extension of Messrs. Moses' premises was built, about fifteen years ago, a long mass of the wall, perhaps the best portion met with for years, was cut through. It was of Roman construction throughout, and rested on massive piles, which had evidently been driven for a foundation, on account of the badness of the soil. The fronts of the houses on the east side of Jewry Street are built upon the wall, and a portion of it is visible in some of the basements.

The old gate of Aldgate—one of the original gates of the

¹ There is also a good view, with a plan, in *The Builder* of the date of the demolition.

City—must always have been very close to the crypt. Its position is shown on the map called *Agas'*, as projecting on the west or inner side of the City wall, and also on other maps of a somewhat later period, drawn to a smaller scale.

The later gate is also shown on Price and Tinney's map, 1749. The former all indicate a mass of buildings extending eastward as well as westward of the City wall, and the first accounts for an irregularity in the eastern boundary, shown on the modern Ordnance map; but in none of these cases are the buildings shown as extending across Jewry Street, or in any way touching the buildings over the ancient crypt. This is worthy of observation, since it forbids our belief that the crypt ever formed a portion of the buildings of the gate. This is also shown by the absence of all openings for communication in the direction of the latter.

The possibility of its being the basement of the prior's house has been mentioned, but from the words of Stowe, already quoted, we have no evidence that it stood at the corner of Jewry Street; and he would probably have mentioned this had it been so, since he makes special mention of the street. He says that it derived the name "poor Jewry Lane", by which it was known then, and until recent times, from its having been inhabited formerly by poor Jews.

Thanks are due to the City authorities, who very kindly placed all facilities at my disposal for the completion of the survey, and who rendered material aid by having the vaults cleared out for the purpose.

It is satisfactory to know that some of the bosses and a few other portions of the building were removed for preservation; the rest of the building has been entirely demolished (with the exception of the whole of the east wall, which has not been interfered with) through the setting back of the frontage along Jewry Street, and it has been buried beneath the filling in. A few fragments of Samian ware were discovered, but from the excavations not being carried further through the "made earth", here very solid, than required for the purposes of the new buildings, the level of Roman remains was not reached. Several portions of Norman pottery were found, and amongst these the rim and neck of a remarkable jug, with a projecting head on the neck.

THE ICENI AND THEIR ARMS

BY T. PROCTOR-BURROUGHS, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read August 1879.)

HAVING in my possession a fine early British shield, which I had the advantage to exhibit lately on the Association's visit to Great Yarmouth, it may not be amiss if I should be able thereon to glean a few facts, and thread them together for the advantage of our mutual friends.

The early history of Britain must necessarily be involved in obscurity, and much must rest (from our earliest authors) more upon conjecture than fact; but I, nevertheless, will obtain fact before driven to conjecture. It may not be uninteresting, as we are treating of the arms of the Iceni, to take a short glance of the nation with their habits and customs. Now Camden places the Iceni as inhabiting Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and "the Isles of Ely". He is of opinion that Cæsar calls them "Cenimagi", and that Tacitus calls them "Iceni", both authors identifying them by these words, "on their own account they came over to our side". Again he says: "What the original of the name should be, as God may help me, I dare not so much as guess, unless one should derive it from the wedgy figure of the country, and refer to its lying on the ocean in the form of a wedge, for the Britains in their language call a wedge *Iken*." But would it be a conceit to echo a thought that it might be derived from the Hebrew *Ish*? meaning what endures; or *Is*, what is placed, situated; i.e., during, lasting, continuing? Or when *Is* becomes *Iss* we get its meaning, as very old or ancient, very far advanced in years, one who has been or lived a great while. It might be a question if *Ice* comes not from this derivation, it being of "solid consistency". But with respect to this, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps will correct us, as he has with so many derivations, and for which no student would grudge him the heartiest thanks. The above conjecture is from the work by Whiter, *Etymologicon Universale*; and as I care not to be clothed in "borrowed robes", I think it better to mention it.

We will now inquire into the character of the Iceni. His-

tory tells us that they were a semi-barbarous race, living by fishing and hunting, of fine muscular stature, capable of great endurance, and brave in the extreme; and for the better understanding of the character, it will not be amiss to give a quotation from Speed, which will realise more the sturdy and unflinching valorous pride which seemed to form the heroism of their character. Speed's account of Caractacus being led in triumph says:

"His bodie for the most part was naked, and painted with figures of divers beasts. Hee wore a chaine of iron about his necke, and another about his middle. The haire of his head hanging downe in curled lockes, covered his backe and shoulders; and the haire of his upper lip, parted on both sides, lay upon his breast. Hee neither hung downe his head as daunted with base feare, nor craiued [craved] mercie as the rest; but with a confident spirit and bold countenance held on till hee came before the imperiall seate, where, making his stand, and a while beholding Cæsar's Maiesty [Majesty], at last, with great courage, spake as follows, to this purpose:

"If my moderation in prosperitie had beene answerable to the greatnesse of my birth and estate, or the successe of my late attempts to the resolution of my minde, I might have come to this citie rather as a friend to be entertained than as a captive to be gazed upon; neither wouldst thou disdaine to have received me on terms of amitie and peace, being a man of royall descent, and a commander of many warlike nations. But what cloud soever hath darkened my present lot, yet have the heavens and nature given mee that in birth and minde which none can vanquish or deprive mee of. I well see that you make other men's miseries the subject and matter of your triumphs; and in this my calamitie, as in a mirror, you now contemplate your owne glory. Yet know that I am and was a prince furnished with strength of men and abiliments of warre; and what marvell is it if all bee lost, seeing experience teacheth that the events of warre are variable, and the successe of policies guided by uncertaine fates? As it is with mee, who thought that the deepe waters, like a wall enclosing our land, and it so situated by heavenly providence, and as in another world, might have beene a sufficient privilege and defense for us against foraine invasions. But I now perceive that the desire of sovereignty admits no limitation; and if you Romans must command all, then all must obey. For mine owne part, while I was able I made resistance, and unwilling I was to submit my necke to a servile yoke. So farre the law of nature alloweth every man that he may defend himselfe being assailed, and to withstand force by force. Had I at first yielded, thy glory and my ruine had not beene so renowned. Fortune hath now done her worst. Wee have nothing but our lives, which if thou take from us our miseries end; and if thou spare us, wee are but the objects of thy clemencie."

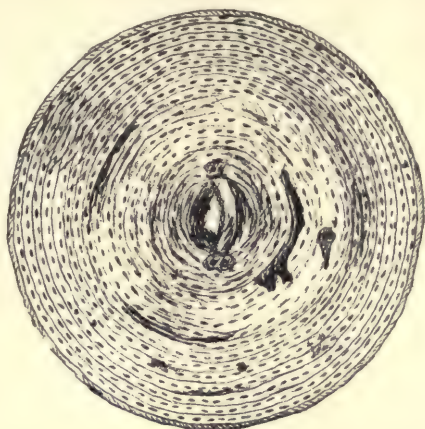
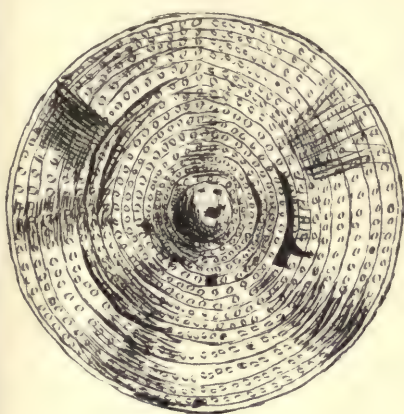
We will now inquire what sort of country this was that they inhabited. We learn from Abbo Floriacensis (who flourished in A.D. 970) that it was very noble, so parti-

cularly because of its being watered on all sides. On the south-east and east it is encompassed by the ocean, and on the north by the moisture of large and wet fens, which arising almost in the heart of the island, because of the evenness of the ground for a hundred miles and more, descend in great rivers into the sea. On the west the province is joined to the rest of the island, and therefore may be entered by land; but lest it should be tormented with frequent incursions it is fortified with an earthen rampire, like a high wall, and with a ditch. The inner parts are a pretty rich soil, made exceeding pleasant by gardens and groves, rendered agreeable by its convenience for hunting, famous for pasturage, and abounding with sheep and all sorts of cattle. I do not insist upon its rivers, full of fish, considering that a tongue, as it were, of the sea itself licks it on one side, and on the other the large fens make a prodigious number of lakes two or three miles over. These fens accommodate a great number of monks with their desired retirement and solitude, with which, being enclosed, they have no occasion for the privacy of a wilderness. Thus far says Abbo. Does not this description give you ground for the rise of the abbeys of Norwich, St. Benet's, Ely, Peterborough, St. Olave's Priory, and other monastic remains in these counties.

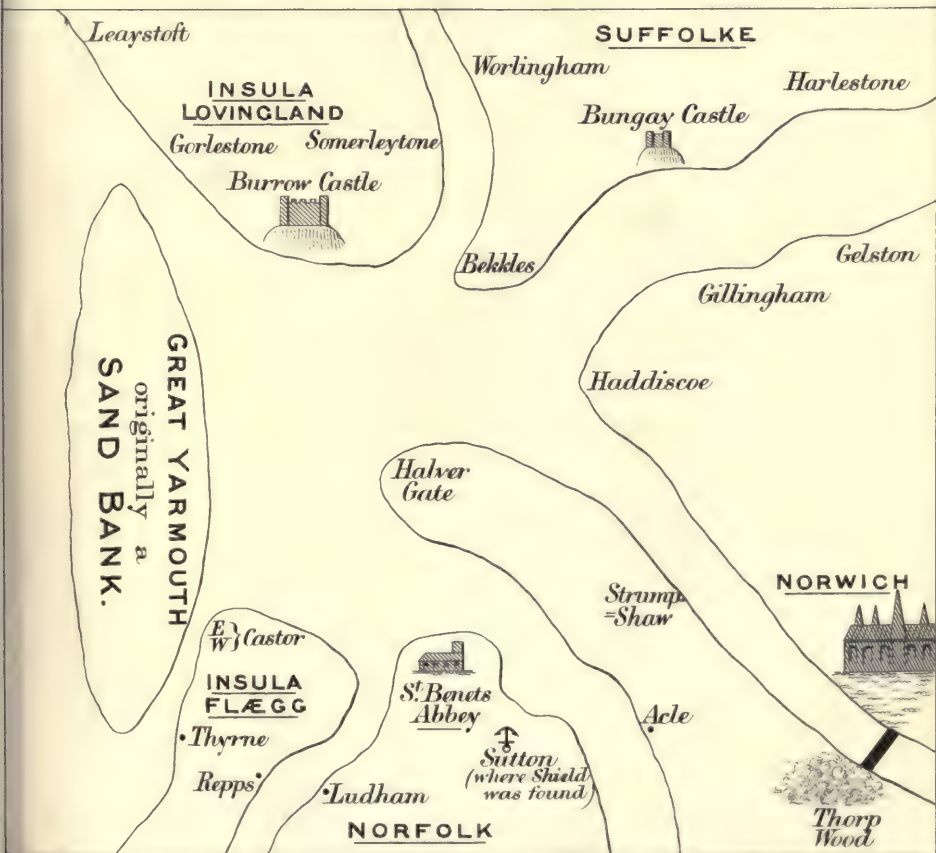
Now let us look at the map before us, as the estuary was in the district of Yarmouth alone, dated A.D. 1000, and see whether the information of Abbo is not correct. I think that none will deny that there were "tongues of land lying on the bosom of the water", as described, and if you observe, I have marked with an anchor the place (Sutton) where the shield was found, within 700 yards of the present Sutton lake or "broad", as it is called here, which formed part of the original estuary. But how lived they? We read of townships, but is it not the fact that they in large communities within thick woods lived and formed themselves into communities, and embanked themselves with a rampart? and the Druids would not unexpectedly form part of the community. The houses, we are informed, were composed of stone buildings, roofed with boughs, after the manner of our present thatch. The religion of the Druid seems to have consisted in the belief that his soul did not perish with his perishable body, but passed into other bodies.

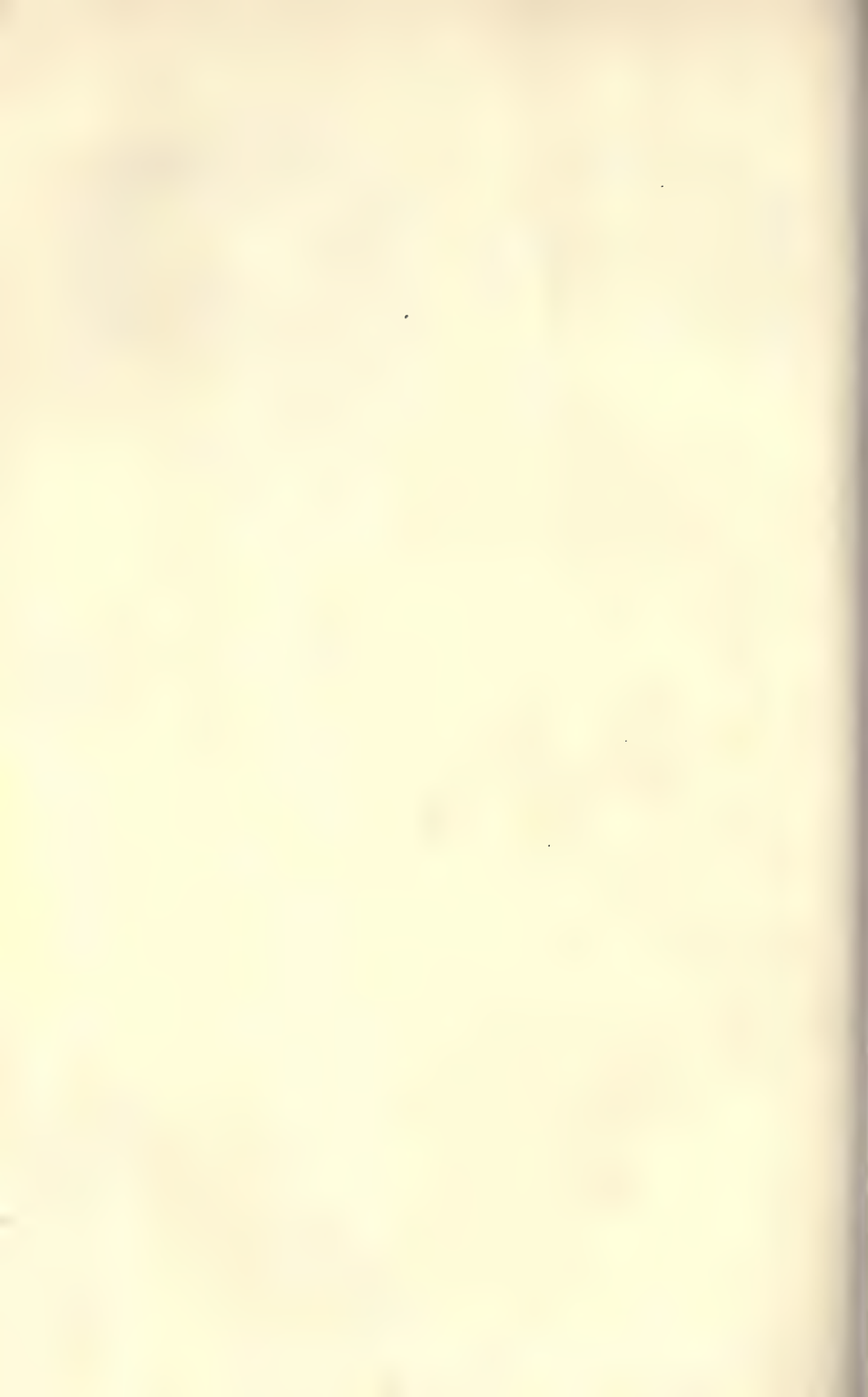
By some this is contradicted, as it is believed by some that they recognised an All-powerful. But their three precepts were to worship the gods, to do no evil, and to act with courage. This is reported to us by Diogenes Laertius.

It is now our duty to look to their habiliments. Nature, I fear, was their only source of comfort, from what old Speed says, that they experienced neither dressing nor living in clothes, but that they were experts in dyeing and tattooing their bodies with "woad" (*Isatis tinctoria*), which produced a permanent blue dye. From a very old drawing from Speed it seems that their designs for dyeing their flesh partook of their religious belief, the sun being the centre of the design, with four crescents of the moon, relieved with stars. Around the waist they bore an iron chain, and a throatlet of the same character, to show the wealth possessed, and long knotted flowing hair gave you the Iceni. Now we will dress him in the habiliments of war. First he would girdle on the dirk, either of bronze or stone, fixed to a wooden handle by the bark of the willow or ozier, known as celts or axe-heads. The bronze instruments consisted of ten parts of copper to one of tin, their spears of six parts of copper to one of tin; and this decides in my mind the component parts of the bronze shield I shall soon describe. The axe-heads were fastened to a stout handle by the covering of the willow or by bronze nails. Then his last implement would be his shield. Some were of wicker work, from the willow or ozier, which were sometimes covered with leather, and ornamented with large bronze carbuncles; but the one to which this paper alludes is evidently composed of the copper and tin in the component parts before mentioned. It is perfectly circular, and is composed of thirteen rings, embossed with two hundred round indentations or bronze carbuncles impressed from the back on the outer ring. The second ring contains one hundred and eighty carbuncles, and the remaining rings being graduated to the centre, which is carbuncled in forty. The centre is formed by a carbuncle, in diameter 4 inches, and which encloses the hand bar at the back. On the reverse is the hand bar, and on the seventh ring from the centre is a tongue, which was attached to a leathern girdle; this, when placed beneath the elbow, steadied the shield in conflict.



BRITISH SHIELD FOUND AT SUTTON, ST MICHAEL'S.





Fairholt mentions these bronze shields as "tarians" or "clashers", owing to the noise they made in combat, which was likely to frighten the enemy. The circumference of the shield is $61\frac{1}{2}$ inches, being $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It was discovered at Sutton St. Michael's, in the hundred of Tunstead and Happing, in Norfolk, by the marshman Alfred Peggs, at a distance of 7 feet from the surface, whilst cutting a main mill drain from the upland to the marshes abutting upon the Sutton Broad in June 1873. There was at the same time a portion of a Roman galley found, but nothing but some ribs remained; the colour of the soil and of the ribs was as black as bog oak, and looked like the bog oak when taken from the bogs of Tipperary (Ireland). These unfortunately, although against my orders, were used as firewood in my absence.

We have one instance of a British shield, an oblong round-cornered square, beautiful in decoration, which was found in the river Witham in Lincolnshire, and was in the Meyrick Collection. In the Anglo-Saxon and Danish period we obtain the kite-shaped shield, also the round shield, which has a circular boss and projecting spike, which always appears on the centre (this partakes somewhat of the Highland shield); but of what they consisted we are in doubt, inasmuch as we find that Æthelstan prohibited the use of making them of sheep-skins under a penalty of thirty shillings.

The Danes had what is called the orbicular shield in use,

"Red were the borders of our moonlike shields".

It seemed to form two-thirds of the circle, the remaining third being cut out for ornamentation, or with an advantage of looking above the shield, while the shield at the same time covered the most vulnerable parts of the body. The Normans seemed very much to have used the kite-shaped shield, but with the fact that they were emblazoned, which was the first partaking to heraldry in these lands. But when we come to the Plantagenets, and have to remark that hero, horse, shield, banner, and the waiting ladies in attendance, all bore "the coat of azure, a bend between six martlets argent", need we go further than to point out the long shield of the kite-shape, with curved top, instead of the horizontal top of the Knights Templars.

THE FOREST LAWS OF ENGLAND.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(Read April 18, 1877.)

IN this paper I propose to give a summary of the nature and history of the ancient forests of England, as being a subject essentially archæological, the legal bearings of the subject having ceased to have any practical value. The foremost authority, though not the most ancient, is Manwood's *Forest Laws*; the author being Martin John Manwood of Lincoln's Inn, who published the first edition of his complete work in the year 1598, having previously brought out a work entitled *A Brief Collection of the Laws of the Forest*, which had only a private circulation, and died before any further editions were published. After his death his work went through five more editions of the following dates, 1599, 1615, 1665, 1718, and 1744. Manwood frequently quotes from *Budæus de Philologiâ*. Budæus is the Latinized name of Budé,—Guillaume Budé, a celebrated French jurist, who was born in Paris in 1467, and died there on the 23rd of August 1540. He was the son of Jean Budé, Grand Audiençier de France, and was tutor to Francis I. The *De Philologiâ* was published in 1536. The other authorities of note are *Antiquitas Britannia*, written before the Conquest; *The Book of St. Alban's*; Hollinshed's *Chronicles*; *Sir Tristram's Treatise of Hunting*; Glanvil's *Treatise of the Laws and Customs of England*, temp. Henry II; Heskett's *Reading of the Forests*; Mr. Serjeant Fleetwood's *Brief Collection of the Notes of the Forest Laws*; Coke's *Fourth Inst.*; and Sir William Blackstone's *History of the Charters*.

The first subject of inquiry is, What is a forest? It is thus defined: "A forest is a certain territory of woody grounds and fruitful pastures, privileged for wild beasts and fowls of forest, chase, and warren, to rest and abide in, under the safe protection of the King, for his princely delight and pleasure, meered and bounded with irremovable marks, meres, and boundaries, either known by matter of record or else by prescription; and also replenished with

wild beasts of venery or chase, and with great coverts of vert for the succour of wild beasts to have their abode in. For the preservation and continuance of which place, with the vert and venison, there are certain particular laws, privileges, and officers belonging to the same, only proper unto a forest, and not to any other place."

The word "forest" means strictly a safe abiding place for wild beasts. From these definitions it will be seen that a forest consists of territory, vert, venison, courts, officers, laws; and herein a forest differs from a chase, which hath no officers nor courts, but all offenders in a chase are to be punished by the common law. A forest comprehends in it a chase, a park, and a warren; and a chase differs from a park in that a park is enclosed, and a chase is always open.

The first incident to a forest is a territory, properly a circuit of ground including lands of divers men, which may be enclosed; but the territory itself lies open and unenclosed, but defined by meres and boundaries. To the full understanding of this term "territory", the distinction between the land and the forest must be kept in view. The land might be the subject of private ownership, but subject to the franchise or liberty of forest, which gave the king the power of hunting and chase over, and the right to maintain wild beasts upon, the land, which could not, therefore, be enclosed to the detriment of the king's right.

2. *Vert*.—A forest must be a territory of woody grounds and fruitful pastures, to provide coverts and food for wild beasts, known by the name of "vert"; and these are of the very essence of a forest; so that to destroy the coverts of a forest is to destroy the forest itself. Also to convert the pasture-grounds, meadows, and feedings, into arable land is likewise to destroy the forest. Vert is of two kinds,—“over vert” or “hault boys”, consisting of all great woods, in which are included old ashes and holly trees; and “nether vert” or “south boys”, consisting of all manner of underwood, and also bushes, thorns, gorse, and such like; “and”, says Manwood, “some do take fern and heath to be nether vert, but it cannot be so unless it be underwood”. And included in over and nether vert is special vert, which is every tree and bush that bears fruit to feed the deer, as pear-trees, crab-trees, hawthorns, blackbush, and such like, called “special

vert" because the offence in destroying it was more highly punished than the offence in the destruction of any other vert. In the king's own demesne woods all trees and underwoods, whether "hault boys" or "sub-boys", or bearing fruit or not, were accounted special vert.

3. *Venison*.—A forest must be privileged for wild beasts and fowls of forest, chase, and warren. The wild beasts of the forest are five in number, the hart, the hind, the hare, the boar, and the wolf. These are also called beasts of venery. Of these, the hart and hind are the male and female of the red deer. They were known by different names at different periods of their growth. The first year a hart was called a hind or calf; second year, brockett; third, spayade; fourth, staggarde; fifth, stag; sixth, hart. And if the king or queen did hunt or chase him, and he escaped away alive, he was called a hart royal; and if this hart be by the king or queen so hunted or chased "that he be forced out of the forest so far that it is unlike that he will of himself return thitherto again; and the king or queen giveth him over either for that he is weary, or because he cannot recover him; for that such a hart hath shewed the king pastime for his delight, and is also (as Budæus noteth) *eximius cervus*, a goodly hart, and for that the king would have him return to the forest again, he causeth open proclamation to be made in all towns and villages near to the place where the same hart so remaineth, that no manner of person or persons shall kill, hurt, hunt, or chase him, but that he may safely return to the forest again, from whence he came; and then ever after such a hart is called a hart royall proclaymed." Manwood states that among divers ancient records in the tower of Nottingham Castle he found one that, A.D. 1194, King Richard I, hunting in the Forest of Sherwood, chased a hart out of the forest into Barnesdale in Yorkshire, and because he could not there recover him, he made proclamation at Tickell in Yorkshire, and at divers other places there; which hart was afterwards called a hart royal proclaimed.

A hind, the first year was called a calf; the second year, brockett's sister; third year, hind.. The beasts of the chase were also five,—the buck, the doe (the male and female of the fallow deer), the fox, the martron (marten), and the roe; and these were called "campesties" because they haunted

the fields and champagne grounds more than the woods. The beasts and fowls of warren are, according to Budæus, such as might be taken with long winged hawks or hawks of prey, and these are the hare, the coney, the pheasant, and the partridge; and, says Manwood, none other are accounted beasts or fowls of warren; but Coke, in *Coke on Littleton*, 233, says all waterfowls (*feræ naturæ*) are fowls of warren.

The wild beasts of forest and chase were called venison (in Latin *venatio*); but such venison as we account only for the goodness of the meat, as red deer and fallow deer, is called more properly in Latin *ferina*, as it doth appear in Virgil's *Æneid*, lib. i, f. 100,—

“Implentur veteris Bacchi, pinguisque ferinæ”

(they were well filled with fat venison and old wine). But the English word venison is derived from the French *venaison*. Budæus reporteth this old verse of venison,—

“Non est inquirendum unde venit venison,
Nam si forte furto sit, sola fides sufficit”

If any man chance to be bid to his friend's house to eat his part of fat venison, let him remember this old verse, which in English is this,—

‘It is not to be inquired from whence venison cometh,
For if by chance it stolen be,
A good belief sufficeth thee.’”

4. The fourth incident to a forest is courts. These were—

The Court of Attachment or woodmote. This was kept every forty days, at which the foresters presented the attachments *de viridi et venatione*, of vert and venison. But this court could only inquire, not convict.

The Court of Swainmote, which was the most especial court of a forest, for if this failed the forest was turned into a chase, was holden before the verderers as judges by the steward of the swainmote thrice in the year. The swains or freeholders within the forest were to appear at this court to make inquests and juries; and this court might inquire “*de superoneratione¹ forestariorum et aliorum ministrorum forestæ et de eorum oppressionibus populo nostro illatis*”, and also might receive and try presentments certified from

¹ Surcharge.

the court of attachments against offences in vert and venison, and might inquire of offences and convict also, but not give judgment, which must be at the Justice-Seat.¹

The Court of Regard, or survey of dogs, was holden every third year for expeditation or lawing of dogs. No other dogs but mastiffs were to be expeditated, for none other were to be kept within the precincts of the forest, it being supposed that the keeping of these, and these only, were necessary for the defence of a man's house.² Manwood describes them. The operation of expeditating mastiffs thus: "The mastive being brought to set one of his forefeet upon a piece of wood eight inches thick and a foot square, then one with a mallet, setting a chisel of two inches broad upon the three claws of his forefoot, at one blow doth smite them clean off."

The principal court of the forest was the Court of the Chief Justice in Eyre or justice leat; which term "Justice in Eyre" or Eire, according to Richardson, signifies *judex itinerans*, contracted from the Latin *iter*, or, as Cowell guesses, from the old French *erre, via*. This court was a court of record, and had authority to hear and determine all trespasses, pleas, and causes of the forest within the forest. It could not be kept oftener than every third year. This court might fine and imprison for offences within the forest, and if a judgment given were erroneous it might be removed by writ of error to the King's Bench. These courts were formerly held very regularly, but the last Court of Justice-Seat of any note was that holden in the reign of Charles I before the Earl of Holland, the rigorous proceedings at which are reported by Sir Wm. Jones. After the Restoration another was held, *pro forma* only, before the Earl of Oxford; but since the Revolution in 1688 the forest laws fell into total disuse.

5. The officers of the forest were the justices in Eyre, instituted by Henry II, A.D. 1184.

There was but one chief justice of the forests south of the Trent, and he was named "Justiciarius Itinerans Forestarum citra Trentam", and there was another, and he was "Justiciarius Itinerans omnium Forestarum ultra Trentam", who was a person of greater dignity than knowledge in the laws of the forest, and therefore when Justice-Seats

¹ 4 Inst., 289.

² Ibid., 308.

were held there associated to him such as the king should appoint, who together with him determined the pleas of the forest.¹ The offices of justices in Eyre were abolished on the termination of the existing interests by stat. 57 George III, c. 61.

The chief warden of the forest was a great officer, next to the justices of the forest to bail and discharge offenders, but he was not a judicial officer, and the constable of the castle where a forest is, by the forest law is chief warden of the forest, as of Windsor Castle.

A verderer was a judicial officer chosen in full county by the king's writ. His office was to observe and keep the assizes or laws of the forests, and view, receive, and enrol the attachments and presentments of all trespasses of the forest of vert and venison, and to do equal right and justice to the people. The verderers were the chief judges of the Swainmote court, although the chief warden or his deputy usually sat there.²

The regarder (from the French *regardeur*), *i.e.*, spectator, was an officer to take care of the vert and venison, to inquire of all offences committed within the forest, and if the officers of the forest executed their offices or no. They were constituted by letters patent of the king or chosen by writ to the sheriff.³

A forester was a sworn ministerial of the forest, to watch over the vert and venison, make attachments and presentments of trespasses done within the forest. This officer was made by letters patent.⁴ Every forester, when he was called to a Court of Justice-Seat, ought upon his knees to deliver his horn to the chief justice in Eyre. A riding forester was to lead the king in his hunting.

An agister's office was to attend upon the king's woods and lands in a forest, and receive and take in cattle by agistment, *i.e.*, to depasture the herbage of the ground within the forest or to feed upon the pannage or pawnage, *i.e.*, the feeding by swine or hogs of the mast of trees. Persons inhabiting within the forest may have common of herbage for beasts commonable within the forest, but by the forest law sheep are not commonable, because they bite so close that they destroy the vert.

A woodward was an officer somewhat analogous, but in

¹ 4 Inst., 315.

² Ibid., 292.

³ Ibid., 291.

⁴ Ibid., 293.

some respects subordinate, to a forester. There is some confusion in the authorities as to the nature of his duties. Thus Manwood mentions him as among the officers without which there can be no forest, but in his description of the forest officers he states in detail the nature of a forester's duties, but does not mention a woodward, except by quoting Coke, 4th Inst. 293, who says a forester shall be taken for a woodward. And Coke, in the reference mentioned, treats the office with the same obscurity, for he says a woodward's office is sufficiently known by his oath, but does not state what the oath is. Again, Manwood, in distinguishing between a forest and a chase, says a chase hath no such officers as a forest, as foresters, etc., but only keepers and woodwards. In the *Assiza et Consuetudines Forestæ* of Edward I it is said, c. 12, if any woodward shall see misdoers within his wardship, or shall see a dead wild beast he shall show him to the chief forester or verderer. They, with the foresters, were also to accompany the regards when they made their regard. They were to present all offences at the court of attachments, but not attach offenders. It is also said in the assizes of Woodstock, c. 10 and 17, those that have woods out of the regard of the forest, that is, within the boundaries, but freed from the forest obligations, ought to have a woodward to keep their woods, and those who had woods within the forest could have a woodward to keep their woods by prescription, but not otherwise, it would seem, for it was finable by the assizes of Pickering to appoint a woodward where there was none before. In the assizes of Pickering and Lancaster it is said woodwards may not walk with bows and shafts, but with forest bills, and at the Court of Justice-Seat he was to present his hatchet to my lord. From all these instances we may gather that the office of woodward was to look after the woods rather than the beasts of the forest, and that he was an inferior officer to a forester.

A ranger was one whose office was to rechase the wild beasts from the purlieus into the forest, and to present offences within the purlieus and forest.

Before we consider the subject of the forest laws we will inquire into the origin of forests, and how a forest is made. Manwood and Budæus, like most of the writers of their time, sought for evidence of their existence from the Holy Scrip-

tures. Manwood says, "In what time they (forests) did first begin no man may certainly tell", but he concludes that they existed in King David's time, because we read in the 50th Psalm, v. 10, "All the beasts of the forest are mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills;" and likewise in the 131st Psalm, "Lo we heard of it at Ephrata, and found it in the fields of the forest." And he also concludes, quoting Budæus, that in the first of these verses David distinguished between beasts of the forest and chase, the latter being the beasts which haunt the fields and the hills. Without considering this too curiously, we find from Coke¹ that there were in his time sixty-nine forests, so ancient that no record made mention of the erection of any of them, and from these were excepted the New Forest in Hampshire, erected by William the Conqueror (the only forest that king made, from which its name, New Forest, was derived) and Hampton Court Forest by Henry VIII.

The true origin of forests arose from the natural state of the country before it came to be inhabited by civilised man. It was then almost exclusively a vast territory of woods, inhabited by wild beasts. As man increased in numbers and civilisation, he destroyed the more noxious beasts, as wolves, bears, and wild boars, and cleared many of the woods, until in the time of Edgar, the Saxon king, A.D. 959, the wolves and foxes being destroyed, the residue being beasts of great pleasure for the king and for noblemen to hunt and chase, and also dainty meat for the king and the best sort of men in the realm, the kings of this land began to grow careful for the preservation of them, and therefore they began to privilege the woods and places where these wild beasts were remaining, so that no man might hunt or destroy them there, and so these places became forests.

In order, however, to give them all the incidents of forests, according to the English law, the following procedure was taken. The king granted a commission under his great seal to certain persons to perambulate the country, and to bound and mere so much as they should think meet to make a forest, and to certify to him in his Court of Chancery, and on the view and return made the king was entitled to the land so set out by matter of record. He then caused a writ to be issued out of chancery, directed to the sheriff, to

¹ 4 Inst., pp. 319, 293, 294.

make open proclamation throughout his county that the king had appointed the whole territory to be and remain a forest, and that no manner of persons should after such a day hunt or chase there. After which the king appointed courts and officers, from which time the proclaimed territory became a forest.

Although a forest was in its origin exclusively a franchise in the hands of the king, so that it became properly a chase only in the hands of a subject, because a justice seat was a necessary incident to a forest, and the king only could make a justice in Eyre, yet there are plenty of instances in the ancient records which show that the king could by fit and proper words of conveyance transfer not only the territory, but all the other incidents of a forest to a subject. The records of the court of the Duchy of Lancaster show that the Earl of Lancaster, *temp.* Edward II and Edward III, had a forest in the counties of Lancaster and York, in which the said earl did execute the forest laws as largely as ever any king of this realm did. So much so that the assizes and iters of the forest of Pickering and Lancaster¹ became as great authorities in matters relating to the forest laws as the books of years and terms did to those who studied the common law. Another instance is a grant by Henry III of the honour of Pickering, "*cum omnibus suis pertinentiis*", unto Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, in fee, which grant was adjudged in the case of the Duke of Lancaster, anno 26 Edward III, to pass the whole royalty of the forest. And the lord of Burgaveney had a forest in Sussex called the forest of St. Leonard, and the Duke of Buckingham had divers forests, as the forests of Brecknock, Hay, and Causellay.

The forest laws, prior to the eighteenth year of King John's reign, when clauses relating to forests were inserted in Magna Charta, were entirely arbitrary. The power of the king to afforest lands, and to make laws regulating the forests, and impose penalties on offenders, was unlimited, and was exercised with barbarous severity. Thus we find from the "*Charta de Forestâ*" of Canute, of which we shall speak presently, that if a man offer force to a verderer, if he be a freeman he shall lose his freedom and all that he hath, and if he be a villein he shall lose his right hand. If such

¹ 8 Edward III.

an offender do offend again he shall lose his life. A freeman that doth hunt a wild beast, and doth make him pant shall pay 10s. If he be not a freeman he shall pay double. If he be a bondman (*servus*) he shall lose his skin.¹ And the punishment for killing a royal beast was, if the offender were a freeman he lost his liberty, if a bondman (*servus*) his life.

The Norman kings executed these laws with the greatest severity. Thus Brompton tells us William the Conqueror caused the eyes of the man to be pulled out, who took either a buck or a boar; and Knighton says that William Rufus would hang a man for taking a doe; and for a hare he made him pay twenty shillings, and ten shillings for a coney. Eadmer mentions² that William Rufus caused fifty rich men to be apprehended, and accused them of taking and killing his bucks, which they denying, they were to clear themselves by the fire-ordeal. Henry I made no distinction between him who killed a man or a buck, and punished those who destroyed the game (though not in the forest) either by forfeiture of their goods or loss of limbs; but Henry II made it only imprisonment for a time. Richard I revived the old laws against hunting in the forest, that they should have their eyes pulled out, and be otherwise maimed; but he afterwards abolished this punishment, and appointed such convicts to abjure the realm, or be committed, or to pay a fine.

The first attempt to reduce the forest laws into a definite code was made by Canute at a parliament held at Winchester A.D. 1016, when the "Charta de Foresta" bearing his name was granted. Lord Coke³ questions the authenticity of this charter; and Mr. Freeman, in his *Norman Conquest*,⁴ says "it seems to carry its own confutation with it", and asks, "What can be made of such a division of society as we find there? First we hear of⁵ 'mediocres homines quos Angli les pegenes nuncupant Dani vero yong men vocant'; then⁶ of 'liberales quos Dani ealderman appellant'; then⁷ of 'minuti homines quos Tineman Angli dicunt'; lastly,⁸ of 'liberalis homo, i.e., pegen'." But Manwood, in his notes to this

¹ "Cereat corio", which may be translated, "he shall suffer in his skin"; i.e., be whipped, not flayed.

² Lib. ii, p. 48

³ 4th Inst., p. 320.

⁴ Vol. i, N. 3, App.

⁵ C. 2.

⁶ C. 3.

⁷ C. 4.

⁸ C. 12.

charter, says the four "*ex liberalioribus hominibus [quos Angli Pagene appellant]*" are those afterwards called verderers. The "*pegenes*" are regarders; the "*tinemen*", foresters or keepers.

The 30th chapter of this charter contains the first recognition of the rights of the subject to take and kill game. Before this time all wild beasts and birds were only the king's, and no other person might hunt or kill them. The clause is, "Every freeman may take his own vert and venison, or hunting, that he can get upon his own ground, being out of the king's chase; and let all men refrain from my venery in every place where I will have the same." Which law was confirmed by King Edward the Confessor in his book of the laws, which was an embodiment of the old common law of the realm; and afterwards by William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II; which last king not only confirmed all the laws of Henry I, but for the first time declared the laws of the forest as separate from the common law, and compiled the Assizes of Woodstock regulating the forest laws. But in this king's reign he began to enlarge divers great forests, and to afforest the lands of his earls, barons, noblemen, gentlemen, and others. This practice was continued by Richard I and King John, so that by the new afforestations of these three kings the greatest part of this realm was become forest, to the great grief and sorrow of all the best sort of the inhabitants of this land. These evils were among those which were remedied by Magna Charta, granted by King John at Runnymede on the 15th of June in the seventeenth year of his reign, A.D. 1215. King John did not, as is sometimes supposed, grant a distinct charter relating to forests. The only enactments affecting them were chaps. 47 and 48 of Magna Charta, which provided for the disafforesting of all forests afforested in his reign, and for inquiring into grievances of the forest, by twelve knights.

The first separate charter relating to forests was granted in the first year of Henry III (12 Nov. A.D. 1216). This, the original forest charter, is lost; but, says Sir William Blackstone, in his history of the charters, that such an one did actually exist, we may be assured from a suit recorded in the Patent Rolls, dated the 24th of July following, which directs a perambulation to be made, and the bounds of the

forest to be settled, according to the tenour of the charter of forest liberties, which the King had granted.

It was in the ninth year of Henry III (on the 11th of February 1224) that the "Carta de Foresta", as it has been handed down to us in the Statute Book, was granted, and at the same time Magna Carta was confirmed and re-enacted. The "Carta de Foresta" provides, 1st, that all forests which Henry II afforested of any other man's woods or lands should be disafforested; and the forests in the King's own lands should remain, saving the common of herbage and of other things, to them which before were accustomed to have the same. All woods and lands afforested by Richard I or King John unto the first coronation of Henry III, should be disafforested, except the same be the king's own demesne wood.¹ All archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, and other freeholders, should have their woods as they had them at the time of the first coronation of Henry II.² Regarders were to make their regards as accustomed at the time of the first coronation of Henry II.³

The lawing of dogs within the forest was to be made every third year, when the regard was made. It was to be done by cutting off three claws of the forefoot by the skin; but this should not be done but in places where it had been accustomed from the time of the first coronation of Henry II.⁴ No forester or bedel was henceforth to make Scot-ale,⁵ or gather garve, or oates, or any corn, or lamb, or pig; and should make no gathering but upon the oath of the twelve regarders when they should make their regard.⁶

Provisions were made for holding the swainmotes three times a year. Every freeman might take agistment in his own wood within the forest, at his pleasure, and should take his pannage; and should drive his swine freely through the king's demesne woods, to agist them, where they would. No man should thenceforth lose either life or member for killing deer, but he should make a grievous fine; and if he had nothing to lose, he should be imprisoned a year and

¹ C. 3.

² C. 4.

³ C. 5.

⁴ C. 6.

⁵ Scot-ale, or Scottal, was an extortion used by a forester who kept an ale-house in the forest, and by colour of his office caused men to spend their money at his house for fear of his displeasure. The gathering of garve, or oats, etc., was an extortion by the foresters, under colour of their office, from those who had rights of common in the forest.

⁶ C. 7.

a day. After that, if he could find sufficient sureties, he should be delivered; and if not, he should abjure the realm. Any archbishop, bishop, earl, or baron, coming to or returning from the king, at his commandment, and passing by a forest, might take and kill one or two of the king's deer, by the view of the forester, if he be present, or else he should cause one to blow a horn for him, that he seem not to steal the deer.

Every freeman should make in his own wood, land, or water within a forest, mills, springs, pools, marlepits, dykes, or arable land without inclosing the arable ground again, so that it be not to the annoyance of his neighbours. Every freeman should have within his own woods eyries of hawks, sparrow hawks, falcons, eagles, and herons, and should have also the honey that was found in his woods. The payment of chiminage, a toll levied by the foresters on persons who carried bushes, timber, bark, or coal, in carts or on horses through the forests was regulated. It was only to be levied by foresters in fee, paying the king farm for his bailiwick, and was to be for carriage by cart the half year 2*d.*, and for a horse that beareth loads $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and was to be levied only on merchants who bought and sold.¹ No constable, castellain, or bailiff should hold plea of forest, but every forester should make attachments for green bough and hunting, and should present them to the verderers, who should enrol them and present them to the chief justice, before whom they should be determined.²

By a comparison of these enactments with the ancient laws we see what a check was given to royal encroachments, and what an important advance towards liberty was made by this charter. As Holinshed says,³ "Not only men that were dwellers and inhabitors in those places, but also dogges, which for safeguard of the game were accustomed before to lose their claws, had good cause to rejoyce for these confirmed liberties." But yet so tardy was the execution of this charter that the greatest part of those new afforestations were still remaining to be disafforested during the life of Henry III, notwithstanding that he confirmed this charter on three occasions during his reign. After his death nothing of importance appears to have been done until the 25th Edward I, when he confirmed the charter, and it was subse-

¹ C. 14.² C. 16.³ *Chron. of Engl.*, p. 207, ed. 1586.

quently confirmed by him in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, A.D. 1299. This statute of 28 Edward I was called "Articuli super Cartas", wherein it was provided that three knights or principal freeholders should be elected in every county to see the charters duly executed, and to punish offenders against them. On the 1st of April the king issued writs to the perambulators to begin the perambulations in all the forest counties. The perambulations were finished in the summer, and at a parliament convened on the 20th of January in the following year these perambulations were approved, and the king on the 14th of February, by letters patent, confirmed the perambulations, and ordained them to remain as a standing evidence of the boundaries of the forest in every county for ever.

One of the consequences of the disafforesting of lands by the "Charta de Foresta" was the constitution of purlieu or pourallee, which word purlieu is from the French *pur*, clear, entire, exempt, and *lieu* place, *i.e.*, a place exempt from the forest,¹ and signified those lands which were disafforested under the provisions of the "Charta de Foresta". The perambulations whereby the purlieu was disafforested being called in French *pourallee*, *i.e.*, perambulation.

These lands were not so absolutely disafforested for every man, but only for those that were the proper owners thereof. For the owners of such woods or lands might suffer them to remain forest, as appears by the statute of the pourallee, 33 Edward I, the benefit accruing to the owner by so doing being that he retained his right of common in the forest. The owner of pourallee land (called a pourallee man) of the value of 40s. by the year was allowed by statute 13 Richard II, c. 13, to keep greyhounds, but by subsequent statutes the qualification was raised, and by 1 James, c. 7, the yearly value was £10 on goods worth £200, or to be the son of a knight or baron, or some person of a higher degree, or the son or heir apparent of an esquire. And the pourallee man had the privilege of hunting wild beasts found in his own lands, so that if the beasts took refuge in the forest again they were to be left unmolested. There is much more curious matter respecting pourallee in Manwood's book which time forbids from entering upon. It would seem that the old game laws which existed before the present system

¹ Coke, 4 Inst., 303.

had their origin in these pourallee rights, particularly the qualifications necessary to entitle anyone to kill game.

The history of forests subsequently to the "Charta de Foresta" of Henry III shows a gradual decline of forests and of the enforcement of forest laws before the steady increase of population, and the advance of freedom and civilisation, until in the 16th year of Charles I an Act (c. 16) was passed which disafforested all forests in which any justice seat, swainmote, or court of attachment had not been held, or no verderers had been chosen, or regard made within sixty years next before the first year of that king's reign; and in the 50th year of George III what then remained of the royal demesnes were placed under the control of the commissioners of woods and forests, shorn of their special courts and laws, which had become obsolete, though never directly repealed.

ON EAST ANGLIAN HISTORY IN SAXON TIMES.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER.

(Read August 1879.)

IN a paper read at Wisbech last year I traced the progress of early history in East Anglia, along the lines of Roman roads, and the first dawn of historical connection in the names of East Anglian kings. It will now be my endeavour to pursue the subject, even though so little beyond names has survived the troubles of the sixth and seventh centuries.

To understand the chroniclers aright we must take into consideration their mode of handling history and of grouping nations together, not so much by their race or origin as by their combinations, social, political, and religious. When Felix landed at Dunwich, in the reign of Anna, to preach the Gospel, he found Britain agitated by various conflicting parties. Let us see whether names will not help us to investigate these. We have been taught to believe that three races of men, known as Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, came over, in the fifth century, from a certain territory in Holstein and neighbourhood, and parted among themselves the island of Britain. This is Bede's account, written at the end of the seventh century; but he wrote as a monk, forming history out of certain selected elements into the mould through which he wished it to pass, for building up the spiritual edifice of the Western Church, which had been taking a shape, under very able administrators, through the seventh century; that is, under the three Gregories and Zachariah at Rome, and the bishops of the Franks and the Angli.

Bede derives the name of Angli from *angulus*; but he places this angle or corner in Denmark. I see no reason why it should not be in Kent, which had always been known as Cantium, the corner where Christianity was reintroduced by Augustine. The old Celtic word *cant* still exists as *canto*, meaning a corner in the modern Spanish and Portuguese languages. It is found in the word Cant-Aber (corner of

the water), to describe the angle formed by the Bay of Biscay, where the Cantabri dwelt ; and I think we should not be far wrong in making the Angli originate in Kent. The Cantuarii, or men of Kent, so often referred to by the chroniclers, would thus be synonymous with Angli. Witi-clundus, the biographer of Otho, who died in 972, says the Saxons in England were called Angli-Saxones because the island was in a sort of angle of the sea ; and Ethelwerd, who lived about the time of Eadger of the West Saxons, and ended his chronicle with the reign of this King, calls him the illustrious King of the Angli, and says that the name of Britannia was changed to Anglia from having assumed the name of the conquerors. There were three principal parties in England when Bede wrote :

1. The adherents of New Rome ; and this party had the advantage of success ; it had the best organisation ; and above all, we know more about it than of the others, and have received its history from its own reporters.

2. The next party in importance embraced the masses of the people, who were either heathen or Arian Christians, or such of the Christian inhabitants as clung to their special customs inherited from Constantine since Constantinople became the head of the Roman empire.

3. The heathen rovers of the Baltic, whose continuous invasions and settlements upon our coasts, there is reason to believe, date with more or less intermission from a very early period.

These three parties might be fairly represented by Angles, Saxons, and Jutes.

I may compare the movements of nations to the old and new theories of light. The expounders of the former describe a ray as proceeding from the sun, and travelling at so many miles in a second. The advocates of the new theory shew that a ray is the oscillation of the waves of light set in motion, and thus reaching us by a very different process. So we find nations set in motion on the page of history by new combinations, and wave appearing to succeed wave ; yet the masses of the people, like the ocean or the atmosphere illumined by the light, remains unmoved, and the surface only, or the crests of the waves, are presented to our observation. What England owes to that regeneration, out of which Christian feelings and ideas have sprung, with

their civilising influence upon social life, let our own history tell. The Spirit of God has moved upon the face of the waters, ruffled though they have been. The men of the Angli and the Franci had a difficult task to perform. Violent diseases required violent remedies ; and such a rude mode of procedure as blotting out antiquity was thought as necessary, in the time of Gregory, to extinguish the prevailing religion, as it was when Cromwell's followers attempted to spiritualise the nation by abolishing those objects which attached themselves to the senses, and to that second nature of man, ancestral usage and the customs and ideas in which each individual had been brought up. In making the transition from pagan to Christian times we cannot but be impressed with the disadvantages, in this respect, with which the missionaries had to contend in keeping out of sight the works of the authors, painters, and sculptors, of antiquity who had made a world of their own, and which was associated with the brilliant retrospect of their past history. The two latter classes were annihilated by the edict of Theodosius, which ordered objects of popular veneration to be hidden away ; and the language of the writers had to be changed in unison with this edict, which left Gregory in the difficult position of having to make a literature and civilisation of his own, in which the past was ignored, and the future had not yet brought forth those brilliant works, the offspring of religious thought and feeling, which in after times reacted upon religious principles in men by presenting to their sight other ideals of divine portraiture.¹ Horace remarked how much more slowly perceptions are taken in through the ear than by the eye. Compare the captivating verses of Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont, and his one hundred and forty-seven letters, divided into nine books, written in the fifth century, under the inspiration of the old world, though the writer was a convert to the new. He died in 488 or 489.

¹ It is singular that one of the greatest art-treasures of antiquity, an original bust of the Greek historian Thucydides, which had been buried for centuries at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, should now see the light in the sculpture-gallery of the Earl of Leicester, at Holkham in Norfolk. The history of the bust, from the German of Adolf Michaelis, is given by the Rev. Alex. Napier, vicar of Holkham (Cambridge, 1878). With reference to the historians of ancient Greece, Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.*, xv, c. 23) remarks how three of them attained great celebrity at the same time, yet all of different ages. He says that on the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, their ages respectively were,—Hellanicus, 65 years ; Herodotus, 53 ; Thucydides, 40.

"Quicquid laudatum est Scythicis, Anacharsis in arvis
 Quicquid legifero profecit Sparta Lycurgo,
 Quicquid Erichthæis Cynicorum turba volutas
 Gymnasiis imitata tuos Epicure sodales,
 Quicquid, nil verum statuens, academia duplex
 Personat, arroso quicquid sapit ungue Cleanthes,
 Quicquid Pythagoras, Democritus, Heraclitus
 Deslevit, risit, tacuit : quodcumque Platonis
 Ingenium, quod in arce fuit, docet ; ordine terno
 Quæ vel Aristoteles partitus membra loquendi
 Argumentosis dat retia syllogismis :
 Quicquid Anaximenes, Euclides, Archita, Zenon,
 Arcesilaus, Chrysippus, Anaxagorasque dederunt,
 Socraticusque animus post fatum in Phædone vivus,
 Despiciens vastas tenuato crure cathænas
 Cum tremeret mors ipsa reum, ferretque venenum
 Pallida securo lictoris dextra magistro." (Carm. ii.)

Such secular learning and allusions in a Bishop would have scandalised the Venerable Bede, who lived two hundred years later, and wrote as follows :

"Dona superna loquor, miseræ non prælia Trojæ,
 Terra quibus gaudet ; dona superna loquor."

"I sing of heavenly gifts, not wars of wretched Troy,
 By mortals prized ; the gifts I sing will give eternal joy."

If then it is right to assign the name of Angli to the party of New Rome in Britain, the same party on both shores of the Rhine seems to be represented by the Franks or those who freed themselves at the same time from the nominal government of the emperors of the east, and from the rule of heretical barbarians. That important country of Eastern France and Western Germany, which before had been occupied by the Lombards, occupying the long water board of the river, whence perhaps their name of *longo bardi* (or from land-warrior by another corruption) now became the kingdom of Austrasia or of the Eastern Franks ; and how it was built up can best be understood by the published correspondence of the popes and of the bishops, by whose learning and skill in governing and instructing the natives the kingdom of the Franks was established. The Merovingian kings, the *rois fainéants*, the do-nothings, may fairly be deprived of the merit or the blame in transactions of the period.

Of the ancient writers, Ptolemy and Tacitus mention the Saxons among various other tribes, but they are not named

by either Cæsar or Pliny. Tacitus speaks of the Longobardi on the Rhine, together with the Cherusci, the Suevi, and Semnones;¹ and Claudian associates the name of Franci with a Germanic league of various tribes.² The interests and even self-preservation of the Angli in Britain, and the Franci around Frankfort and Mayence as a centre, were so intimately bound up together that we cannot understand the history of our Angli at the period under review without following contemporaneous events in Eastern France and Western Germany, and in doing this let us not forget the great importance of our island in the settlement of Western Europe. It had been the most compact and manageable part of the empire in its best times, and its bishops, who succeeded to the Roman civil government, with the help of the towns were men as important as any in Europe. Continental writers have been allowed to arrogate to their nations the merit of wielding events and directing the course of political affairs, in which, however, our nation certainly had a very large share. If Felix came over, as is said, from Burgundy to preach Christianity to the natives of our eastern counties, did not S. Willibrord and S. Suibert, with other missionaries, set out from England in about 690 to preach to the Frisians of Holland, and the former was made an archbishop, while the church and school he planted at Utrecht became very celebrated.

Was it not from these shores that we sent over S. Winfred, whose name was changed to S. Boniface, to preach and to teach in that vast country of the Franci before referred to, and who was afterwards set over to rule it as archbishop of Mayence in 748, with the dependent cities and bishoprics under him of Tongres, Cologne, Worms, Spire, and Utrecht? Was it not from York, then the centre of letters, that went forth Alcin, to become the chief counsellor of Charlemagne and the instructor of his family, and who combined with his other dignities in France that of abbot of St. Martin of Tours? His influence with Offa, King of Mercia, as ambassador to that king from Charlemagne, confirms the opinion in which he was held by the sovereign, who was now acknowledged as emperor of the West.

These instances are enough, but the interchange of work-

¹ Tac. *Ann.*, lib. ii, 45.

² *IV Cons. Honor.*, vv. 446 et seq.

ers in the same cause might be shown by many other examples. There is a letter extant of S. Gregory, addressed to Brunehaut, recommending one Candidus to be appointed as rector of St. Peter's patrimony in Gaul, and another letter to the same Candidus speaks about investing some money in buying English slaves, Pagans, and carrying them over to France "ut Deo proficiant".

Brunehaut, a Visigoth by birth, was the wife of Sigebert, King of Austrasia, and mother of Bertha, who introduced Christianity among the Cantuarii¹ by marrying Ethelbert, King of Kent; and while speaking of these pious ladies I will refer to another, who is called queen by the writers of the time, and certainly deserved the title for the political influence she exerted over the Franks. This was Saint Radegond, abbess of the convent of Holy Rood at Poitiers. Justin the younger and the empress Sophia had sent her a large piece of the true cross. Devout as she was, however, her influence was not to be shut up within the cloister. She spread it far and wide, through the zeal and talents of a poet named Venantius Honorius Fortunatus, who became her almoner and chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Poitiers. His numerous writings in prose and verse are memorials of his indefatigable industry. Among the former are letters to abbots, priests, and deacons, in which some to the famous Gregory of Tours are conspicuous, and among the poems an epithalamium, written on the marriage of Brunehaut with Sigebert, and a life of St. Martin in Latin hexameters; nor did he forget to write the life of his patroness, S. Radegond, after her death. This abbess seems to have been a disciplinarian, and was more successful in preserving order in the convent than the abbess, her successor, who had little respect for earthly nobility, if credit is to be given to the story of one of her nuns, the daughter of a king, who instigated a rebellion against the authority of the abbess, and who fled with forty of the nuns, her companions, amidst rain and snow, on foot, from Poitiers to Tours, to lay her case before the Bishop Gregory there. She went, however,

¹ The great Roman road connecting Rome with Boulogne and England is known in France as the "Chaussée Brunehaut". From Lyons it came to Autun, thence to Auxerre, to Troyes, to Chalons sur Marne, to Rheims, to Soissons, to Senlis, to Beauvais, to Amiens, and thence to Boulogne. If not in its entire course, it probably for the most part was the same road originally made by Agrippa when Augustus was Emperor, and called the "Via Cæsarea".

to the wrong quarter, and obtained, instead of redress, only a sermon against insubordination. But such was the strength of will of these nuns and their partisans that this scandal could not be put an end to till after several councils of bishops had assembled to settle the disputes.

Our Angli of the North of England were well represented at the beginning of the eighth century by Benedict Biscop and the venerable Bede, the famous abbots of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, and St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, in the reign of the learned Ecgfrid of Northumbria. It is necessary to refer to all these intimate connections of our eastern Angli before we can gain a proper insight into their history, which is almost a blank till we reach the reign of Anna, called the brother of Redwald. An account has been given of the kings from the chroniclers in *Journal* xxi, p. 22. Of Uffa we know not the origin. The date of his reign commenced in 575, according to Bede. He may have represented the Gothic party of Ulphila, whose early version of the Gospels has made his name celebrated, and his successor, Titila, said by Henry of Huntingdon to have been the bravest of the East Anglian kings, sounds Gothic.

Titila the Goth twice captured Rome, in 546 and 549, from the Eastern emperors, and as he was one of the supporters of the Western church his name may on this account have slipped into the list of East Anglian kings. The name Redwald or Radwald, meaning the "wise and discreet ruler", suggests a Scandinavian origin, and his partial conversion to Christianity by the King of Kent was followed by the complete conversion of his son Eorpwald by Edwin of Northumbria. He, however, paid the penalty of his faith by suffering martyrdom at the hands of a Pagan, by name Richbert.¹ Sigebert and Eric, namesakes of the kings of Austrasia and of Northumbria, were killed by Penda of Mercia, and the name of Anna the next, and sometimes called the first king of the East Angles, sounds like that of an ecclesiastic, a high priest. He, under cover of the Roman fort of Burgh Castle, is said to have established the monastery there of Cnobbersbury. His rule was also overturned by Penda, the same Pagan king of Mercia who killed his predecessors. His brother and successor, Ethelhere had married a sister of Saint Hilda, and was killed at Winwidfield by Oswy of Northumbria.

¹ Bede, ii, 15.

After some interval of darkness Christianity appears again to revive in the person of Ethelwald, who is recorded as king in 655, and his nephew Aldwulf attended the council of Hatfield in 680,¹ while his brother and successor, Elfwold, had the extraordinary good fortune of reigning for sixty-six years, till 749. Beorna alone, and in conjunction with Ethelbert I, reigned till 761. Ethelred, his successor, was the father of Ethelbert II, who was treacherously slain at the court of Offa, King of Mercia in 792, and from this time there is a mysterious silence about East Anglian affairs for the space of sixty-one to sixty-three years, till the accession of Saint Edmund in 855, when he was anointed and consecrated by Humbert, Bishop of the East Angles at Burva. His defeat and martyrdom in 870 by the Danish invaders, Ingwar and Hubba, is the glory of historians, from the sanctity of the cause and the sacrifice of the martyr; but the cause succumbed for fifty-one years after his death, till Edward the elder, son of Alfred the Great, expelled the Danish line in 921. Guthrum the Dane is noted as the Christian King Athelstan after his baptism under the years 878 to 890, and Eric, another Danish ruler, succeeding him, reigned up to 905.²

This part of our island having been the seat of Catholic Europe, represented on the continent at the end of the eighth century by Charlemagne, so East Anglia would be particularly the marked quarter for attacks upon it by all the enemies of his government, who were numerous. The Vandals, the Huns, the Eastern Christians were all antagonistic to the organised government of the new Rome. Hence the century is full of attacks upon our coasts, but in the ninth a blank in history argues a settlement under the Danish ruler Athelstan, one king of which name is described as a natural son of Ecgbert of Wessex, and appointed on his death to govern the dependent kingdoms, and is reputed to have been king of the East Angles as early as 823. Then we get another king of the same name, who is called a natural son of Alfred the Great by some authors, and by others as his godson at baptism, and with whom Alfred divided his kingdom by treaty. This Athelstan, formerly Guthrum or Gorm, died in 890. It is quite possible to suppose that the two are really one and the same

¹ Bede, iv, 17.

² *Sax. Chron.*

person, and who is called by the Danish historians Gorm the Aged.

It does seem very unlikely that Alfred, if he had defeated the Pagan Dane, and caused him to be baptised, would have divided his kingdom with him, by giving him all the country east of Watling Street unless the new godson had been well established in that territory already; and the terms of the treaty pretty well confirm this fact.¹ Then we have a third Athelstan, who is called the natural son of Edward the Elder, and reigned from 924 to 941; and he probably answers to Gorm, the Englishman of the Danish historians. Here we get a confusion of events mixed up in different reigns at different epochs, yet assigned to kings of the same name, and this remark applies very much to bishops and founders of monasteries in these centuries.

After the death of Edmund it is not easy to unravel the chronology of events in East Anglia, or to identify the names of the actors in those fierce conflicts between Christianity and heathendom, of which scanty notices have come down to us. How far the conversion of an Athelstan may have saved the churches and restored the organisation of the Angli may be sought in the walls of some of the churches themselves, and the remains of such piles as were reared in the reign of Eadgar the pacific by such builders as Æthelwold, Oswald, and Dunstan, to do honour to the rule of St. Benedict and the new foundations. The King Eadgar, writing on 28th December 964, boasts that with their assistance he had already established forty-seven monasteries with their monks and nuns.² The Benedictine monks in possession of political power, as well as the Divine favour, uniting as they said the attributes both of Martha and of Mary, were assuming the whole power of the Church, aided by the support of Rome. Pope John XIII (971) addresses Æthelwold as *frater et co-episcopus noster*, and enjoins him to punish the impenitent and obstinate minds of the clergy by ejecting them from the episcopate of Winchester, as vessels of the devil, and by introducing monks into their place.³

In Mercia the secular party succeeded in rising against

¹ See the text in Wilkins' *Leges Anglo-Sax.*

² Kemble, *Codex Dipl. Ævi Sax.*, Appendix in vol. vi, Dxiv.

³ Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, tom. 135, p. 986.

their authority, in turning out the monks from their monasteries, and introducing the secular clergy with their wives, but in East Anglia events took a different turn. Athelwin and his relation Alfwold and Brithwold, the earl, an ecclesiastic, strenuously resisted the movement, and, forming themselves into a synod, resolved that the monks, being the preservers of religion in the kingdom, should not be turned out if religion herself was to be preserved. These resolutions were followed up by action. They raised an army and vigorously defended the monasteries. In 977 we find a synod assembled at a town called Kyrting.

Osbern, in his life of S. Dunstan, laments that Malmsbury Abbey, which had been the abode of monks for over 270 years, was now turned into a clerical stable, but he adds that Dunstan soon re-established religion in her cloister. Converted Danes seem to have played important parts in the political events of the period, and paved the way for the Danish dynasty, which continued to hold sway during the following half century.

In 1004 we have an account of Sweyn's invasion and exploits at Norwich and Thetford, and the Danes returned to their ships in safety, their leader, Ulfkettel, having inflicted greater losses upon the East Anglians than these had ever before experienced. In 1010 this same leader, landing at Ipswich, had a severe fight with the East Anglians under Turketil at Ringmere. The Cambridge men made a brave resistance, but at last were defeated in that battle, where Athelstan, brother-in-law of the king; Oswin, with his son; Wolfric, son of Leofvin; Eadwy, and many other noble leaders and large numbers of the people fell together. The Danes then provided themselves with horses for three months, harried the counties, plundering and burning towns, killing both men and animals, and doing the same in the marsh country. In 1013 we find them in London and in Bury St. Edmund's, where the monks and townfolk refused to pay taxes, pleading their local privileges; and Sweyn's death occurring soon after, in 1014, was accepted by the faithful as a judgment of heaven upon the Pagan invader.¹

In 1016 the treaty was made with Canute, son of Sweyn, at Deerhurst, by which he was to rule West Saxony, East

¹ See MS. Cotton. Tib. B. 11, fol. 25 and 26, and William of Malmesbury, p. 71, *De Gest. Reg.*

Anglia, and East Saxony, with London, yet the crown of the kingdom was to remain with Eadmund Ironside. The death of the latter in 1017 put Canute into possession of the whole kingdom, which he divided into four parts, reserving the rule of West Saxony to himself, and placing Turketil over East Anglia, Edric over Mercia, and Earl Eric or Irco over Northumbria. His marriage with Ethelred's widow, Eldgiva, called also Emma, secured him the confidence of the most powerful party in the state. The tragic end of King Ethelred's son Alfred at Ely in 1036 will close this historical sketch. By command of Earl Godwin and others this scion of a royal house was sent to Ely, and on stepping ashore had his eyes cruelly put out, and he was in this condition handed over to the monks for safe custody. In a short time, however, he died, and his body with due honour was buried in the eastern part of the porch, at the west end of the church of Ely.

Having taken this rapid survey of East Anglian history, let us see how far facts can be established from coins and MSS., castles, churches, and mounds, still existing. Firstly, the coins give us some facts which cannot be gleaned from the chroniclers. They are marked with an \mathfrak{A} , which seems to denote the Angles. The first of the series is that of Beorna Rex, a king mentioned by Florence of Worcester and Alured of Beverley, as contemporary with Offa of the Mercians, Swithred of the East Saxons, and Osmund of the South Saxons; that is, in about 760. Æthelbert, who was murdered in Mercia in 793, is represented on one coin with his name thus, +EDILBERHT III; reverse, a wolf suckling two children. The Runic letters, LVL, the name of the moneyer, on this coin, occur also on coins of Offa and Coenulf. May not this Lul be the Englishman Lullius who succeeded St. Boniface in the archbishopric of Mayence in 753, and died in 787? This prelate had studied under the Venerable Bede at Jarrow, and was much in the confidence of King Alfred of Northumbria and King Charles of France, as well as Pope Zachariah at Rome. An account is given in the *Archæologia* of the Norfolk Antiquarian Society, vol. vi, of a Mercian coin, found at Burgh Castle, of Coelwulf (819-821), the moneyer's name, Ferbald, on the reverse; which is particularly interesting, as this king was

killed by the East Anglians, and here was the retribution for the death of Ethelbert II.

In the blank between 793 and 855 (the date of Edmund's succession) a series of coins is mentioned which appear to be East Anglian. One of Eadwald, erroneously assigned to Æthelbald of Mercia.¹ There is an extensive series of the coins of Athelstan, some with the head, and some without. Those of the latter class have been usually assigned to the Danish Guthrum, who was baptized in 878; but Mr. Haigh considers that in a hoard of nearly seven hundred Saxon pennies, found at Dorking in 1817,² the coins do not extend to a date later than 866; and in a smaller parcel found at Sevington in 1834, not later than 860. Another large hoard was discovered at Gravesend in 1839, probably interred soon after 871. In each of the above finds were coins of Athelstan, whom Mr. Haigh considers to have been a king of the name as early as 823, and to have been a natural son of Ecgbeorth or Æthelwolf, who was appointed, on the death of Ecgbeorth, to the government of the dependent kingdoms. Of Æthelred there are three types,—two from Cuerdale; the other in the British Museum, said to have been found at Seafield. Of Oswald there are two types. The Christian temple, the type of one of Oswald's and of all Æthelred's coins, is of French origin. These were probably two unrecorded successors of Edmund during the troublous times after the death of Athelstan in 890. The coins of Eadmund are not so scarce as they were formerly. The Gravesend hoard contained fifty.³ The coins of St. Martin struck at Lincoln, those of St. Peter at York, and of St. Edmund (penny pieces), also illustrate this period of history.

Penny, R. 7.

Obv. SCI MARTI in two lines; between them a sword; below, **†**
Rev. + LINCOLA CIVIT; an open, plain cross, and another in the centre.

Penny, R. 1.

Obv. SCI PETRIMO in two lines.
Rev. EBORACECI; in the centre a cross within a circle of pearls (Ruding, 10).

Penny.

Obv. SCEADMVNE; in the centre, **†**
Rev. ELISMVSMO; in the centre a plain cross.

As to MSS., the many of contemporary date, which have

¹ Haigh.

² *Arch. S. A.*, xix, p. 109.

³ Haigh.

lately been brought to public notice by means of the photographic art, and many more of the priceless originals which have lately been exposed to view under glass in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, afford useful evidence confirmatory of the history of the times; and I will first mention a charter, with grant of land, etc., by Lothair or Hlothair, King of the Cantuarii, "To thee, Bercwald, and to thy monastery, with the consent of the Archbishop Theodore", and witnessed by a number of nobles. This Bercwald was abbot of the monastery of Reculver, and on the death of Theodore succeeded him as Archbishop of Canterbury. The full text of this charter is given in the *History, Art, and Palæography, of the Utrecht Psalter*, by Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L. (1878); in which work is traced the connection between this charter and the famous *Utrecht Psalter* which was once in the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, and has been traced back by Mr. Birch to Canterbury, and from its elaborate workmanship was probably the gift of some royal personage. The interest excited by this *Psalter*, when it was sent over here from Utrecht to be examined by our authorities, was not a little increased by the many opinions as to its date, and particularly as it contained the full text of the Athanasian Creed. It is enough to give the opinions as to the date of the *Psalter*, by Mr. Bond of the British Museum, who agrees in the reports of Mr. Thompson and of the Rev. H. O. Coxe; the former assigning it to a date not earlier than the eighth century; and the latter, the beginning of the ninth. The Rev. S. S. Lewis also would assign it to the ninth century.¹ A pictorial illustration from this *Psalter* (Ps. xi) is given in Mr. Birch's work; and also, for comparison, facsimiles of two other MSS. nearly identical in design. They are from the *Harley Psalter* in the British Museum, No. 603, fo. 6b, and from the *Tripartite Psalter* of Eadwine, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. I would also refer to Mr. Birch's work for a useful tabular arrangement of typical MSS. up to the tenth century, which should be studied in connection with the period under review.

Mr. Haigh² quotes a story taken from a MS. at Caius

¹ See Report by eight learned Professors, with a preface by Dr. Stanley, Dean of Westminster.

² *Essay on the Numismatic History of the East Angles.*

College, Cambridge, about four persons not related to each other, and from different counties, meeting in a forest, where they swore to be wedded brethren. Their names were Athelstan, Wymond, Egeland, and Alrike. The first became King, who made Wymond Earl of Doune (probably Dovre); Egeland, Earl of Stane; and Alrike, Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Haigh identifies them all except the Archbishop. Athelstan, the King, he considers to have been the earlier of those so named in this paper. Wymond he takes to be Wigmond, son of Weglef, King of the Mercians. The subsequent progress of events is not inconsistent with a sort of family compact between these important personages.

Let me say a few words on the two Castles of Caister and Burgh, which guarded each side of the river of Yarmouth, the name of which is hardly distinguishable at first sight in the word Jaramutha, given to it by the Danes; but by changing the J into a vowel, the two names have almost the same pronunciation. The Yare river divides the country north and south of it into two parts distinguished by certain characteristics which may give some insight into the early history of this coast. Thus to the north of the river, known as East and West Flegg Hundred, the country is full of towns and villages, the names of which end in "by", which indicates a Danish origin; whereas to the south of the river Aldeby is the exception to prove the rule, that places ending in "by" are scarcely found in Suffolk or in Norfolk, out of Flegg Hundred. It is to be observed also that the Roman fort of Caister seems to have been deserted by the Romans or Anglo-Romans at an earlier period than the fort of Burgh on the south side of the Yare; or at least this inference is to be drawn from the Roman coins found in each, those in Caister extending in time from the early emperors down to Gratian in about A.D. 380; and then, again, one is found there of the eastern Emperor, John Zimisceus, A.D. 961, probably imported there by the Danes; while in Burgh coins of the intermediate period have been found. A coin of Gratian, found at Caister, is characteristic of the times; on the reverse the legend, GLORIA ROMANORVM, and a figure of the Emperor seizing with his right hand the head of a kneeling captive, whose hands are tied behind his back; with the other he holds the labarum with the sacred monogram.¹

¹ *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. vii, p. 11.

Should I be wrong in conjecturing that the name of the hundred, Flegg, may be derived from *fleogan* (A. S.), to fly, as if from the flight of the Anglian inhabitants before the invaders? While to the south of the river we have the hundred of Lothingland, which may be derivable from the Anglo-Saxon *loð* or *hloð*, a troop or company of soldiers; and if Burgh contained a division of the Stablesian horse in Roman times, the name would be appropriately given to it, and retained when garrisoned afterwards by Anglian troops. I have sometimes thought that Lowestoft might be resolvable into Loth-wis-toft (the enclosure or battery of the western troop, perhaps Visigothic).

The round towers of East Anglia, about the origin of which there have been various conjectures, were described by our late Secretary, Mr. E. Roberts, in a paper in *Journal*, xxi, p. 162, though without his fixing the first builders; and looking to the flint material, like that of the Roman forts of Burgh and Richborough, and the occasional appearance of herring-bone work, is there any good reason why they should not originally have been either *castella* of the Romans or Anglo-Saxons, built as watch-towers to give signals up the Yare and the Waveney of an enemy's approach, and in after times converted into the belfries of churches, which they might serve at the same time to defend? The changes in the architecture of the towers would follow those of the churches; and the solid masonry of the Romans would survive many buildings of later construction. We shall visit that fine specimen, the tower of Haddiscoe Church, elevated above the marsh, and over 50 feet high.

I have little space remaining for reference to the mounds and their contents, in corroboration of the history of these counties. Mr. G. V. Irving has described those of Norfolk in *Journal*, xiv, pp. 193 and 195. He has met with no examples of British entrenchments, unless it might be that at Narborough; and this might have been expected, he says, from the accounts of the strongholds of the Iceni given us by Tacitus, which were not of durable materials. An ozier chariot, a crate or cart, served to convey the Icenian warrior to the battlefield. An ozier parapet, properly staked and timbered, would defend his dwelling on the mount or burg, if he had one; while his cattle were driven into the outer enclosures defended by similar works, as stone was not

easily obtained in these parts; and the inhabitants in Saxon times would partly adapt the old mode to their own improved method of fortification, in which they had the advantages afforded them by Roman science. So the early cells of the hermits or monks are said to have been constructed of wattle-work upon a similar plan. The word "Cratendune", or wattled hill, on which stood the first hermitage in the Isle of Ely, may give some colour to this assertion. The continuity of Roman civilisation is certainly shewn in the Anglo-Saxon pottery and works in the precious metals, and the various articles which have been exhumed.

The antiquities of the county have been so fully described by the late Mr. Pettigrew and others in our *Journal*, vol. xiv, and in the Norwich volume of the Royal Archæological Institute, and in the *Norfolk Archæology* (seven vols. of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society), and the *Transactions* of the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute, and by the local historians, that I need not further particularise, but will conclude by remarking of the ecclesiastical buildings, that in the grandeur of its cathedrals, and the great size and beauty of many of its parish churches, East Anglia stands out preeminent. Who shall say how many, or what portions, of these survived the destruction caused by the Danes. Their fabrics are an emblem of the Church Establishment, which every age has altered and repaired. We cling with fond admiration to the beautiful edifice in both cases, which cannot be reconstructed, but remains an enduring monument of the growth and civilisation and prosperity of the English nation; and your church here, of St. Nicholas, whose aisles have been vastly widened since first it was built, may particularly serve as a type of the Anglican establishment expanding itself to admit all those who are willing to come in.

SOUTHWOLD CHURCH.

BY R. MAKILWAINE PHIPSON, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read August 15, 1879.)

THIS church was originally only a chapel to Wangford, and the abbot of Bury St. Edmund's built a small church here (as a hamlet to Reydon) in the year 1202. That edifice was entirely destroyed by fire late in the fifteenth century, and the present fabric was erected during the reign of Henry VII. Its entire length is divided into eighteen bays, of which six form the chancel, internally simply separated by the rood screen, as is the case in many Norfolk and Suffolk churches. There is a fine west tower 100 ft. high, and south porch, with a priest's chamber over it. The demarcation between chancel and nave roofs is externally marked with a sanctus bell cot, which, although modern, has been constructed exactly on the lines of the old cot. The east window is modern, and I am responsible for its design. I found a wooden east window of carpenter's Gothic character. Beneath the south window are the sedilia and piscina, all plain work, and westward of it the usual priest's door.

In the chancel there are remains of stalls and seats, which have been sadly mutilated, and the pieces are now jumbled up in a most incongruous whole. It is, however, perhaps, better that we should see them in this state than that they should have been restored off the face of the earth altogether.

The rood or chancel screen and the two side screens which enclose north and south chapels are amongst the richest examples of the kind. Many similar screens exist, both in this and the adjoining county of Norfolk, such as Attleborough, Eye, Tunstead, Ramworth, Filby, etc., exhibiting more than common artistic excellence, both in drawing and finish, but for elaborate nature and extent of the ornamentation, and the wonderful wax forms and miniature figures in this screen, some of which have been evidently glazed, there hardly exists a parallel. The central portion of the

screen is divided into six compartments, three on each side the doorway, and those in the lower panels are subdivided, making twelve in all. On these are painted the twelve apostles, Christ being here figuratively represented by the door. In several examples His figure is painted on the door itself. This is the case at Houghton-le-dale and at Castle Acre, Norfolk. The panels to the side screen of the north aisle chapel, which was dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity, have the nine orders of the heavenly hierarchy, with emblems of the Holy Trinity and Blessed Sacrament. These are in an alb of cloth of gold, with a green stole crossed, holding children in a white cloth. Similar figures are to be found treated slightly differently at the screen at Barton Turf, Norfolk. This screen seems to have been the gift of one John Gurman and Catherine his wife, for whose souls an "orate" is still perceptible. He appears to have been a wealthy inhabitant of Southwold. Gardner refers to him, and mentions that he was buried near the pulpit, and to an inscription in brass, which, however, was lost in his time, which also had an *orate pro aīabus* on it. The panels to the screen in the south chapel, dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, have the greater and lesser prophets. These, with the other painted decorations of this screen, are much defaced. The figures of Moses and David and the names of a few of the other prophets are alone traceable. The faces are more or less damaged, but the enriched backgrounds and diaper dresses, and other accessories of the figures, are in fair preservation. The enrichments on the screen are stamped in relief on a kind of mastic laid upon the woodwork. This method is of very early use in painted decorations. Enrichments of similar kind occur on the tomb of Aymer de Valence and Richard Crouchback at Westminster Abbey. The date of these screens may be safely taken as early in the sixteenth century.

Of the chancel roof, I have only to show a very accurate reproduction of the old work, executed under my superintendence by a very able artist in 1867. I was very reluctant to do this, but the roof and boarding had become so rotten that there was no help for it. Most of the panels, you will notice, are of a deep blue, studded with stars; but the character of them in the bay over the screen is, as was frequently the case, varied. Here, instead

of the representation of a painted heaven, we have angels, alternately bearing a scroll inscribed with the *Benedictus*, or Song of Zacharias, and one of the implements of the Passion. The angels are winged, the under and upper feathers alternately red and green. They have crowns of gold on their heads, are all clothed in white, and are represented as rising from the clouds. Some of the implements of the Passion are curiously shown. One has a lanthorn, another a sword, with the ear of Malchus adhering to it, and by the side of him, on a stool, a cock. The mouldings are all highly illuminated, and the cornice has a portion of the *Te Deum* inscribed on it.

The nave roof is a very fine specimen of open timber work. I was in 1866 obliged to have the whole of it taken off and reframed, as it was in a very bad state; however, many of the old timbers remain. About two of the carved spandrels are old, but the rest are modern. The angels were all headless and wingless, having been cut down by Dowsing. I am also answerable for the restoration of the clerestory windows, and the stone corbels to the principal braces, as well as the parapet on the north side of the nave, which was never completed by the old builders. They, however, fixed about 15 feet of it, and the new is simply a continuation in form of the old work. I have tried in all matters to follow the old details as near as possible. The nave is separated from the aisles by six very elegantly proportioned piers and arches, which have been simply cleaned of their whitewash. The arch into tower is of considerable beauty and proportion.

The font was terribly disfigured by Dowsing. Its panels doubtless contained representations of the seven sacraments, and these, being peculiarly obnoxious to the Puritans, were objects for special demolition. The representation of the sacraments on fonts in the eastern counties is very numerous, and one occurs at Westhall, close by here. The aisle windows on the north and south sides are all of three lights, with the exception of the east and west windows, which are four-light. Many of them are original, but I am answerable for some on the south side, having found them cut away and much mutilated, and bricked up. At the western angles there are octagon turrets, which contain staircases reaching to the aisle roofs. There were crosses at the angles

of the battlements of these turrets, and it is doubtless to these crosses Dowsing refers in his journal, where he says, "He broke down four crosses on the corners of the vestry".

There is a priest's chamber or parvise over the south porch, and in it a very curious chest, evidently coeval in date with the church. The outside of this porch is a rich mass of flint and stone panelling. The internal roof is groined in stone, and has carved bosses at its intersections of interesting character. The tower is very highly ornamented, but the parapet was never built. The west front is much enriched, commencing with a panelled flint base, and above a second range of panelled flint work, terminating in a band carved in low relief with shields and four-leaved flowers, the top moulding being embattled.

The west door is also a rich specimen of Perpendicular work, as is the four-light window over it, and above it is a broad band, following the line of the arch, on which is the legend, "Sanctus Edmundus ora pro nobis". The belfry windows are peculiar, being divided down the middle with a singular shaft and capital, which continues through the head, and through the ornament upon which it was intended to erect the parapets. They were doubtless carried up in this way with the view of forming pinnacles over them, terminating perhaps in figures. On the south side is the newel staircase, which terminates at the belfry floor, but from there it is very easy to get, by a ladder, access to the roof. There are eight bells I believe, but none are very old. The fourth and fifth have "John Darbie made me", and the seventh, "Subveniat Digna Donantibus hanc Katarina". The rest are of this century. I must not forget to mention "Jack in armour", which you will see near the vestry. This figure used to stand in the tower and strike the bell of the clock; but when the tower-arch was filled up, Jack was removed to his present position. The figure is coeval with the old clock, which was probably of the Jacobean period, and a wire communicated with the clock and Jack and the bell, and he struck each separate hour. His office now is to hit on his bell when the clergyman is ready for the organist to begin. Another name he is known by is "Jack smite the clock".

Gardner, an antiquary of some note in the Eastern Counties, and historian of Dunwich, lies buried in the church-

yard, between his two wives. There are three head-stones. On the south as follows :

“To the memory of Rachael, wife of Thomas Gardner, who died 9th March 1729, aged 35 years ; and Rachael, their daughter, who died April 18th, 1729, aged 12 years.

“Virtue crowned, during life,
Both the daughter and the wife.”

The stone on the north side is thus inscribed :

“Mary, the wife of Thomas Gardner, died 3rd May 1759, aged 67 years.

“Honour ever did attend
Her just dealings to the end.”

The middle stone (all three are close together) bears this characteristic notice :

“In memory of Thomas Gardner, Salt Officer, who died March 30th. 1769, aged 79 years.

“Between Honour and Virtue here doth lie
The remains of old antiquity.”

ROMAN POTTERY-KILN FOUND AT CAISTOR, NEAR YARMOUTH.

BY MR. JOHN GUNN.

A ROMAN pottery-kiln at Caistor, near Yarmouth, was accidentally brought to light in 1851, in a sand-pit on the farm of Mr. Daniels. It was on the south side of the church, and between it and the marshes, a few hundred yards from the fields adjoining the church, where an abundance of Roman remains, pottery, and coins, and a vault, described by the late Rev. Thomas Clowes, were discovered about that time, and also remains of coffins in a field on the opposite side of the road leading from Caistor to Ormsby, near the Mill.

My attention was called to the kiln by the late Mr. Panchen, carpenter, a most assiduous and successful collector of antiquities. It was laid bare on the falling down of the sides of the pit, and consequently various sections of it were exposed from time to time. That drawn by Mr. Winter appears to represent an earlier face of it than was presented when I had the good fortune to view it. Then two ledges of same material, namely clay roughly worked by the hand, which composed an outer casing of it, were exposed; and blue coloured urns were partially seen still standing on the ledges which supported them, within the kiln. There is no appearance of these ledges in Mr. Winter's drawing, but fragments of the kiln are lying at the base, which had fallen down, about 5 or 6 feet from the bottom of the pit. These consist of red and white, or light coloured, clay, of which some specimens were preserved by myself, and one by Mr. Winter with a finger-mark, proving the work to have been done by the hand. It was late one Saturday evening when I saw it, and on Monday morning following the entire kiln, or rather the remainder of it, had fallen down, and fragments of urns, all contorted more or less, were lying on the ground. Together with these was an iron stand tinged with the soil of the sides of the kiln. On shewing this to the late Mr. James Mills, a distinguished antiquary well acquainted with the working of pottery, he pronounced it to be a stand on which the unbaked and undried urns were placed.

I beg to call your attention to the description given by Mr. Artis, and referred to by Mr. T. Wright in his invaluable work on the *Celt, Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 212, who says that the Roman potteries at Castor (Durobrivæ), near Peterborough, in Northamptonshire, have a peculiar interest, from the circumstance that Mr. Artis' researches were rewarded by the discovery of the potters' kilns, and that he was thus enabled to investigate the process of the manufacture. This we shall best be able to describe in his own words, giving in an accompanying engraving a sketch of one of the kilns as it appeared when uncovered. One of these kilns, discovered in 1844 at Sibson, near Wansford, Mr. Artis described as follows: "This kiln", he says, "had been used for firing the common blue or slate coloured pottery, and had been built on parts of the site of one of the same kind, and within a yard and a half of one that had been constructed for firing pottery of a different description. The older exhausted kiln, which occupied part of the site of that under consideration, presented the appearance of very early work. The bricks had evidently been modelled with the hand, and not moulded, and the workmanship was altogether inferior to that of the others, which were also in a very mutilated state; but the character of the work, the bricks, the mouths of the furnaces, and the oval pedestals *which supported the floors of the kiln*, were still apparent. The floors had been broken up some time previous to the site being abandoned, and the area had then been used as a receptacle for the accumulated rubbish of other kilns."

"During the examination of the pigments used by the Roman potters of this place", Mr. Artis continues, "I was led to the conclusion that the blue and slate coloured vessels met with here in such abundance were coloured by suffocating the fire of the kiln at the time when the contents had acquired a degree of heat sufficient to ensure uniformity of colour. I had so firmly made up my mind upon the process of manufacturing and firing this peculiar kind of earthenware, that for some time previous to the recent discovery I had denominated the kilns in which it had been fired *smother-kilns*."

The kiln at Caistor, near Yarmouth, measured about 4 ft. square, and was gathered in more above when I saw it than is represented in Mr. Winter's drawing. I have no doubt

of the extreme accuracy of that artist's work, of which I am assured by long experience, and that the difference in our observations is due to his having seen an earlier section of the kiln. I regret that from the lateness of the hour when I saw it standing, and from its having fallen down before my next visit, that I had not an opportunity to examine its construction nor the precise mode of firing it. It is Mr. Winter's impression that it was heated as a baker's oven, and that the pottery was then placed in and the furnace closed, so as to constitute a smother kiln. The finding of the iron pottery stand, and the imperfect and contorted and calcined urns seems to indicate the appearance of an old dismantled kiln, such as is above described.

It is well known that the practice of cremation¹ ceased about the end of the fourth century, on the introduction and prevalence of Christianity, and humation was substituted. It is an interesting fact that, together with an urn containing calcined bones, several fragments of coffins with unburnt human bones were found in a clay pit near the mill, north-east of the church, as I mentioned in a paper entitled "Icenia".² Hence it arises that the most ancient Roman coins are found at the camp at Caistor, which preceded the winter camp at Burgh; but still an admixture of the later coins of Constantine is found, though less numerous at Caistor. I send some coins collected by myself at Caistor, together with some collected by Mr. Winter. They bear out the accuracy of my remarks on the date of the two camps, which appear to me to have combined to form the Garianonum, the site of which has been long the subject of discussion.

The specimens exhibited by the author were an iron pottery stand, a calcined fragmentary urn from the kiln, portions of the clay walls of the kiln, one of which, sent by Mr. Winter, bears the impression of the hand or finger, with a drawing of the kiln by Mr. Winter and some coins from Caistor.

¹ "Roman Kiln and Urns found at Hedenham, near Bungay", by the late Rev. S. King, *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. vi, p. 149.

² *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, p. 246.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 105.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14TH, 1879.

THIS morning the members left Yarmouth for Harleston, where they were joined by a contingent of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Association under the Rev. C. R. Manning and Mr. Fitch, F.S.A., the Hon. Secretaries of the Society, and another large body of the Suffolk Archæological Association under the Rev. S. J. Harrison. Among the party were the Lord John Hervey, Sir Willoughby Jones, Bart., Sir F. Boileau, Bart., J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., Colonel Bulwer, and many others of the principal gentry of the district. The President of the Association, Lord Waveney, kindly undertook to convey the whole party from Harleston to Wingfield Castle, for which purpose he provided a large number of carriages, which, however, could not accommodate the unexpectedly numerous assembly. But the noble President was equal to the emergency, and before twelve o'clock the large company had reached their destination, and were courteously received by his Lordship.

Mr. R. M. Phipson, F.S.A., of Norwich, who is restoring Wingfield Church, contributed some interesting papers on the church and castle. The family of the Wingfields settled here in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Though authorities agree in assigning Wingfield to the Wingfields from a very early time, it is not certain that they enjoyed it uninterruptedly. It is, however, known that the Wingfields were living here early in the fourteenth century. Sir John de Wingfield, son of Sir Thomas de Wingfield, by Alice, daughter of Sir Nicholas Weyland, directed his executors to procure the parish church of Wingfield to be made collegiate, for a provost and master and several priests. A college was built and dedicated to SS. Mary, John the Baptist, and Andrew. After the Dissolution it became part of the augmentation which Edward VI made to the bishopric of Norwich. Sir John de Wingfield, like most of his family, was a soldier of considerable eminence. He was chief counsellor of Edward the Black

Prince, and went with him to Languedoc in 1355, whence he wrote some long letters describing the expedition. He died in 1362, and his tomb, with effigy, is in Wingfield Church. Catherine, his sole heiress, married Sir Michael de la Pole, first Earl of Suffolk, to whose family the estates passed. Sir Michael held a prominent position during the reigns of Edward III and Richard II; but he was impeached for either real or supposed frauds and misdemeanors, fled to France, and died an outlaw in 1388. His son Michael, second Earl of Suffolk, who obtained the annulment of the banishment from Richard II, and to whom Henry IV restored the estates and title, married Catherine Stafford, daughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford, and died of dysentery at the siege of Harfleur in 1415. His very fine monument, with carved wooden figures of himself and his Countess, is in the church. His eldest son, Michael, third Earl of Suffolk, was killed at Agincourt on the 25th of October 1415. He only enjoyed the title one month. The earldom then went to his brother William, the first Duke of Suffolk, who married Alice, daughter and heiress of Thos. Chaucer, and granddaughter of the poet. He attained to the greatest eminence of the whole of the De la Pole family, and became one of the most powerful nobles of the time of Henry VI. Camden says that he was advanced to be Marquis of Suffolk that he and his heirs on the coronation day should carry a golden verge with a dove on the top, and such another verge at the coronation of the Queens of England; and afterwards, because of his merits, to the dukedom. It was imputed to him that for a bribe he surrendered Anjou and Maine to the French, and that he assisted in the death of the good Duke of Gloucester. Henry VI stood firmly by him for some time, but yielding to popular clamour was compelled to banish him for five years, though it is said the King intended recalling him as soon as the anger of the people was appeased; but, remarks Blomefield, God otherwise disposed of him, for when he took ship in Suffolk or Norfolk, with intent to go to France, he was captured by the ship *Nicholas* of the Tower, and taken to Dover, where his head was chopped off on the side of the long boat as satisfaction for the death of the Duke of Gloucester. His body was taken to Wingfield, and interred in the chancel of the collegiate church. No monument to his memory exists at Wingfield; but there are three matrices of brasses in the chancel, which were, no doubt, to the memory of him and his children. His son John, created second Duke of Suffolk, married Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV and Richard III. A handsome monument in the church commemorates them. One figure is of marble, and the other of alabaster, and the wife is represented as a widow. With Henry de la Pole, his son, the family name and honours became extinct. The Castle and estate, some time afterwards, reverted to the Crown. They were given to Richard Catelny, Sheriff

of Norwich, in 1531. From his grandson they descended through the Neville family, of Berkshire (with whom he intermarried), to Robert Leman. By the will of his heiress they were invested in Lord Berners, from whom it was purchased in 1856 by Sir Robert Adair, the father of Lord Waveney, who has inherited it. The Castle, the home of many of these old warriors, is, however, not a castle in the general sense of the word. It was a moated manor house, although after it was erected the first Earl of Suffolk, Michael de la Pole, obtained a license to crenellate in 1384. This was, doubtless, soon before or after the house was built. The enclosure contained not quite an acre and a half of land. The entrance-gateway is in the centre of the south side. At its four angles are octagon and semi-octagon turrets. In the north-west turret is a fairly spacious staircase, and in the other turrets small circular stone staircases, commencing from the first floor, and leading to the flat roof. These recesses were, doubtless, used as small ante-rooms to the large central chamber, or "guard-room" as it was called, over the archway. The interior of the gatehouse is somewhat mutilated; but this Vandalism cannot be laid at the door of the President of the Association, as it was done before he was the owner. The entrance had a portcullis; but it has been doubted if it had a draw-bridge. The living rooms extended right and left; but with the exception of a few holes for floor-beams and openings for fireplaces, no traces of them exist. The armorial bearings of the Wingfields and De la Poles remain on each side of the entrance-gateway. The building is still surrounded by a moat 10 feet wide. Over it, on the east side, is a peculiar drawbridge balanced by a huge boulder, so that it goes up and down with a touch of the hand. This fine old manor-house was altered by the Catelins soon after they became possessed of it. They erected the buildings with the fine brick chimneys and shafts on the west.

The present church at Wingfield was built partly in the fourteenth century and partly in the fifteenth. Sir John Wingfield, as we have said, left money in 1362 to found a collegiate church here for canons and priests. When that had been founded, the rebuilding of this church was commenced. The building shews how one style gradually gave way to another. The tracery in the north chapel or vestry, and the doors and arches of the nave, are Decorated, while the arches and piers of the chancel as well as the east window have a Perpendicular character. The chancel is spacious. The east window, of five lights, still retains some of its early glass, consisting of the arms of the De la Poles, Staffords, and others. The roof is entirely modern, and so also are the stone corbels from which the principals spring. On the south side of the chancel are three arches, one wider than the others. The narrow arches contain in the mouldings the badges of Wingfield (a

wing) and Stafford (a knot); and all have plain shields, which were probably emblazoned. The carved capitals to the piers are modern. The stalls and screen, of Perpendicular work, remain in the chancel. The misereres have carved foliage underneath, varying slightly in design. The Perpendicular screen in the chancel-arch has been sadly mutilated, but the bottom panels remain, and vestiges of the figures of SS. Peter and Paul are visible. There are fragments of a piscina. There are clear evidences of an altar remaining in the chancel chapel, on the south side. On the north side of the chancel is a chapel, and beyond it a vestry of rather peculiar construction. Over it is an arched room reached by a ladder from the ground-floor, and a Perpendicular screen at the eastern end. In the inner wall of this upper room are squints, doubtless to enable the priests there to see the altar. There is some good early glass in the east window of the vestry. The nave has five elegantly proportioned but late Decorated arches surmounted by a Perpendicular clerestory with five windows on each side. There has been no alteration of the clerestory. The roof consists of three bays with trussed rafter principals between each bay. The main braces are supported by angels holding shields now plain, but once emblazoned. Both aisle-arches are modern. The north and south aisles have good Perpendicular and Decorated windows and doors. On the south is a good transition porch with a niche. The flint tower is bold but plain. The steps to the rood-screen remain. We can picture the glorious appearance of the church when this elaborate rood-screen spread from north to south, and had beautiful chapels on each side. There are no emblems of St. Andrew in the church, though it is dedicated to him. The church has several monuments. One is to Sir John de Wingfield, erroneously assigned to the Duke of Suffolk; but the architectural work and the character of the armour shew that it was fifty or sixty years before his time. Another tomb is to the memory of Michael de la Pole, second Earl of Suffolk, who built Cawston Church in Norfolk. The figure, as well as that of the Countess, is of wood, and said to be the finest of the kind existing. Another monument is to John de la Pole, who married Elizabeth Plantagenet. There are two figures, one in marble, and the other in alabaster. The wife is represented as a widow. There are three matrices of brasses in the chancel, which doubtless were to the memory of the first Duke of Suffolk and his sons.

Before leaving Wingfield the party explored the Castle under the guidance of Mr. Phipson, who, afterwards assembling the party around him on the lawn in front of the old building, gave, by the request of Lord Waveney, some interesting particulars as to its early history.

The party then repaired to the large barn close by, where they were entertained at luncheon by the noble President in a most hospitable manner.

After leaving Wingfield the party made for the Old Minster, South Elmham, which is some distance from the highway, and is reached by climbing over a few stiles and traversing two or three fields. A wood shrouds the Old Minster from the view. The Old Minster is a mass of flint masonry in the form of a church. Lord Waveney then read a paper on these remains. The Minster yard is surrounded by a low bank and shallow moat, which are planted so as to shut in the ruins from public view. The enclosure has all the characteristics of a Roman camp. The church was 104 feet long and 33 feet wide. It is thought to be fully a thousand years old. The holes in the walls are as they were left when the scaffolding was removed. When William I took possession of the country, wealth intended for the completion of this building (for all South Elmham was in the hands of the Church) was, doubtless, diverted into another channel by the Norman ecclesiastics.

This concise account of the building, received with much applause, was followed by some equally interesting observations from Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, who has had the advantage of being able to examine very carefully a large number of Saxon churches. A Saxon church within a Roman camp or enclosure is not unusual. There are examples of this at Dover, Porchester, Kingsbury, and other places. But to come nearer home, the old Saxon monastery of Cnobersburgh was within the enclosure of the Roman *Gariononum*, now Burgh Castle. Though nothing has been found within this enclosure at South Elmham, Roman urns have been dug up within a short distance of it, which is further evidence of an early site of an occupation. Mr. Brock then unhesitatingly said that in the Old Minster of South Elmham we have the plan of a Saxon, not a Norman church. The building has a narthex, one of the signs of an early church, and characteristic of the churches in the East rather than those of the West. Mr. Brock's opinion is that the earlier Christianity of this country is associated rather with the Greek or Irish than the Latin Church. This view evidently had the approval of a large number of the party, if we may judge from the applause which followed this statement.

Mr. Brock further said that in these ruins is a plan which hardly occurs in a Norman church, and he challenged any one to confute this opinion. Two arches lead from the narthex into the nave, which, though small, was intended for worshippers, while the narthex was reserved for those under instruction. The square nave of this Minster conforms to the plan of the earliest churches. Beyond the remains of the nave are the remnants of a semicircular apse. Admitting that the apse is also found in Norman churches, Mr. Brock stated that the Normans copied older models, for there are many semicircular apses in churches of Saxon date. Analogy, a powerful principle in archæolo-

gical matters, attests that this building is Saxon. The ruins are built entirely of small flints, and the arches are turned; and the angles are formed with the same material, there being no freestone whatever used in the construction. Mr. Brock complimented the noble President for having arranged that the Members of the Association should visit this interesting ruin, and he heartily thanked his Lordship on behalf of the Members.

The President courteously expressed his thanks, and acknowledged the usefulness of the remarks to which Mr. Brock had given utterance.

The party then proceeded to Bungay *via* Flixton. It was a part of the programme that Flixton Hall should be visited; but as the day was far advanced, the greater number of the Members had to forego this pleasure. A small party, however, accepted Lord Waveney's invitation; and after inspecting the house, pictures, and curiosities, under his Lordship's guidance, reached Yarmouth by a later train. The Elizabethan front of the mansion is a beautiful and characteristic example of the style, although of modern execution.

It was past five when Bungay was reached, and as the special train engaged for the occasion was arranged to start at 5.10, there was no time to visit either the church or the Castle; the former an interesting fabric, and the latter a remnant of the stronghold of the Bigods, Earls of Norfolk.

In the evening Mr. Brock read an interesting paper on "Round Towers of Norfolk and Suffolk, which will appear hereafter.

In the discussion which followed, the Vicar said he should like to have heard something more about the round towers of Ireland.¹ They were said to be of a date anterior to those referred to by Mr. Brock, and were thought by some to be connected with sun-worship or Baal-worship.

Mr. Picton, F.S.A., thought there was no evidence that the Irish round towers were connected with Baal-worship, and that that theory had been exploded. The Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D., had pointed out that the towers were all near the coast, and he thought it might be inferred from that that the inhabitants used them for putting in their valuables during the raids that were frequently made upon them by rovers and pirates. Round towers were also always connected with a Christian place of worship. He did not think the Rhenish round towers were connected with the Saxon time.

A vote of thanks was given Mr. Brock for his paper.

¹ The round towers of Ireland belong to the same or even an earlier period, and from their varying dimensions are valuable for comparison with these. It is to be regretted by archæologists that Mr. Gordon M. Hills, the late Treasurer of the Association, has never yet published his extensive and valuable notes and views of the Hibernian examples, which perhaps transcend in interest, and certainly in history and surroundings, those of the east coast of England.

Dr. Raven also read the paper, "On the Churches and Monastic Buildings of Bungay", which was originally intended for delivery in the early part of the afternoon, if the visit of the archæologists to that town had not been obliged to be postponed.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15.

On Friday the party, consisting of nearly one hundred ladies and gentlemen, accompanied by J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor of Yarmouth, and other gentleman, found themselves at the Southtown Railway Station, and soon after at the village of Darsham. The church of All Saints, close by, was visited, and described by the Rector, the Rev. Mr. Rogers, who said :

"For the few remarks I have to make I am chiefly indebted to the late E. A. Hathwell, Esq.

"Few churches so marked with the seal of age have so little compensating beauty of picturesqueness as that of All Saints, the parish church of Darsham. Referred to in *Domesday Book*, it still has its Saxon door on the north side of the nave, blocked up and otherwise so mutilated as almost to have lost its identity. This also refers to a window near. It has its Norman door on the south side, but much damaged by modern repair; the original stone replaced by white Suffolk brick and draining tiles. The base of a semi-Norman or Early English font is retained, but has to do duty in supporting a Late Perpendicular font of the common Suffolk type. The base bears an inscription, 'Orate pro aña dñi Galfri Symons rectoris de Bradwell q' ista' fonte' fieri fecit in hon'm dei.'¹ The original font, or perhaps one of earlier date than the base, was removed from Darsham House, some years ago, to Sibton Abbey ruins, where it now stands. One beautiful little Early English window remains, with little damage, on the north side of the chancel; but all the other remaining windows have been insertions of the Late Perpendicular period, except the east window, lately restored, with the east end, after plans by the late E. A. Hathwell. The leper window on the north side of the chancel is also worthy of notice. A wretched stucco still conceals the surface of the south wall. The nave and chancel are still defaced with a plaster ceiling. Both nave and chancel-roofs have been altered from their original pitch. The chancel-arch has been much cut about as to piers and rood-screen.

"There are three old brasses. The first in order is to the memory of Marione Reve. 'Orate pro aña Marione Reve cui^{us} anima p^{ro}picietur de^{us}.'"

¹ Bradwell is a parish in the deanery of Lothingland, Suffolk.

Another to Mrs. Ann Bedingsfield, of the date 1641. There are four bells. One bears the inscription, 'Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis'; the other three, the date of 1656, and John Brend, the maker's name.

"The view from the top of the tower will well repay a rather difficult climb. Some of the plate is of ancient date, and is worthy of inspection. The old churchwardens' book is curious in many of its items."

The church is of moderate dimensions, having only a nave, chancel, western tower, and south porch; and in these are found the usual intermixture of styles of architecture so common in most old churches. The south door is a good example of Norman work. The font is reputed to have been carried off to Sibton Abbey; but the principal object of note here is the Early English window on the north side of the chancel, where those stricken with that un-English disease, the leprosy¹ (introduced into our island, perhaps, by the returned Crusaders), assembled to witness, and perhaps glean some stray sounds and sights of comfort from, those religious services in which they were not permitted to join.

Few, if any, of the places visited by the Congress during their excursions have more interesting associations than Dunwich. While the relics of the Roman occupation of Britain, which here abound, encourage the imagination of the student of history to picture the condition of the country when it was included in the mighty empire of the Cæsars, the ravages which the ocean has made upon and around the site of this ancient settlement furnish geologists with an illustration of the power of the mechanical forces which have gradually, through a long course of ages, modified the surface of the globe. But we must keep within the province of archæology. Blomefield, Martin, and others who have followed them, have erroneously stated that Thetford was founded on the site of the Roman station Sitomagus. They appa-

¹ This remark has called forth the following note in *The Athenæum*: "Ælfward, Bishop of London and Abbot of Evesham, 1032-44, being a leper, could not attend to episcopal duties. He desired to retire to Evesham Abbey; but the monks there, well knowing what leprosy was, refused to receive him. He had his books and effects removed from there, and he gave them to St. Benedict, in the care of the Abbot of Ramsay. To that Abbey he removed, and in a few months died and was buried there. The Hospital for Lepers in Exeter, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, was founded so far back in Anglo-Saxon days as not to be traced by the Charity Commissioners; but they discovered that it was re-endowed by Bartholomew, Bishop there, 1161-84. At one time there were nine thousand leper hospitals in Europe." On the other hand, in the great French Cyclopædia by M. Pierre Larousse, entitled *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle*, vol. x, p. 391, col. 1, art. "La Lèpre", occurs this sentence: "On croit généralement qu'elle fut apportée par les croisades des contrées orientales, où elle a toujours été endémique. Il est au moins certain que les croisades contribuèrent à la répandre davantage", etc. The late T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., contributed a lengthy paper on leper-houses to the *Journal*.

rently fell into this error because, according to the itineraries, Sitomagus is described as thirty-two miles from Venta Icenorum, which some have supposed to have been Caistor-next-Norwich, and others Norwich itself. Dunwich, however, answers to the description, and is unquestionably the veritable Sitomagus. Numerous fragments of Roman tiles are to be seen in the ruins of the few remaining stately edifices that adorned Dunwich in mediæval times. A very ancient road leads from Dunwich to Bury, and another to Norwich, which strengthens the opinion that the latter place was Venta Icenorum. In Saxon times Sitomagus became known as Dunmoc, or Dummuc,—a name which has a hallowed memory, for upon the shores of Dunmoc, about 630, landed the Burgundian monk, Felix, to commence his missionary labours among the pagan Angles. He accompanied the exiled Sigebert to East Anglia when he, three years after the death of Eorpenwald, came to assume the sovereignty. Here it was that Sigebert erected his palace, for which he found abundant materials in the abandoned works of the Romans. Felix¹ became the first Bishop of East Anglia, and had his see at Dunmoc. In 673 another see was founded at North Elmham; but during the incursions of the Danes they were amalgamated, and during the Norman period the see was transferred first to Thetford, and shortly afterwards to Norwich.

Dunwich, in its palmy days, had six churches, and also convents, hospitals, and other public buildings. On the east side of the tower of the desolated church of All Saints, which stands within a few yards of the cliff, Mr. Loftus Brock pointed out a characteristic Saxon window arched with Roman bricks. He is of opinion that the base and inner part of the tower are Saxon. There are several interesting remains of the Norman period. The most notable is a fragment of the Chapel of St. James' Hospital for Lepers, transitional Norman. This consists of a chancel and semicircular apse, which had a fine arcade. Several arches remain almost intact, while portions of others at the end of the ruin shew that the arcade was continued beyond the apse.² The Grey Friars' Monastery, standing amid a cornfield which is encircled by the old Monastery walls (evidently built of the materials of some more ancient structure), is another interesting relic of mediæval times; but only a few fragments of the walls are now to be seen. This Monastery was founded by Richard Fitz John in the reign of Henry III.

At the time when these monastic establishments and churches were in their glory and splendour, they were surrounded by a large and enterprising community. Dunwich had a harbour, which made it a

¹ A paper on St. Felix, by H. S. Cuming, Esq., V.P., will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

² Illustrations of this Lepers' Chapel, and also of the Monastery, are given in Parker's *Suffolk Churches*, No. 85.

shipping port of some importance. Henry III called upon the shipmen of Dunwich to furnish him with forty vessels for his service. A reference to Dunwich in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum (read to the members of the Association by Mr. Thomas Morgan, *Hon. Treasurer*), shews that the place was in these days strongly defended. The MSS. say that Robert Earl of Leicester, who took the part of Prince Henry against his father, Henry II, came "to the said towne of Dunwich to have taken it against the King. But when he came heere, and beheld the strength thereof, it was terror and feare unto him to behold it, and soe retyred, both he and his people." Dunwich men in those days traded with Iceland and other northern countries, probably exporting some of the woollens which were made in the Eastern Counties. In the time of Edward I (according to the Harleian MSS. cited by Mr. Morgan) Dunwich maintained eleven ships of war, sixteen fair ships, twenty barks or vessels trading to the North Seas and Iceland, and twenty-four small boats for the home fishing. In the time of Edward III the port shoaled up through the encroachments of the sea, and became useless. An engraved plan of Dunwich, made in the sixteenth century, but copied more recently, in the possession of Mr. St. John Barne (kindly exhibited to the Members at his house), shews what Dunwich was in those days. A river ran for a long distance almost parallel with the coast, and wound more inland just to the north of Dunwich. On this plan the Monastery of the Grey Friars, of the Church of All Saints, now near the cliff, are shewn as being a long way from the sea, between which and them are marked various streets and public buildings. All these latter are gone, with many and many a rood of ground. In the time of Edward III, when the port was made useles, four hundred houses were swept into the sea. Between 1535 and 1600 four churches disappeared. In 1677 the Market Place went. In 1702 St. Peter's Church was undermined and fell. Dunwich has now about twenty houses and two hundred inhabitants. It sent two Members to Parliament from the days of Edward I to 1832; but now a settled gloom has fixed upon the place, which shall never be lifted off until the sea swallows up the remaining twenty houses, and driving the remnant of population into new quarters, entirely changes the nature of the scene.

Many of the above facts were stated to the Members by Mr. R. M. Phipson, F.S.A., who was called upon to perform that duty in the absence of Mr. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A., who was to have read a paper on the subject, but was prevented by a sudden and severe illness.

Mr. Barne also shewed to the party many ancient coins and seals which had been found near his house. Among them was the matrix, in brass, of the Corporation's seal, with the inscription (in black letter), "*Sigillum Ballivorum de Donewico*". There was also seen a

silver ecclesiastical finger-ring of the thirteenth century, formed of twisted wire, with a plain bezel bearing the Lombardic initial **CM** (of the Virgin Mary).

The next halting-place was Blythburgh. The parish presents another instance, so common in the eastern counties, of a thinly populated parish possessing a grand church. But we must remember that in the middle ages the flow of trade between Europe and England was largely to and from the shores of East Anglia. East Anglia was then as famous for its woollen manufactures as it is now for its agriculture. The discovery of America, the consequent opening of the ports on the west of England, and the utilisation of the mineral treasures of the north, have withdrawn manufactures from the eastern counties, and thereby affected their populousness and wealth. Blythburgh has interesting associations which are blended, either by means of tradition or by relics, with the history of the Church, as narrated by the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D., in a very instructive paper. Though possessing on the surface, Dr. Raven says, slender traces of its ancient importance, this village possesses Roman remains of more than usual interest. The Romans had a small camp here in the midst of three old ways, where, perhaps, a small band of Stablesian horse were stationed under the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore. Anna, King of the East Angles, whose daughters devoted themselves to the founding of religious houses in East Anglia, was for many years engaged in offering resistance to Penda, King of Mercia, who was bent on making himself over-lord of all the country, and restoring the old pagan faith. Anna fell in battle, fighting this pagan warrior, it is said, at Blythburgh; but this is very questionable. However, there was once a tomb in the church, which tradition said was that of this champion of the faith. If a figure in painted glass in the church is that of St. Etheldreda, as is supposed, the artist has perpetuated the tradition that the family of Anna had some intimate connection with this place.

The church is Perpendicular, about 1430, and has chancel and nave under the same roof, and north and south aisles. The roof, though of a late and depressed character, is richly ornamented with angels, armorial bosses, and the sacred monogram repeated several times on every timber. This church, which had two chapels, each with its altar, must have had a gorgeous interior in pre-Reformation times, and even later, for when William Dowsing made his visitation he ordered twenty cherubims to be broken down in the church and chancel, and two hundred pictures to be removed. Part of the original screen, which has some beautifully carved figures of the Evangelists in high relief, however, escaped the destroying hand of Jessope's agent. There are also fragments of the original coloured glass in the windows of the nave, among which may be identified the arms of Craven,—*arg.*, a fess

between six crosses fitchée *gules*; and Swillington, *arg.*, a chevron *azure*. On the choir-stalls are also carved the arms of Swillington quartered with Rosse,—*gules*, a griffin rampant *arg.*; and the shield of Argentine of Halesworth, *gules*, three covered cups *or*. There are some exquisitely carved figures as finials on the seats on the north side. The seven deadly sins appear to have been represented in these figures. The corpulent figure of a monk evidently signifies gluttony. Other figures represent the husbandman engaged in sowing and in taking up a sheaf. The carved Perpendicular lectern and the poor's box (*circa* 1500) are very fine examples of the period, and are engraved in Parker's *Suffolk Churches*, No. 78. "Jack o' the Clock", who anciently struck the hours, like the figures at Bennett's in Cheapside, has long been deposed from office, and stands in the tower. The chief external features of the church are a superb line of clerestory containing eighteen windows on each side, an open parapet of quatrefoils, a tower of two storeys, and a flying buttress against the north door. The tower and church have very bold proportions, and are visible over a great extent of country. The parapet on the south side is of great beauty and elegance, and the south porch is a remarkable example of stone and flint. Within the church, the grand proportions and lightness of the arches which divide the aisles from the nave and chancel, both extending to the extreme end (the nave and chancel being under a continuous roof) were particularly noticed, and the beautifully carved and painted ceilings were much admired. The party observed with regret the extreme dilapidation of the sacred edifice generally. In many cases the Gothic tracery of the window has entirely disappeared, and in other places it is filled with brick or plaster. All the walls, with the beautifully carved screen itself, are thickly covered with plaster.

Dr. Raven briefly described, in passing them, the small remains of the Priory close to the church, for a priory was built by the Abbot of St. Osyth, Essex, in 1130, and it extended nearly to the church. The monks were of the rule of St. Augustine.

A pleasant ride through Wangford brought the party to the town of Southwold, off which (in Sole Bay) a naval engagement was fought between the English and French in 1672, when the English were commanded by the Duke of York, and the Dutch by De Ruyter. Numerous pictures of this historical event abound in Southwold. But before the party pursued their archæological studies they partook of an excellent luncheon at the Swan. Afterwards they went to the church, a detailed description of which (printed at pp. 201-204) was given by Mr. R. M. Phipson, F.S.A., who has recently restored the fabric, well preserving its ancient character at the same time. Some time was spent by many of the party in examining this interesting edifice. The beauty of the Decorated screen and also the church chest was much commented on,

the lower panels of the former (which are ornamented with a series of highly finished paintings of the Apostles) commanding particular attention. The following description of these valuable specimens of mediæval ecclesiastical art has been furnished by Mr. H. Watling of Stonham, who has made a special study of the painted screens of Norfolk and Suffolk, and believes them to have been the work of local artists.

"On the *central* portion of the screen, facing the nave, are twelve panels representing the twelve Apostles in the following order: 1 (north end), St. Philip with basket of bread and a Roman cross; 2, St. Matthias leaning on a sword which bears the letter M on its hilt, to distinguish him from St. Paul; 3, St. James the Less with a fuller's bat; 4, St. Andrew with a cross saltire; 5, St. Thomas with a spear; 6, St. Peter with two golden keys; 7, St. Paul with uplifted sword; 8, St. John with chalice and serpent issuing from it; 9, St. James the Great with pilgrim's staff and wallet, with escallop shell; 10, St. Bartholomew with knife; 11, St. Simon with an oar in his hand; 12, St. Jude with a boat in his hand.

"On the *northern* portion of the screen, facing the north aisle, are twelve panels, as follows (counting from southern end: 1, Angels, represented by a figure clothed in an alb of cloth of gold, with a green stole, crowned, holding children, nude, in a white cloth; 2, Archangels,—figure with sword and scales; 3, Cherubim,—figure standing on a wheel, hands folded on breast; 4, Seraphim,—figure standing on a wheel, all in gold except face and hands, and holding in left hand a scroll inscribed Sc's, Sc's, Sc's (*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*); 5, Thrones,—figure holding a tower in his hands; 6, Dominions,—figure holding chalice and sacred host in his right hand, globe and cross in his left, with a church under his feet; 7, Principalities,—figure standing in a citadel with sceptre in hand; 8, Powers,—figure holding the Devil in a chain, scourging and trampling upon him; 9, Virtues,—figure with crown in right hand, censer in left; 10, an angel bearing a shield charged with three chalices and three holy wafers, I.H.S. upon each of the latter; 11, St. Gabriel with a sceptre, and a shield bearing the monogram of Mary; 12, an angel holding the Trinity shield.

"On the *southern* portion of the screen, facing the south aisle, there are paintings representing Biblical personages; but the only ones perfect are—Baruch with knotted staff and wallet, David with his harp, Samson holding the jawbone of an ass.

"All the carved woodwork of the upper portion of the screen is ornamented by delicate raised paneling and miniature tabernacle-work in relief, all originally highly gilt. Mr. R. M. Phipson explained that he conjectured this curious ornamentation to have been cast in sections in plaster moulds, the material being mastic; and that these sections were afterwards separately fastened upon the woodwork with

shellac, as the junctions may still be easily detected. Pieces of glass were also encrusted among this ornamental work.

"The heads of the saints, it should be noted, have been retouched by Mr. Richmond, R.A."

The church is one of the finest specimens of the Perpendicular order in the county, and standing, as it does, on a high ground, with a tower of stone and flint some 100 feet in height, forms a grand feature from the sea as well as from the neighbouring country.

A number of the party made haste back to Darsham to catch the 5.15 train, while a few returned to Yarmouth by steamer.

The remaining members of the party next set out for Thorington, where the church was visited, and its history given by the vicar, the Rev. Mr. Hill, who afterwards entertained the archæologists with a very welcome tea on the lawn of his house. Darsham station was soon after reached, and at a later hour than originally intended the party arrived at Great Yarmouth.

At the town hall the usual evening meeting was held, with the Mayor of Great Yarmouth in the chair. Mr. Charles Teniswood read a paper "On the Charters relative to the Government of Great Yarmouth", which was received with great interest, and especially commented on by the Mayor in a complimentary manner. This will appear hereafter.

Mr. H. Prigg of Bury described bronze implements found in Norfolk and Suffolk, the probable mode of manufacture and the distribution of these throughout the country.

The Mayor, in the course of some few remarks with reference to the Corporation, and Mr. C. Teniswood's able account of its history, expressed a hope that he might be able to represent the town as well as the bailiffs and his predecessors, and that those who succeeded him in office would prove equally good men as they had been shewn to be.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1879.

The silver horn of Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A. (Congress Secretary), familiar to the excursionists during their rambles, was heard on the Market Plain, Yarmouth, at 9.30 A.M. on Saturday. The members of the Congress quickly responded to the well-known summons by gathering around him and proceeding in a body to St. Nicholas' Church, where they were received by the Ven. Archdeacon Neville and the Rev. G. Venables. The former delivered an interesting lecture, explanatory of the singularity of the form and arrangement of the grand old parochial church, which was founded on the sand bank formed at the mouths of the Yare. Probably in no important church in England, he said, are the aisles so disproportionate to the size of the nave; and in few churches is an equal opportunity afforded for studying the various styles of architecture which prevailed from the Norman con-

quest to the Reformation. Herbert Losinga, who founded the cathedral at Norwich, St. Margaret's, Lynn, and St. Mary's, North Elmham, commenced the erection of St. Nicholas' Church in 1101, and it was completed and consecrated in 1119, the year in which he died. Bishop Herbert's church was in the form of a Latin cross. It had a central tower, a nave 101 feet long and 24 feet wide, two transepts of the same width as the nave, and a chancel. It has sometimes been asserted that the church had two narrow lean-to aisles, but the Ven. Archdeacon believes this to be incorrect. All the original building, except Bishop Herbert's central tower, has been swept away by successive alterations. Subsequent additions have been made to Herbert's tower, the core of which remains. On its outer face, on the south, still remains the old Norman arcading, with billet moulding. The great wooden piles, which formed a foundation to the tower, were found, when examined in 1862, to be undecayed, and strong as when first driven into the sand, nearly 800 years ago. The fact that the tower has remained unaltered has ever since determined the form and character of the church. In less than 100 years the original church had become insufficient for the growing population of the town, and during the reign of Henry I it was in a great measure rebuilt. The fact that no trace of purely Norman architecture is to be found in the columns of the nave seems to indicate clearly that the earlier nave had no aisles, for had a Norman line of pillars existed it is very improbable that they should have been taken down within a century after their erection. It would appear that the outer walls of the nave were removed, and that a new nave of eight bays was constructed, extending westward to its present length. At the same time two narrow lean-to aisles were built, each about 13 feet in width. According to Sir Gilbert Scott, the character of the work exactly agrees with the tradition that the alteration of the church was carried out during the reign of King John. The nave was terminated by a bold doorway, above which was a triplet of lancet windows, and the gable end was flanked by two staircase pinnacles, each 70 feet in height. The exact length of the chancel of this second church cannot be ascertained; but the first bay of the present chancel, with the respond or western half of the capital of the first pillars, is of the same date as the nave.

Within fifty years after the time when the nave was lengthened and the lean-to aisles erected, it was thought necessary again to enlarge the church, by building the great aisles, first of the nave, and a few years subsequently of the chancel also. Two causes seem to have led to this—first, the rapid growth of the population, owing to the extension of the fishing trade; and, secondly, the custom of erecting private side chapels which had been introduced, and was probably on the increase. These chapels were either set apart for guilds, by whom the

altar, image of patron saint, lights, reliquary, vestments, and communion plate were provided and maintained; or else they were mortuary chapels, for which provision was made by legacies or by the care of private families. As many as twenty chapels are said to have been enclosed within the aisles of the nave and chancel. Remains of a chapel at the east end of the south aisle of the nave, and of another at the east end of the south aisle of the chancel show how richly they were decorated. Traces of wall painting in the north aisle of the chancel indicate the position of Becket's Chapel. The great aisles, erected in the reign of Henry III, are 40 feet in width. They brought the church into the three gabled form, but with great peculiarity that the side roofs were enormously in excess of that of the nave. Two flanking pinnacles were repeated at the angles of the new aisles, in correspondence with the existing pinnacles of the nave, from an evident desire to bring the western face of the church as far as possible into harmony. One point in connection with the erection of these aisles has never before been noticed. The new ground enclosed had previously been a churchyard; and, just as in former days the builders had no hesitation in removing good work of an earlier date to introduce their own style, so they had not the slightest scruple in making use of stone coffins and monumental slabs as materials for building the enlarged aisle. When in 1871 a great part of the south-western pinnacle, and of the west gable of the south aisle were taken down because the wall was far out of the perpendicular, no less than thirty of these stones were discovered. The stone coffins had in some cases been cut in half, and built bottom upwards into the staircase, so as to form at once a riser and a step. We sometimes dream of the greater reverence paid by our fathers to holy places and holy things; but here was an act which would hardly be sanctioned nowadays by any consistory court or by any chancellor's faculty. It was probably the continued desecration of the churchyard which a few years afterwards led Sibilla Flatt to erect a carniary or chapel, in which bones disturbed by recent additions to the church might be collected and interred. The new aisles of the church are said by William of Worcester to have been consecrated in 1251. Probably within thirty years after the building of the aisles of the nave the aisles of the chancel were added. Tradition asserts that these chancel aisles were consecrated in 1286 by Bishop Middleton. If this be so, the two heads which terminate the dripstone over the eastern window in the north chancel aisle will represent Edward I and Bishop Middleton. The extension eastward of the chancel was probably of the same date.

Coming to the fourth stage in the history of the church the ven. archdeacon called attention to the fact that the aisles both of the nave and of the chancel have blocked up windows above the arch of the

gable, at the point where they meet the transepts. These windows, at one time open, prove that when it was determined to enlarge the aisles no care was taken at the same time to enlarge the transept, and the effect must have been extraordinary. In a cruciform church the transepts did not extend north and south as far as did the aisles, nor were they equal in height to the great buildings which overshadowed them. Probably this defect was remedied within 1320-1330 by the heightening and extending of the transepts to their present dimensions. Externally they were supported at their angles by flanking turrets; and a very beautiful door, the most perfect in its proportions the church possesses, was opened at the time or not long afterwards in the west wall of the south transept. This seems to have been an entrance to an outside chapel, probably connected with the Fastolfe vault. Indications of the original transepts may still be seen in the low arches, which open into the aisles of the nave and chancel. The line of carved bosses, bearing a series of emblazoned shields, was placed at the intersection of the ribs of the waggon roof during the reign of Edward III. These shields contain the banner of the Holy Trinity, the two-headed eagle of Austria, and the arms of Edward III, of his sons, of the Duke of Bedford, of Thomas of Brotherton, of Bishop Spencer, and of the Norfolk families of Morley, Scales, Fastolfe, Bardolf, Paston, Buckton, and others. In 1330 additional space was again required for the side chapels, and a new extension of the nave and aisles, 47 feet westward, was commenced and carried up to a considerable height. Two western towers, with a gateway 40 feet in width, formed part of the design. This work, which was called the "bachelor's aisle", progressed but slowly. In 1349 it came to an end, in consequence of that terrible pestilence, the Black Death, which carried off 7,052 of the inhabitants of Yarmouth. "The living", says Manship, "scarce sufficed to bury the dead, much less to proceed with the building".

Shortly before the Reformation that singular wave of church decoration which introduced the Perpendicular style into three-fourths of the churches of England, transformed the windows of the aisles and transepts. At the Reformation the church suffered frightfully. The side chapels were demolished, the plate sold, the rood loft taken down, and the magnificent reredos of Prior Roger of Haddiscoe was destroyed. In 1551 the sepulchral brasses were sent to London and sold for weights. In 1560 the gravestones were taken out of the churchyard and shipped to Newcastle to be turned into grindstones. During the reign of Elizabeth the turret of the south aisle of the chancel is said to have fallen and crushed the roof and part of the wall. Wooden windows of the Tudor style were inserted, and these were twenty-five years ago replaced in stone.

At the time of the Commonwealth the church was divided into three

parts. A brick wall was built across the eastern arches of the tower and two transepts. The chancel was then assigned to the Independents. A door was cut by them through the canopied tomb of Thomas Crommer, and the seating altered for their accommodation. A Scotchman who saw the church in 1847 at once recognised the arrangements of the kirk. In 1803 the old spire, 186 feet in height, was taken down. The present spire was erected in 1806, when an act of Parliament was obtained enabling the corporation to levy for the repairs of the church a rate of one shilling per chaldron on all coal imported into the town. A large proportion of the rate on coal was spent in plastering the church. The bachelor's aisle was taken down to form a foundation for works at the harbour's mouth. Since 1847 many of the disfigurements have been removed, the galleries have been cleared away, the columns of the nave replaced, the chancel arches opened, the chancel restored to its old proportions, the tower strengthened, so as to bear a spire of the original height, the south aisle re-roofed, and the west front restored; but still much remains to be done before the mutilation of centuries can be effaced, and the church brought back to the splendour which it once possessed. Cordial thanks were given to Archdeacon Nevill for his able paper.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., pronounced this church to be the most curious he had seen for a long time. It required a fortnight's study. The ground plan shows that the Norman church differed but little from the ordinary plan of a Norman church. If it is true that the lines of three apses are to be found, as has been stated by Mr. Palmer, we have almost the exact plan that was usual. The central tower doubtless shows a cruciform church. But the removal of the Norman nave at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century is a difficulty. The work at the west end of the nave, called the bachelor's aisle, has been very much misunderstood. That work, Mr. Brock believes, was intended as a mask to the west front, and to correct the defect of the nave, having but a small portion of frontage compared with the aisles, which is an anomaly, and an inversion of the natural order of things. What the architect had in his mind was the construction of a fine bell tower, similar to that at the west end of Ely Cathedral. People living on lowlying lands have always desired to erect magnificent towers. To correct the proportions of the west end of St. Nicholas the builder of the bachelor's aisle intended to carry out a plan not unusual, that of a church with a central tower, having a western tower also. The foundations of the bachelor's aisle, carefully preserved, give the exact square for a campanile. The massive foundations of quadrangular turrets, which flank it in addition, are in proportion to the scale of the intended tower, and agree with those at Ely. If the plan had been carried out there would have been a massive and

grand steeple that would have been the glory of the town. Mr. Brock added a few words as to restoration of churches. He recommends an adherence to the golden principle of repairing old work instead of introducing new. Various interesting architectural features were then examined, including carved and painted doorways of the original reredos, mural paintings, a remarkable revolving library table in the vestry, and the uncovered foundations of a building at the east side of the south aisle of the chancel, supposed to have been a chapter house of the Benedictine monks of the adjacent priory, which was also cursorily examined. It is more probably a vestry. Mr. Brock considered, from analogy with other buildings of East Anglia, that the unknown site of the lady chapel (our Lady of Ardenburgh) should be sought at the east end of the chancel. In the wall of the north aisle of the church (interior) is a Decorated recessed altar tomb, with fine crocketed canopy and a floriated cross. It has no inscription or coat of arms, but is called the "prior's tomb". In the north chapel of the chancel is the handsome recessed tomb of Thomas Crowmer, bailiff 1470-1497, of late Perpendicular work, with his shield of arms carved over the centre. The England monuments in the north aisle are in a sadly neglected state.

After leaving St. Nicholas' Church and the priory the party visited the residence of Mr. Christmas, Market Road, where they had been kindly invited to inspect the large and valuable collection of oil paintings, old china, and other rare curiosities that Mr. Christmas is the possessor of, and which is of very considerable value, occupying several large rooms, which were erected in the garden for the purpose of accommodating his splendid collection. Mr. Christmas was present, and very courteously directed attention to some of the most valuable of his varied and beautiful possessions. This was followed by an examination of the rows. Some suppose these to have been formed after the manner of the narrow thoroughfares in continental towns that were liable to the attacks of brigands and pirates, so as to enable the inhabitants to bid defiance to any large force which might attack the town, for as it would have to break up into Indian file to penetrate the rows, the residents in the houses could pick them off in detail.

The party proceeded thence to the Tolhouse Hall, an ancient building, where the county court and sessions court are held, and attached to which is a gaol, which, however, is now but little used, prisoners being sent to Norwich Castle. The corporation of Yarmouth had at one time a court of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery, which was held only once a year till 1814, when in consequence of the great increase of prisoners and the confined limits of the borough gaol, it was ordered to be held twice a year. This assize court had the power of life and death, but capital offences were happily of rare occurrence.

The last person who suffered there was John Hannah, a man upwards of seventy years of age, who was hanged in 1813 for strangling his wife. Mr. T. Burton Steward, who was among the company who visited the Tolhouse Hall on Saturday, said he remembered the trial of the above-named man and his execution. The Tolhouse Hall is so called from the ancient tax on fish having been collected there. This relic was bequeathed to the town by Stephen de Stalham in 1362. This was where the Corporation received their tolls. An external staircase, leading to an Early English doorway, presents a quaint feature in architecture that at once commands attention.

An adjournment was then made to the Star Hotel for lunch, and at three o'clock the members of the Association proceeded in three tram cars to Gorleston, to inspect the church of St. Andrew. There they were met by the Rev. G. W. Tomkins, the vicar, and Mr. Bately, one of the churchwardens, the latter of whom read an interesting paper on the church. An old couplet which says—

“Gorleston was Gorleston ere Yarmouth began,
And will be Gorleston when Yarmouth be gone,”

has some truth in it; for Yarmouth stands on a sand bank deposited by the sea, which once beat against the high land on which Gorleston stands. We hope, for the sake of the people of Yarmouth, that the prediction in the latter part of the couplet will never come true. Relics of Roman times have been found here. The Augustine monks had a priory here. The patronage of the church has been in private hands since the reign of Henry VIII. William Dowsing in 1643-4 visited the church and defaced the font, destroyed many “superstitious and Popish pictures”, and broke the figures of angels and cherubims. It is a large ancient edifice, consisting of chancel, nave, and two aisles, one of which is larger than the nave, in nine bays, and has a fine square tower 90 feet high. It contains a fine brass of a knight of the Bacon family, belonging, as Dr. Raven explained, to the time when the chain armour gave way to the chain and plate armour, about 1313 or 1315, and was in memory of the Bacons. The font is a very fine and ancient one, and had been covered with plaster until 1842, when in cleaning it it was found to have been richly painted and gilded with some very fine sculpture work. This, however, had been mostly destroyed, and the chisel marks are plainly seen where the work of destruction went on of cutting away all the beautiful figures which adorned this font, and rendering them perfectly unintelligible. Until recent years the church was in a very dilapidated condition, but a few years ago a restoration committee was formed, at the head of whom is E. P. Youell, Esq., and so successful have they been in their efforts that the church has been almost entirely restored, and is now a very comfort-

able and commodious building. Gorleston Church is interesting for its tower, with an internal buttress projecting into the south aisle. On the floor of the tower is the fragment of an altar stone duly incised with its five small crosses. Mural paintings abound here. There are representations of St. Christopher, the Holy Trinity, and three skeletons confronting three living beings—a subject occasionally but rarely seen in “books of hours” as an illumination for the burial services. The tower contains an excellent peal of bells, the gift of Mrs. Roberts.

It had been intended to visit the remains of the priory, but this was abandoned, and the party on leaving the church walked to Ferryside House, the residence of the Mayor of Yarmouth (E. H. H. Combe, Esq.), where they were hospitably entertained. The band of the Norfolk Militia was on the lawn, and performed a selection of music during the afternoon. After a pleasant stay of some hours, the party returned to their headquarters at Yarmouth.

At the closing meeting in the old Town Hall, which has since been pulled down, Mr. W. De Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, gave a descriptive account of the ancient charters and seals of the Corporation, which were exhibited in the Hall. Several of these are very beautiful specimens of artistic work. In many places, Mr. Birch said, the charters he had seen were more or less imperfect; Yarmouth was almost the only place possessed of an almost perfect series of municipal charters. Beginning with that granted by King John, they came down in almost unbroken succession until the present century. Unfortunately the early charters were somewhat mutilated. That of King John had been repaired by an unskilful hand, and more harm done than good. He recommended the corporation most strongly to lose no time in having the charter repaired in a proper manner by a person able to do the work. The same remark applied also to the charter granted by Edward I. Both should be glazed in a more scientific way than they at present appeared to be, and that done they would last as long as Yarmouth itself. On the charter of Richard II is a contemporary portrait of the king. The seal attached is a very fine specimen of that kind of work, which was at its best in the fourteenth century. A charter of Queen Mary also shows the custom of placing the portrait of the sovereign at the head of the document. One has a portrait of Queen Elizabeth; and a charter of James I not only has the king's portrait, but also an illuminated border in the Flemish style, with roses, violets, and other flowers. Those who prepared the charter of James II added the monarch's portrait, and no expense seems to have been spared to make the whole work as beautiful as possible. To Edward I's charter is attached an impression of a very fine seal. The seals of this reign were, perhaps, the work of Italian artists, many of whom were in England at that time. They show a

wonderful development of the art. The seal represents the king upon his horse, riding in full armour, towards the right hand. It also bears a shield of arms; and in another part is the King seated in majesty upon his throne. This was thought so beautiful that when Edward II came to the throne, he, instead of having a new seal, adopted his father's, simply inserting a castle, to show his marriage with Eleanor of Castile. Edward III for a time used the same seal, inserting only a lion above the castle. The charter of John is a very fine example of the paleography of the period. It was not merely written by a clerk, but by some person who knew the art of ornamental writing, possibly some one connected with a monastic order. With regard to the corporation rolls it was noticed that great care was taken. If other municipalities were equally careful of their documents less would be heard of regret, which is almost universal, because corporations as a rule do not look to those things as they ought to do. These manuscripts are for all time, and year by year become more valuable. Mr. Birch then referred to a recent sale of the archives of the corporation of Weymouth,¹ and concluded by suggesting that the decorative needlework on the label of the charter of John was done by a lady of the court. That was the more interesting because it gave the earliest idea of the knowledge of the weaver's art in England. The destructive consequence of leaving documents shut up in air-tight compartments for many years without ventilation or a periodical examination was pointed out. A paper on the "History of Seals" was then read by Mr. Birch.

The Mayor thanked Mr. Birch for his paper and suggestions, pro-

¹ "At Weymouth, on Friday, a large number of valuable documents, being archives of the borough for above five hundred years, were sold by public auction. They had originally belonged to the Corporation; but by some means had got into the possession of the late Mr. Sherren, and had since been known as 'The Sherren Papers.' Mr. Sherren's successor (bearing his name) offered them for sale, after refusing to transfer them to the Town Council for £100. The auctioneer explained that the late Mr. Sherren bought the papers, with other matters, in 'a barbarous state of mutilation', as reported by the Record Committee forty years ago. Mr. Pelly Hooper, solicitor, attended on behalf of the Corporation, and in their name protested against the sale; the documents being, as he said, the property of the Corporation. The auctioneer, Mr. Mill-edge, denied this, and said the papers were a valuable collection extending over five hundred years. He had received notice from the Town Clerk that the Council would proceed against him for any loss sustained by the sale. Mr. T. B. Groves, a member of the Council, said he had received a letter from Mr. H. Edwards, M.P. for Weymouth, stating that Mr. Sherren had no legal right to sell the papers; and that opinion was backed up by Mr. Riley of the Record Office, who stated that public documents could not be held by private hands, no matter how long they had been acquired. Mr. Grove said that only the previous day he had read of some tons of Government House papers being sold at about five shillings a ton. Mr. Alderman Thomas said that 'The Sherren Papers' were brought before the public by Dr. Black of the British Archaeological Association, upon their visit to the town. As no one bid above £300 (the reserve price for the papers), the sale fell through."—*The Standard*, August 1, 1879.

missing to act upon them, by ascertaining who are the persons best able to repair the decayed charters. He was sure the Yarmouth corporation would never part with its charters, and though sometimes called stingy because they would not grant permission to examine them, the value of those possessions was understood, and it was deemed best that there should not be the risk of damage at the hands of too inquisitive strangers. At one time several charters and interesting documents relating to the corporation were missed, having been stolen. Those, however, were very soon afterwards recovered. The corporation had the interest of the town at heart, and so long as those composing it lived a strict eye would be kept upon their charters, and he trusted they would ever be preserved under the care of their rightful owners.

Mr. Picton, F.S.A., asked whether the Corporation was possessed of a charter of Henry I, and also whether Mr. Birch had seen many granted by that king.

Mr. Lambert, F.S.A., wished to know the position of Yarmouth with regard to the authority of the bailiffs of the Cinque Ports. He believed the borough was not entirely free until the reign of Anne.

Mr. Charles Teniswood answered that by the charter of John, Yarmouth was made quite free. It was considered a fact worth mentioning that that charter was in use at the present time. Very recently the Corporation maintained their authority by its support. With reference to Henry I, he issued letters patent, not a charter, granting the inhabitants of Yarmouth leave to choose a provost.

Mr. Birch, in answer to Mr. Picton, said there were very few original documents of Henry I now extant.

Mr. Loftus Brock announced the discovery of a perfect Saxon church at Escombe, near Durham. It has been used as a cottage, and was recognised by the Rev. Dr. Hooppell. The report of this discovery has already appeared in the *Journal*.

This concluded the archæological part of the Congress, so far as Yarmouth was concerned. Much, however, had yet to be done in acknowledging the services and generosity of those who had acted officially or as entertainers, and this occupied some considerable time.

Mr. Picton proposed thanks to Mr. Morgan, Vice-President and Treasurer, and to Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., the Hon. Congress Secretary, their "guide, philosopher, and friend". Mr. Picton commented upon the great success which had attended the Congress during the week.

Both gentlemen responded, and Mr. Wright, in addition, moved a vote of thanks to the Local Committee, and to Mr. E. W. Worlledge, M.A., the Honorary Local Secretary, whose arrangements had been admirable, and to him much gratitude was felt to be due.

Mr. J. Reynolds, of Bristol, seconded the proposal, with equally complimentary remarks.

Mr. Worlledge, speaking as the representative of the Local Committee and Hon. Secretary, felt extremely flattered by the very complimentary and cordial manner in which thanks had been expressed and tendered. To him the approval of the arrangements was a source of much gratification, and he hoped the success which had attended the Congress had been in some degree promoted by those arrangements. The week had been a pleasant one to all, and expectations must have been realised. He would always look back with pleasure and pride to the thirty-sixth Congress of the British Archæological Association.

Mr. Sayer proposed thanks to the readers of papers, and singled out for special mention Dr. Raven and Mr. Brock, who had proved of the greatest assistance in the peregrinations, and Archdeacon Nevill, for his paper relative to St. Nicholas Church.

Dr. Raven briefly replied on behalf of himself and the Archdeacon.

Mr. Brock, having made response, voted thanks to the clergymen who had opened their churches to the Association for the purposes of study and research.

On a proposition by Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., thanks were voted to the ladies and gentlemen who had so kindly entertained the members of the Association during the Congress. In connection with this were mentioned the Mayor, Lord Waveney, Col. Barne, M.P., Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Buxton, and others.

The proceedings were then brought to a close by the Mayor gracefully acknowledging the last speaker's remarks, hoping that all connected with the week's doings would carry away many pleasant reminiscences of the thirty-sixth Annual Congress of the British Archæological Association at the ancient borough town of Great Yarmouth, and wishing the party an equally agreeable visit for the next few days at Norwich.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1880.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "Sussex Archæological Collections", vol. xxx.

To Henry Phillips, Junr., of Philadelphia, for his pamphlet on the "Cosmographia Universalis" of Sebastian Munster, 1559.

To Edward S. Morse for his pamphlet on "Dolmens in Japan." New York, 1880.

To Signor Raffaele Dura, of Rome, for his "Catalogue de la Collection Possenti de Fabriano." Rome, 1880.

To George Buckler, Esq., for his work, "Colchester Castle : a Roman Building." 8vo. Colchester, 1876.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, reported the discovery of important Roman remains at Winchester, which will be described hereafter by Dr. Earle.

Mr. H. Prigg announced the discovery, by excavation, that the the Mote or Moot Hill, Bury St. Edmund's, was in fact a large British barrow.

Mr. Brock stated that he had received a communication from the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle in reply to the resolution of the Association printed above, at p. 119, to the effect that the old facing of the walls of the Fraternity would not be disturbed.

Mr. John Brent, F.S.A., called attention to several antiquarian remains which he produced for exhibition. A little bronze object very like a miniature coffee-pot, recently found in an Anglo-Saxon grave with other things. It had a spherical, movable lid, and round the waist were two or three bronze loops for suspension. An object also produced was found with it, which might have been the stem and ring by which it was suspended. To what use it could be applied seemed a matter of conjecture. The material was very thin. Douglas, in the *Nenia*, Plate 18, gives an example of a small brass box, which he says contained thread, and probably was a lady's workbox. This box had

a flat lid and an object attached to it like a hinge; but the relic produced by Mr. Brent seemed too minute to hold the ordinary contents of a lady's workbox. In the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, plate 10, figs. 8, 9, 10, examples of three very similar (to each other) objects are given, which were of iron, and which had a tube running down them. These Bryan Faussett considered might be whistles. Such a use could not possibly apply to the example on the table. With it, or in an adjoining grave, were found two pyramidal bronze objects ornamented with garnets at the apices. They were very small, and resembled two similar relics found in grave No. 211, at Lawe, in 1864, by Mr. Brent. They were probably ornaments connected with the sword or sword-knot. They were engraved on the sides with a slight ornament. Also a bronze armilla and a bronze key. All the above were found in and on two Anglo-Saxon graves very recently opened in East Kent. A glass globular object like a monster bead, but not perforated, was also exhibited. It had a peculiar ornament of white, raised lines flowing from the top, half way down. It might be old Venetian, and was found in London.

Mr. Brent also produced a manuscript roll of skins, two or three being tacked together. They are from Abyssinia, procured at Dover from a soldier returning with the troops from the expedition against King Theodore. The MS. consisted of prayers to the Divine Persons or to certain saints, St. Michael and St. Abbo being special favourites in Abyssinia. The people also offered up prayers to evil spirits, for their belief was a very debased Christianity. The MS. was ornamented with representations of saints or other persons. The character of the MS. appeared to be Ethiopic, although the Galla language, in the Amharic character, is used for literary subjects in this country. Mr. Brent also exhibited a portion of a gold armilla (Celtic) found in the neighbourhood of Canterbury.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a fragmentary piece of a tessellated pavement found on the site of the King's Arms Yard, Southwark, with pottery, a horn, drilled oyster-shells, a coin of Domitian, and a Samian fragment with stamp, [SECVNDVS F.]

Mr. Brock exhibited four bronze statuettes of the Roman style, lately purchased in London. They consisted of a Hercules, Venus, and two Mercuries, of fine workmanship, but of conventional art.

Mr. J. W. Previt  exhibited a string of jade beads, with an amber pipe-mount inlaid with gold, from an Oriental pipe; and a gilded jade cylinder, cut with facets.

Mr. W. H. Cope made some remarks upon the interest of this exhibition as shewing the variety of purpose to which jade in later days has been successfully applied.

Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited a framed copper plate painted

with an oil picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary and infant Saviour, attended by St. Joseph; and in the background, the Almighty Father in the heavens; of Flemish art; signed on the back with "Abel Francks, 1645, C.K.S."; and a crucifix, of which the cross was in mahogany, and the figure of the Saviour in oak-wood, well carved, and embellished with white finishing. The figure shewed signs of repair and restoration.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited a small collection of forged antiquities, consisting of a large thumb-ring, statuettes, two daggers, and a distal vase, with a rich green oxide. These were received with admiration for the misguided ingenuity of the fabricator, and as useful specimens of what to avoid placing on the shelves of antiquarian museums.

The Chairman called attention to a sketch of an iconic vessel he had received from Dr. Kendrick, and offered the following remarks thereon: "It will be remembered that on two or three occasions I have brought to notice various vessels representing equestrian knights and different animals, and Dr. Kendrick's kindness now enables me to add one more to those already submitted.¹ In the present instance we have a tauriform vessel which was purchased in Spain during the summer of 1878. It is of terra-cotta, beautifully modelled, and of a rich ochre and brown colour, highly glazed, and measures 11 inches in length and 7 inches in height, exclusive of the oblong base of three steps on which the figure stands. Round the neck of the bull is a broad collar decorated with bosses, and from which depends in front a bell-shaped object. The body is completely hollow; and at the back of the head, between the spreading horns, is a round orifice, through which the vessel can be filled; and just behind the left fore-leg is a pipe by which the fluid could flow off, and which was in all probability once furnished with a stop-cock, in like manner to the brazen, lion-formed manille or ewer given in our *Journal*, xxvii, p. 258. This curious Spanish vessel appears to be of modern fabric; but it preserves and carries down to us an ancient conceit which may be traced back to the era of the Tyrrheno-Phœnician potters, and is found to have existed for ages wherever the fictile arts were practised."

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper entitled "Certain Grants of Land in Mercia", in reference to a charter of Uhtred of Mercia, exhibited by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, before the Association on Dec. 5, 1877. This paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., read a paper by Dr. Douglas-Lithgow, F.R.S.L., on the orthography of Shakespere's name. This paper evoked a lively discussion, on the termination of which the meeting broke up at an advanced hour.

¹ See *Journal*, xiii, p. 130; xiv, p. 91; xxvi, p. 110; xxx, p. 205.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1880.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were duly returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library :

To *C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A.*, for "*Collectanea Antiqua*", vol. vii, Part III. 1880. (Two copies.)

To the Society, for "*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*", vol. viii, Part II. Second Series.

" " for "*Archæologia Cambrensis*", Fourth Series, No. 41. January 1880.

" " for "*Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire*", Part XXVI, April 1880.

" " for "*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*", vol. xii, Part II, 1878, 4to. ; and vol. xiii, 1879, 4to.

" " for "*Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society*." 1880.

To *Signor Raffaele Dura*, for "*Catalogo della Collezione Tafuri di Castellaneta: Monete Antiche Italiane Medievali, Greche e Romane*", 1880 ; "*Catalogo del Museo Bartolomeo Borghesi: Medaglie Artistiche*", 1880 ; and "*Catalogo di Monete de' Cavallieri di Malta*", Roma, 1880.

Mr. J. T. Irvine reported some further interesting discoveries at Bangor Cathedral during the progress of the works of restoration. These consist of a large series of floor tiles of varying sizes, some being 4 ins. square, others $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins., and others again 7 ins. square. These appear to have belonged to different pavements from the side chapels. They are of unusual designs, consisting of human heads, double-headed eagles, rabbits, fleurs-de-lys, and foliage. These are of additional interest, since flooring tiles are rare in Wales. Photographs of the various patterns were exhibited.

Mrs. Moore Hyde produced various numbers of the *Gloucester Journal* of 1775, in illustration of the rapid progress of journalism since that time. The papers consist of only four small pages of the usual size adopted at this period. Mrs. Hyde also exhibited several autograph letters written by the poet Cowper, Boswell, and Lindley Murray.

Mr. J. Henry, B.A., head master of Her Majesty's Dockyard School, Chatham, reported the discovery of a Roman villa at Brading, Isle of Wight. The site is Morton Farm, about half a mile from the railway station, on the high road from Sandown to Brading, and about midway between the two places. The farm is in the occupation, as life

owner, of Mr. Munns, and the discovery was made accidentally a few days ago by Mr. Munns, who, while occupied in making a sheep fold, found that the crowbar which he was using sank into a hollow space. His curiosity being aroused an excavation was made, and the walling of a Roman villa was exposed. A tessellated pavement has been uncovered, which is quite perfect and nearly level. It appears that for many years past hewn stones have been occasionally unearthed on various parts of the farm. Mr. Henry, as trustee and executor, has courteously given leave for any members of the Association to inspect the remains.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., exhibited a large collection of fragments of Roman earthenware, mostly from Barge Yard, Mansion House, a site which has produced so large a number of similar remains. Others from Cheapside were also shown, and examples of various wares of diverse character, but all of Roman date, were placed side by side. Several of these from the former site bore marks of burning, probably in some great fire at this remote period. One of the potters' marks, in a cursive Roman hand, had been taken for Hebrew. This has probably been the case with some few other inscriptions of similar nature, since it has been recorded that Hebrew marks have been found. The following potters' marks were found on Samian ware from the two localities named :—

COCVR
DAGOMARVS F[ECIT], two examples
DOMETOR
MEDETI M[ANV]
NDERG...LVS F[ECIT]
NDERC...SVS F[ECIT]

OF[FICINA] CRESTIO
OF. MACCA . . MA.
OF. MODESTI
OF. PONTI
OF. SEVERI
SIICVNDI M.

Mr. R. Blair reported the discovery of a Roman altar at South Shields. "A week or two ago a small altar, 10 ins. by 5½ ins., was discovered on the site of the castrum here, but unfortunately it is without an inscription. On Friday last a piece of bronze, which apparently formed the handle of some small vessel, was exhumed. On it is the inscription VTERE FELIX. The letters, which are incised, seem to have been filled with enamel, portions of which yet remain. Mr. Watkin of Liverpool informs me that we have four other examples of the same inscription—viz., 1, on a gem for a ring; 2, on a large lanx or dish; 3, on a bone tessera in a sarcophagus; 4, in the middle of an inscription on a walling stone."

Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A., exhibited a few rare Etruscan figures. A remarkably attenuated warrior, with moon-shaped head attire, two recumbent figures of great elegance, and a bronze fibula of type similar to many found in England. Mr. Cuming considered this of later Latin date.

Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., exhibited an Egyptian food vessel of black basalt from a cemetery at Gourna, a suburb of Thebes; an ancient cornelian from a ring, and another of similar description. These articles were attentively observed by the members, the more so on account of the carvings on each, which were modern forgeries. The first bore an obscure hieroglyphic, the second a cartouche, and the third a head of Claudius Gothicus.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited—1. An octagonal bottle of dark blue glass, enamelled in colour, with flowers and birds, similar to one in the collection of Spanish glass in the South Kensington Museum. This tint in Spanish glass is both pleasing and rare. 2. Also a tea bucket of old Nankin porcelain, with groups of figures in soft dark blue, perfect with the exception of the loose lid; exhumed lately from Petticoat Lane, inhumed probably when Petticoat Lane was a more fashionable locality than at present. 3. A child's drinking mug, of Flanders ware, ornamented with characteristic flowers and colour. 4. A large ink holder of finely iridescent Venetian glass. Many ink holders in various forms and materials have from time to time been found in London, ranging from the leathern or horn receptacle of Chaucer's time to the stone and glass ware of Elizabeth's and later reigns. This present is made with a lip, to drop into an inkstand. 5. A triangular bladed page's sword, the faces of the blade being grooved, the metal haft of brass gilded, the wooden haft has disappeared, leaving the bronze wire wherewith it was girded in its place. The sword is of about A.D. 1700, and may belong to court or city state. It was found in Cheapside. 6. Two interesting relics of the seventeenth century, illustrative of popular habit and locality, two pewter ale or wine measures or pots, a large pint, and a half pint hooped and inscribed; the larger one reads, "Tim' Buck at ye fountain in Portingall Street, against ye playhouse." The smaller, "Rich. Yeo, at ye Bleu Lettice, Ship Yard, without Temple Barr." Both were found *in loco* "against ye playhouse", i.e., the old Lincoln's Inn Theatre, originally Lisle's Tennis Court in Ben Jonson's time, and wherein, when residing and working in the inn, Ben Jonson may have played. Davenant converted the tennis court into a theatre, and opened it in the spring of 1662. Killegrew, with the king's company from Drury Lane, afterwards used it, then Congreve, Betterton, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Bracegirdle. Cibber says of it, "It is but small and poorly fitted within". Rich in 1714 took it down and rebuilt it from the ground. It was finally removed in 1848. Rich here played harlequin for the first time in England. Here also was produced the celebrated "Beggar's Opera", so successful that of it was said, "It made Gay rich, and Rich gay." "Ye Fountain next ye playhouse" must have been the resort of the players, and whose illustrious lips may not have touched this rim? I wish we could have

given an earlier date, and reaching Ben Jonson's time, have connected our pewter with the flow of wit from the fountain of the poet's muse. Of the "Bleu Lettice" we know nothing but as forming one of the group of numerous public houses or inns clustering in and around Ship Yard, without Temple Bar. The site must have been near or opposite Child's new bank, and a token exists of "Ye Ship without Temple Barr". In the group of inns were the "Ship", the "Drake", "Palsgrave's Head", the "Bleu Lettice", etc. In an inn in Ship Yard Sir Christopher Hatton received a large grant of lands in Yorkshire and Dorsetshire. Walpole writes of Faithorne selling here Italian, Dutch, and English prints, and in Wilkinson's *London Illustrated* is an engraving of an old building, supposed to have been the residence of Elias Ashmole, the antiquary.

An interesting discussion arose on this exhibition, led by Mr. Lambert, who said he had been in the old theatre in Portingall Street when occupied as a warehouse by Messrs. Copeland. The hoops on the exterior of the pewters he thought might have analogy with the pegged tankard, or indicate the use of these vessels as measures. If measures, then of wine, not of ale, the modicum of ale would be too small. The vessels are unstamped, but bear on the handles the initials of the proprietors.

The Chairman exhibited for the Rev. S. M. Mayhew the handle of a knife dagger of bronze, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, representing in a group of three figures a soldier armed with a dagger, and an infant defended by its mother, in fact the massacre of Bethlehem. The Chairman said it could scarcely be later than the fifteenth century, and possessed a high interest, directing attention to the peculiarity of represented clothing, and the helmet on the head of the soldier. Pewterers' marks of the sixteenth and even of the fifteenth century may be met with. They were engrossed probably by the authority of the Pewterer's Company, and the subject deserves more attention than it has received. He stated that one corner of the old playhouse wall was cut off at an angle, and referred to the old legend prevalent during the existence of the theatre. Alleyn had observed the author of evil during one of the performances. On being chased the latter escaped through a hole, the closing of which led to the novel arrangement of rebuilding the corner at an angle. The legend concluded by the assertion that Alleyn was so impressed by the event that he founded Dulwich College immediately after. Mr. Lambert pointed out that each of the pewter measures was marked externally by projecting ribs, which seemed to suggest the division of the contents of the vessel into three portions.

The Chairman then read a paper on "Work Bags", which he illustrated with the exhibition of several examples. The paper will be given hereafter.

A paper was then read on "Roman Inscribed Stones, now at Rookwood, near Llandaff, the property of Colonel Hill," by the Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, M.A., V.P., F.S.A. It will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

As the meeting was closing Mr. Lambert reported the impending demolition of the well known old building opposite the south side of old Lambeth Church. It is popularly called "Bunyan's Meeting House", and dates from the commencement of the seventeenth century, similar to the other buildings near it, having heavy projecting eaves and a high tiled roof. It has often been illustrated.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1880.

H. S. CUMING, V.P., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

Bedell, Rev. A. J., Burlington House, Putney
Stock, Elliot, Fern Lodge, Millfield Lane, Highgate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following additions to the library, now in course of arrangement at 19 Montague Place :

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society." Vol. i, three Parts ; ii, two Parts ; iii, two Parts ; iv, two Parts.

" " for "Bulletin of the Essex Institute", vol. x, 1878, Parts 1-12. Salem.

" " for "Essex Institute Historical Collections", vol. xv, 1878. Parts 1-4. Salem.

" " for the "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxvii, No. 145. 1880.

The announcement of the forthcoming Congress at Devizes was made by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.* Mr. Brock also reported that on selection of a suitable spot at Caistor, near Peterborough, the Marquess of Bristol had consented to allow excavations to be commenced by the Association.

Mr. Brock also read extracts from letters written by Captain Thorp, of St. Wilfrid's, Brading, Isle of Wight, descriptive of the progress of excavation and discovery at that place, as follows :

"Upwards of a year ago, on a spot in Brading parish, I made discovery of the existence of Roman pavement about 2 or 3 feet from the surface ; but owing to farming operations I could not commence excavations, and it is only about a fortnight since that the land was at

liberty. The property belongs to Mrs. Munns of Morton Farm, and her sons work it, one of whom, with myself, have brought to light what promises to be a Roman villa of large extent.

"I have only uncovered the pavements of two rooms at present, being anxious to wait until I could have enclosed the piece of ground, and roofed over the best tessellated pavement at present laid bare. This is just completed, and I am now proceeding with further explorations.

"Can you suggest any plan for preventing worms casting up soil, and loosening the pavement? which I am now cleaning with a small brush first, to remove the dirt, preparatory to a wash with soft soap and water. The representations now exposed to view are of interest, consisting of animals, a small house with ladder leading to the door, a creature with a cock's head and red wattle, having a man's body wearing a tunic. In the centre of this pavement I discovered, on the 13th instant, a circle containing a human head and neck, life size, but at present of uncertain sex. In one corner is a similar medallion, both having what appears to be a staff resting on the right breast, with a cross at the top. Two other corners, I fear, are too much damaged to decipher, but one I have some hope of. When the cleaning is finished I will send a sketch of the pavement."

Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited an imperial iconic bust typified as Hercules, in hard agate-like stone, on a plinth, with movable pin. It was conjectured to be an almost contemporary portrait of Heliogabalus; but Mr. Adams was unwilling to ascribe it to any personage until he had compared the profile features with the named busts and coins in the British Museum. Mr. Adams also exhibited a jug of the class known as *Flandres gris*, with G. R. on a plaque.

Mr. Brock placed upon the table a piece of similar character.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited two inscribed leaden plates recently purchased by the Rev. J. H. Gregory at Malta, where they were found, about four years ago, in the Catacombs of the Citta Vecchia. These rare and interesting relics, of which a reduced illustration is annexed, appear to be made of lead melted and poured on a rough stone; the surface smoothed, roughly squared, and inscribed partly by the use of stamps, partly by the gouge or buril, which has left a burr in the sunken surfaces. The character of the palæography, the short-barred K, the double stop, and general appearance, suggest the date of the Republic, or perhaps B.C. 150-200. The inscription of the first plate reads as follows:

D[IS] : MAN[IBVS] :
 KALPVRNIAE :
 T[ITI] : L[IBERTAE] : HOMEAE :
 M[ARCVS] : KALPVRNIVS :

M[ARCI] : L[IBERTVS] : PARIS : AMAT[ISSIMAE]
 CON[IVGI] : SVAE : SANCT
 ISS[IMAE] : CVM : QVA : VIX[IT] :
 AN[NOS] : XXVI : SINE : V[LLA]
 OFFEN[SIONE] : ET : SIBI :

"To the gods, the Manes [sacred]. To Kalpurnia Homea, the freed-woman of Titus, Marcus Kalpurnius Paris, the freedman of Titus, [erected this] to his dearest and chastest¹ consort, with whom he lived for twenty-six years without any vexation, and for himself." The names of Homea and Paris are unusual, the first being probably unique.² The four holes by which this plate has been attached by nails or plugs to a cist or receptacle for the ashes of the dead are clearly shewn. The dimensions of the tablet are $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

"The second Plate contains the following legend :

D[IS] . M[ANIBVS] . S[ACRVM]
 IVNIO . PRIMOGENIO .
 QVI . VIX[IT] . AN[NOS] . XXXV
 IVNIA . N[OMINE] . PALLAS . F[ECIT] .
 CONIVGI . KARISSIMO
 CVM . QVO . V[IXIT] . AN[NOS] . XX .
 DVLCITER . SINE . Q[VERELA] .

"To the gods, the Manes, sacred. To Junius Primogenius, who lived thirty-five years, Junia, called Pallas, erected [this] to her dearest consort, with whom she lived for twenty years sweetly without a complaint."

The name of Primogenius or Primigenius appears to be well known ; that of Pallas is very rarely if ever found. The periods mentioned in this inscription are of interest as shewing the age at which the deceased was married. The dimensions of this tablet are $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

Major Stratton Bates forwarded the following note in regard to the subject of New Zealand jade :—"In old maps the middle island of New Zealand is always named 'Tavai-poenammo', as reference to any old atlas will show. The name originated thus, when the great navigator, Captain Cook, asked the natives the name of the island they said, 'It is Te Wahi Pounamu' or 'the place of the greenstone', all the greenstone in New Zealand coming from that island."

Mr. Brock exhibited a manuscript paper relating to works done at Carlisle Castle in the sixteenth century. Mr. Birch read the document as follows :—

"A Certyfycate of the rewenus decayes within the Cyttye and Castle of Carlisle, neadfull to be repaired, vewed and surveyed by us, Henry Lord Scrope,³ L[ord] Warden of the west marches of

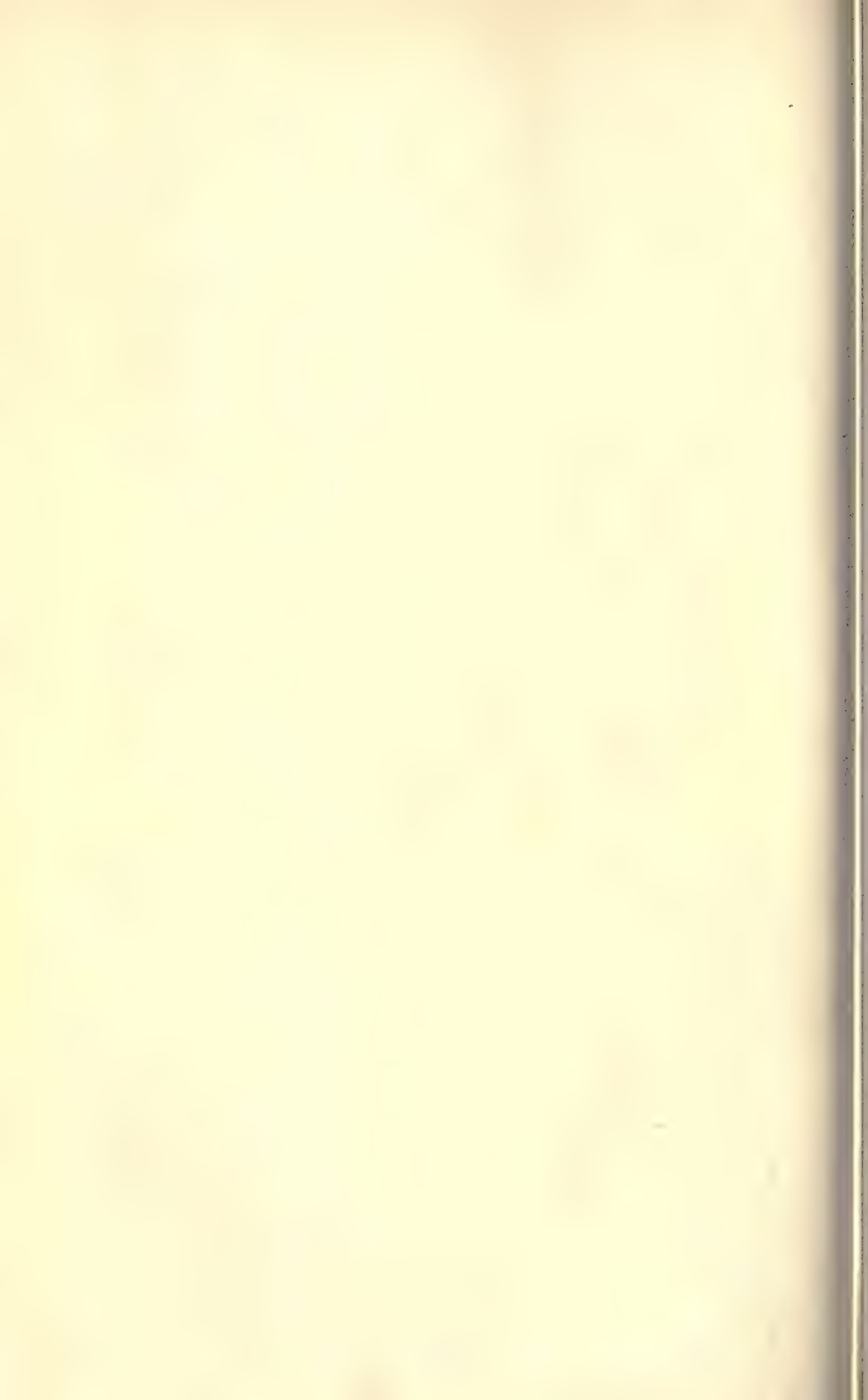
¹ *Sanctissimae*. Compare *sanctissima conjux* in Virgil, *Æn.*, xi, 158 ; *sanctæ virgines*, Horat., Od. I, ii, 27.

² See Ritschel's great work on epigraphy.

³ Henry le Scrope, ninth Baron Scrope of Bolton, 1555-92.

Q. T. I. O. N. I. A. T. E.
S. A. L. V. E. R. N. I. A. T. E.
H. O. M. E. T. E.
M. A. I. P. A. R. A. N. I. A. S.
T. A. R. P. A. R. T. A. M. A. I.
C. O. N. V. A. E. S. A. N. C. I.
I. S. C. V. M. Q. V. A. V. A. G.
A. N. X. X. V. I. I. N. E. S.
O. F. F. E. A. T. E. S. I. E.

D. M. S.
I. N. I. O. P. R. I. M. O. G. E. N. I. O.
Q. V. E. V. A. N. X. X. V.
I. N. I. A. M. E. A. L. A. S. F.
C. O. N. I. U. G. I. A. R. I. S. S. I. M. O.
C. V. M. Q. V. O. V. E. A. N. X. X.
D. V. L. E. T. E. R. S. I. N. E. Q.



Englaund towards Scotlaund and Edward Braddyll Esquir the Quenes majesties Receiuour of Cumber, with an estymat of Every thing sett down by the openyon of skylfull artyfyers. According to your honorable lettres of the xiiijth of Marche instant.

“ffirst the twoo paire of woodyn’ gaites, th’one paire ffor Rycardgait, and th’other paire ffor Calldowgait with yron’ and oother necessaryes, belonging the same, the woorkmanship whereof wyll amount to lxxli. xs.
Also the west part of the walls of the Cyttye of Carlisle in sundrye plaices ar sore decayed, and needfulle to be repaired, conteinyth in length aboue viij^c [800] yerdes, the woorkmanship whareof with lyme and saund wyll amount to cxijli.
Also the Pypes of the chymneys in the new lodging in the Castle the woorkmanship whareof wyll amount to xxijli.
Also the Glasse wyndowes in the said new lodging ar needfull to be mayd and glaysned with glasse which wyll cost viijli.
Also the topp of the turne stayres within the said Castle ys needfull to be covered with lead which wyll cost with the woorkmanship thereof xli.

“Summa ccxxijli. xs.

“H. Scrop.
Edwarde Braddyll.”

Mr. Worthington G. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a series of Saxon spear heads dug up in a cellar at Hanwell, Middlesex, also from North London excavations a curiously constructed earthenware jar, with a flange at the base, cut in a V-shape, probably used as a bird’s nest bottle, to be built up in the face of a wall.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a modern water jug from Normandy, with 8-shaped lip, like the Roman prototype, and a teacup, resembling an Etruscan sepulchral vase. These two brown earthen vessels were of interest, as showing the survival of ancient forms among the fictilia of the present day.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew sent for exhibition the following objects:—

1. Roman *thuribulum* or censer of stout bronze plated with silver. It is vase-shaped, with narrow neck and expanded mouth, wrought in two halves, and from the perforations near the edges of the junction seem to have been held together and suspended by links. Its foot or base is broken off, the remaining portion of the vessel being $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. Exhumed in Tokenhouse Yard, where quantities of Roman remains have been found at different times. Ausonius, who flourished in the first half of the fourth century, speaks of a vase-shaped *thuribulum* in his *Idyl.*, xii, 105.
2. Hispano-Moorish ampulla-shaped jar, about 4 inches high, of reddish brown paste, covered with a rich mottled green plumbo-cupreous glaze, exhumed in Tokenhouse Yard.
3. Persian coffee service of richly chased and gilded brass, consisting of a round tray or salver, bearing an ornamental design resembling the

legend *Inshallah* (*please God*); a pot with perforated lid, 7½ inches high, and ten eggcup-shaped vessels, in which the cups of porcelain are placed. This elegant little service bears a strong resemblance to the coffee sets of Egypt, as may be seen by reference to Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, i, 188. 4. Eggcup-shaped vessel of black slate, to hold a silver coffee cup. It is ribbed down the sides, with pointed edge and low expanded foot. From Jerusalem. 5. Two casts in plaster, from a carved ivory plaque of fine German art of the seventeenth century. The carving represents a wooded scene, with a chateau in the distance. In the foreground are groups of figures. One man is busy dressing a calf, which is suspended by the hind legs to the branch of a tree. Near him is a female attending to a huge cauldron, which is seething above a fire. Then to the right are four men wearing broad-brimmed hats, top boots, with slouch tops, and with swords and carbines belted to their waists, who seem to be intent on a game of cards. Both these casts are beautifully coloured and varnished to imitate jasper of different hues.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a plan and drawings of Wolvesey Castle, Hants, sent by the Rev. Dr. Ridding of the College, Winchester, with the accompanying notices by the Rev. C. Collier, F.S.A., and himself:—

“Wolvesey Castle or palace was built by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, in 1138, but on the accession of Henry II it was dismantled as an adulterine castle, having been built without royal licence. Being afterwards restored, it was inhabited by the bishops of the see, but was reduced to its present state by Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary leader under Cromwell.¹ It will be seen by the plan that the building was an irregular parallelogram. On the north was an entrance, on each side of which are evidently the remains of guard rooms. The portion marked D would seem to have been a hall with a passage attached, and at the south-east corner, marked E on the plan, are the remains of a garderobe, connected with a remarkably strong tower, on the top of which is some fine Norman arch work. The walls have been traced from F to G, where there is a return towards the chapel, thus completing the circuit of the building. The most interesting features connected with Dr. Ridding's discoveries are, 1st, the tiled floor marked B on the plan. The character of the tiles would not mark a room of state, but rather of a kitchen or small court yard; and, 2nd, a singular mass of stone work in the north-east corner, within the exterior walls, but joined to them. From the marks of fire near it might be taken for a kind of oven. It appears to have been lined with bricks. The bricks composing the interior are arranged in a circular manner, and the base of the structure is approached by rough ashlar stones. Can it be the fireplace where were made or prepared

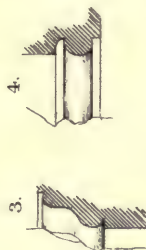
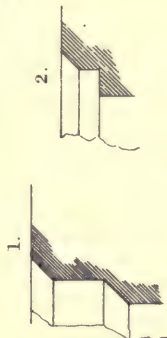
¹ At the Restoration, Bishop Morley, who came to the see, built a new palace close to the old castle; in fact, on part of the site. This house is now held by the Rev. Dr. Ridding as tenant of the Bishop of Winchester. Under Dr. Ridding's directions the excavations have been made.

Plan of Wolvesey Castle - Winchester.

Old portion..... Black.
Recently excavated foundations &c. hatched.

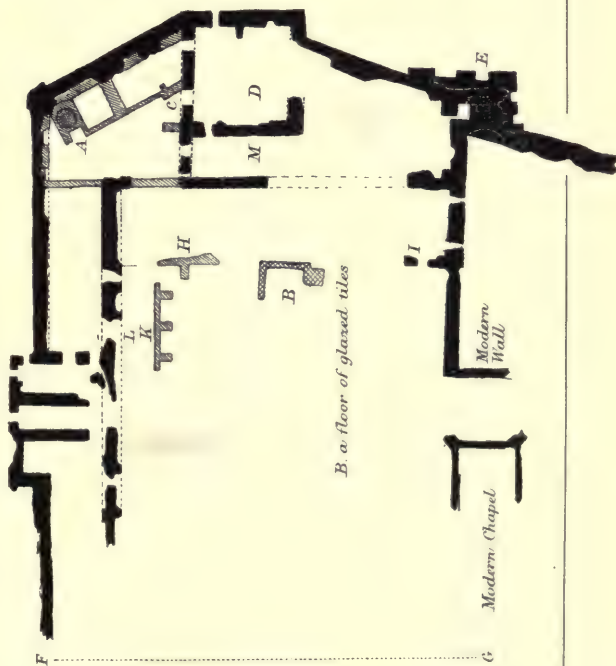


Carved Column built into the Wall at C.



1. 2. 3. Plinth of Walling recently excavated at K. H.

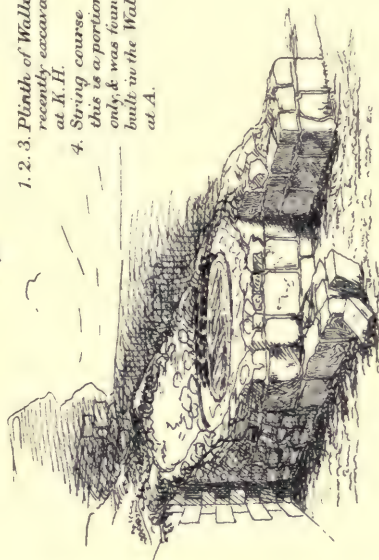
4. String course this is a portion only, & was found built in the Wall at A.



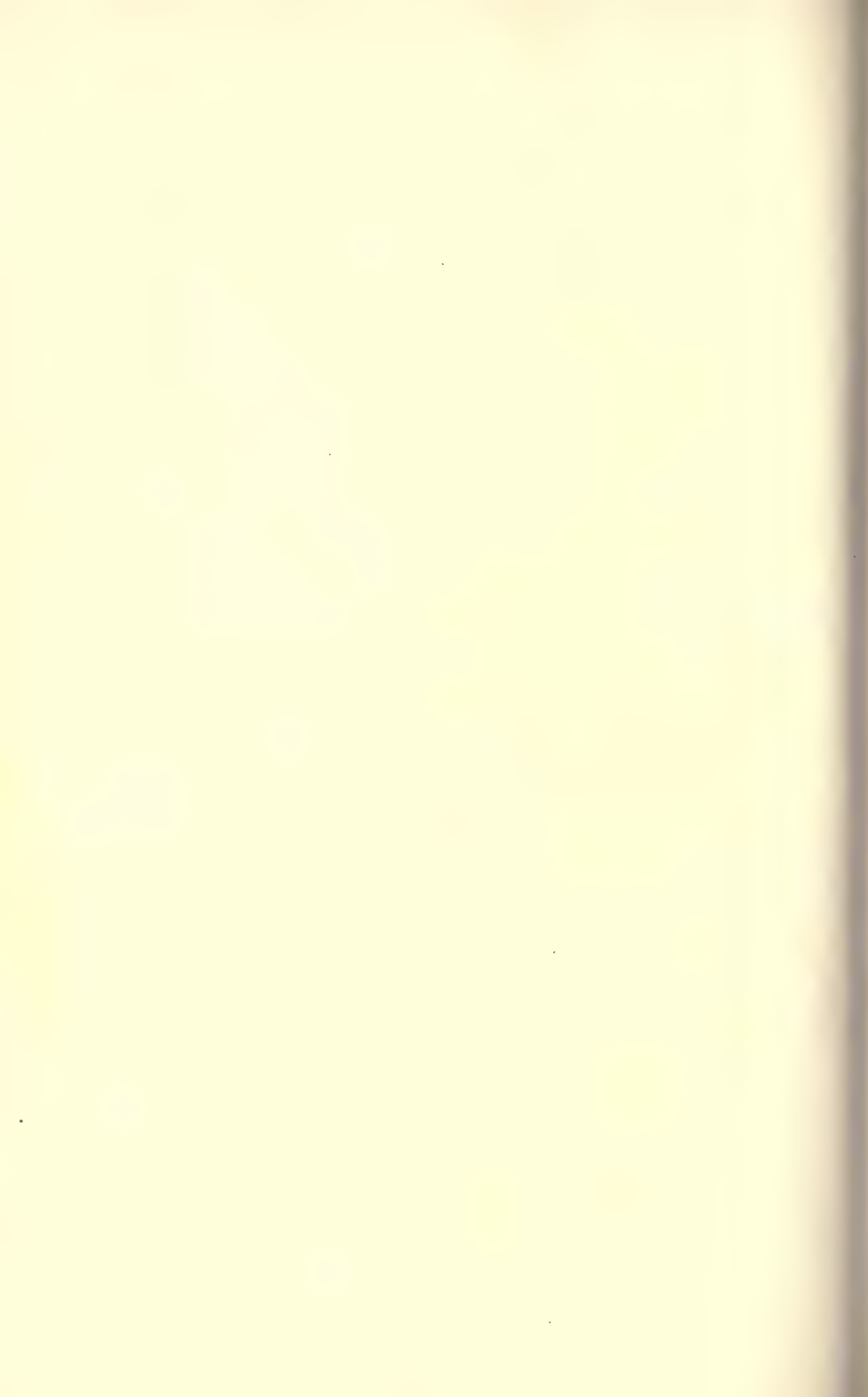
B. a floor of glazed tiles

Modern Chapel

Modern Wall



Marked A in the plan.



the so-called fireballs, which, says William of Malmesbury, were thrown from the castle into the city when it was besieged by the Empress Matilda, or was it a later oven, thrown up apparently somewhat hastily on an emergency? It is not a part of any old round tower, as it is too slightly built, and moreover portions of what seems to be Perpendicular work are found in the rude basement. The recent excavations would seem to show that a corridor or passage ran along two sides of the inner walls. The portion of basement marked H in the plan is in an exact line with the portion marked I, and the wall K is parallel with L. Purbeck marble columns are used as bonding courses in various parts of the walls, particularly at M. We give a specimen of one. Henry de Blois, when he built the castle, used as materials the remains of an earlier castle, erected in another part of the city. The martel de fer, which Mr. Cuming will describe, was found near the circular building marked A. There are yet many basements of walls forming rooms hid beneath the soil, particularly between F and G, where we feel sure explorations might be carried on with important results.

"The extreme length of the martel found in digging at Wolvesey is 20 inches, the length of head 6 inches, the stem $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches round; the pomel is a round knob. It was found close to a curious structure, unearthed in the extreme north-east corner of the castle wall, where a stump of a tree of fair size (knocked down some twenty years ago by the wall falling in) was standing on a nettled heap of seeming rubbish. The stones of the north-east structure are Kentish rag, while all the stones of the building generally are Caen or Quarr. The rest of the walling in that corner looks miscellaneous, and has scarcely anything left, in fact it looks like modern sheds built out of old material, having, however, a continuous tile damp course. The old picture in Buck's east view gives a high corner tower at the north-east angle. I have sent a plan of the buildings, marking what we have found new, and two drawings of the corner structure, showing the circular tiled top and the rough rag stone sides. The diameter of the toling is 7 feet, the length of the sides 16 feet, the front 10 feet wide. The tiles marked A are coloured yellow or green, and an inch and a half thick. The lowest layer of stones is 27 inches long and 12 inches high, the upper varies from 18 inches to 25 inches long, 14 inches deep in front, 18 inches behind."

During the reading of these notes a telegram was received by the Chairman announcing the discovery at Brading of several fine mosaic pavements on the site already alluded to at p. 236. One of these has a chequered pattern, another a Bacchic subject and a combat of gladiators. They will be described in detail on a future occasion.

The Chairman read a paper on the "Martel or War Hammer", with accompanying illustrations and specimens. This will be printed hereafter.

Dr. Earle of Winchester exhibited a very considerable collection of Roman, Saxon, and mediæval objects from recent excavations on the site of a supposed Saxon bridge on Roman arches in that city. These consisted, among other things, of locks, keys, rings, spade irons, pottery, coins, a marble *mortarium*, a caltrop, deer's horns, tiles, and a sepul-

chral stone, with an elegant cross fleury of early date. The description of the finding of these relics was frequently applauded, and the meeting broke up, after an animated discussion, with a vote of thanks to the exhibitor.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1880.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman read the following Report and Balance-Sheet, which were unanimously adopted :

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DEC. 1879.

The *rationale* of the past year's receipts and expenditure, which I have the honour of presenting to the Meeting, exhibits an unwelcome preponderance of disbursements over income, which may, perhaps, be in some measure attributable to the depression throughout the country, because the number of our subscribers has increased rather than fallen off. There is thus a larger amount of subscriptions due and carried over on 31st of December last than were owing on the same day in 1878; the benefit of which will, I trust, be felt hereafter when these arrears are paid up; and I would earnestly request our friends and subscribers to forward all contributions which may be overdue with as little delay as possible.

A satisfactory feature in the account is the increased amount realised by the sale of the *Journal* and publications, which have brought in £66:10:9, the largest sum realised in one year for a long time past. The Great Yarmouth Congress, too, has been productive, the net sum having yielded £96:18:6; and it is from the circumstance of these two items having contributed more than usual to our funds, while our expenditure has been at the same time diminished by economies, that our financial position is as good as it is.

The balance overdrawn from the previous year has not been much increased; still it is on the wrong side, and amounted on 31st December last to £65:19:6. By continued economies, and by getting in arrears, it is to be hoped this sum may be reduced before the year is closed. Much will depend upon the financial success of our Congress in Wiltshire, and the sale of our publications.

I trust you will assemble in numbers at the Congress, and that both the Members here present as well as those absent will contribute by every means in their power to make it a success, and thus assist the officers of the Association and the Local Members of the Committee of Management. Mr. G. R. Wright, our Congress Secretary, has already shadowed forth an excellent programme.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DEC. 1879.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions and donations	£220	10	0
Life-compositions and entrance-fees	61	19	0
	282	9	0
Sale of publications	66	10	9
Balance of receipts from the Great Yarmouth Congress	96	18	6
Balance due to the Treasurer	65	19	6
	£511	17	9

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Balance over-drawn from last year	56	0	1
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	246	1	3
Illustrations to the same	98	2	5
Miscellaneous printing and advertising	21	5	0
Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	18	10	4
Rent for 1879, and clerk's salary	58	3	0
Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	13	5	8
Insurance of books at 32 Sackville Street	0	10	0
	£511	17	9

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

THOMAS JAMES WOODHOUSE }
ROBT. EARLE WAY } *Auditors.*

April 29, 1880.

While the ballot was being taken, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, read the following

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1879.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their Report upon the state and progress of the Association during the past year, 1879.

1. By a comparison of the numbers of Associates in the current part of the *Journal*, dated March 31, 1880, with that of the corresponding period last year, a total of 449 names is shewn against a similar total of 447 names for 1878, and 473 for 1877. For the present, therefore, the numerical strength of the Association appears to be stationary. The names of several Associates who were considerably in arrear with their subscriptions have, however, been removed from the list, which, perhaps, now represents more accurately the financial strength of the Association. During the period covered by this Report, several gentlemen of eminence in the world of archæology and antiquarian literature have been elected; and we confidently trust we are right in assuming that the British Archæological Association will continue to increase its intellectual strength at the satisfactory rate of progress which of late years has been so evident.

2. Biographical notices of the Associates whom we have lost by death have, as far as is practicable, been prepared from materials submitted to the Editor for the purpose. These will be found in that part of the *Journal* which is set apart for that object.

3. During 1879, ninety-two complete works, or parts of works, have been presented to the rapidly increasing library of the Association. The urgent necessity of providing a suitable depository for this library was represented by the Secretaries to the Association at the Annual General Meeting last year, and they now have the pleasure of announcing that in pursuance of a resolution recently passed by the Council, the entire library, the surplus stock of *Journals* and *Collectanea*, and the miscellaneous antiquities in the possession of the Association, have been removed to 19 Montague Place, Russell Square, London, W.C., where they will be under better keeping than heretofore, and are now in course of arrangement. It is hoped that before long a catalogue of these books and relics may be prepared and printed in the *Journal* to the advantage of the members. The Secretaries also beg to suggest the appointment of a sub-committee to report upon the desirability of lending out the books to the Members, and to frame rules under which the issue may be conducted. The Secretaries here take advantage of the opportunity to ask all Members to return books and other property of the Association to Mr. Brock at the above address.

4. Forty-four of the most important papers read at the Congress held at Wisbech, or during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the past year. The Honorary Secretaries are glad that they are enabled to announce that there is no falling off in material for the proper continuation of the *Journal*, inasmuch as they have on hand several important contributions both to British and foreign archæology from the pens of Associates and others. These papers, so far as the very limited number of pages at the command of the Editor will permit, will find places in the forthcoming numbers of the *Journal*. And the Honorary Secretaries here wish to observe that a considerable sum of the income of the Association is annually expended on the production of the *Journal*, whereby a very large proportion of the annual subscription is returned to the Associates.

5. The Honorary Secretaries would also remind the Local Members of Council and Associates generally that no opportunity ought to be lost of laying before the meetings, from time to time, early accounts and notices of fresh discoveries and interesting researches, thereby assisting to maintain the important position of the *Journal* as a record of archæology, and as a book of reference to all matters which enter into the scope of the Association.

6. With respect to the "Antiquarian Intelligence", it is found that this useful medium of communicating new and prominent matters, and of reviewing archæological publications, has in many ways prospered, and advanced the position of the Association, and the Honorary Secretaries earnestly thank all who have therein assisted them by prompt correspondence with regard to local discoveries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH } *Hon.*
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK } *Secs.*

The ballot was then taken with the result as follows :

President.

[THE EARL NELSON.]

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE, THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD WAVENEY, D.L.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLYCOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, F.S.A.; SIR W. W. WYNN, BART., M.P.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.

T. MORGAN, F.S.A.
J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
E. M. THOMPSON, F.S.A.

JOHN WALTER, M.P.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A.

Hon. Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.

E. P. LOFTUS BROOK, F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. M. THOMPSON, F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A. (with a seat at the Council)

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

Council.

GEORGE G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

GEORGE ADE

THOMAS BLASHILL

CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.

C. H. COMPTON

WILLIAM HENRY COPE

T. F. DILLON CROKER, F.S.A.

R. HORMAN-FISHER, M.A., F.S.A.

J. W. GROVER, F.S.A.

J. T. MOULD

GEO. PATRICK

J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A.

REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.

STEPHEN I. TUCKER, *Rouge Croix*.

J. WHITMORE.

T. J. WOODHOUSE, M.D.

Auditors.

W. MYERS, F.S.A.

R. E. WAY.

This Report was unanimously adopted; and the following resolutions were proposed, seconded, and carried by acclamation:

1. That the cordial thanks of the Association be given to the President of the past year, the Lord Waveney, for the kind and generous manner in which he has fulfilled the duties of the office.

2. That the thanks of the Association be given to the Vice-Presidents for their valuable services and attention to the welfare and interests of the Society during the past year.

3. That the thanks of the Association be accorded to the Honorary Officers and Members of Council for the excellent manner in which the business of the Association has been conducted under their unfailing superintendence.

4. That the thanks of the Association be tendered to all those who by contributions of papers and intelligence, and by exhibitions and descriptions of antiquities, have so eminently co-operated in the promotion of the true objects of the Society.

5. That the thanks of the Meeting be cordially given to the Local Secretaries of the late Congress at Yarmouth and Norwich for the very warm manner in which they undertook to work for and welcome the Association on the occasion of the Annual Congress.

6. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Auditors of accounts for the current year.

The Chairman then read

REMARKS ON THE PRESENT SESSION.

BY THOS. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

When I drew attention last year to the subject-matter of our previous session, Roman remains had formed the staple of the discoveries and discussions. This year has been equally productive of such remains; and we have seen specimens which are good types of the successive chronology of the periods which follow the pure Roman, and as many have been recovered from sepulchral mounds or mere graves, these serve to confirm what is known of the funeral honours paid to the dead anciently in this country. I would we could classify them more by chronology and history than by nationalities, because these are much intermixed, and the names of races used too ambiguously by writers to be serviceable for classification without danger of confusion. I suggest that there are two broad distinctions in the remains of the first ten centuries after the Christian era, which may be called the civilised and the uncivilised; that is, the implements warlike and domestic, ceramic ware, etc., which belonged to the governing body of the population who dwelt in the fortresses and strong cities; and the humbler utensils which were in use among the poorer inhabitants whose rude *pagi*, or collections of huts, were scattered all over the country, and probably co-existed with the other class throughout the whole period referred to.

The first of these classes, the civilised, seems to range itself into four divisions:—1. The Roman type pure and simple; that is, of about the first two centuries of our era. 2. The Roman provincial type which prevails in the following two centuries and a half, when the provincials filled both the civil and military offices, who placed more confidence apparently in walled towns than in the sinews and courage of their defenders. This type is best seen by following the deterioration and decadence of art of the imperial coinage; comparing the coins of the twelve Cæsars and their successors with those of the lower empire. 3. The Anglo-Roman, usually called Saxon, which brings us to Christian times, and is characterised by improvement in the art of working metals, attributable to the Gothic invasions of Western Europe which brought in much gold and bronze and Grecian civilisation, to judge by the remains of the Gothic nation in all the countries of Western Europe. This type may be recognised for five hundred years, down to about the reign of Athelstan, or the beginning of the tenth century, when we come to—4th, the Anglo-Danish type. The uncivilised class of remains is more difficult to classify, the pottery being rude, the implements made of stone, and the weapons chiefly knives and arrow-heads of stone or flint, imitating the metal

barbed points of more civilised nations. A clue to their chronology is wanting, because they may have co-existed with the civilised types before referred to, and yet some may be older even than the Christian era.

I will refer to some of the objects exhibited or described during the session in chronological order.

On the 19th of November last, attention was called by Mr. Brock to some Roman remains then lately found by Mr. Geo. Payne at Bayford, near Sittingbourne, Kent, in a Roman grave about twenty yards from another grave which he had discovered in 1877.¹ I will only name two objects among many found here,—a square cinerary vessel of blue glass; height, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, 8 inches; and a bronze vase with interesting decorations and figures which seem to indicate the pure Roman period. May we not also refer to the same period those sculptured remains lately discovered at Bath, and of which photographs have been exhibited by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, who considers them, from their “carved ornamental workmanship, to be of the best period of Roman art, and probably of the time of the Emperor Titus, or a little later”? Mr. Scarth says, in reference to the discovery by Mr. Mann of a Roman arch and remains of drains by which the water was carried off from the baths, that the arch was “at a level of about 18 feet under the present street. It is constructed of excellent ashlar masonry with Roman tiles at intervals, after every two or three wrought stones, and a continuous arch of tiles runs above the arched stones. The extremities rest upon a large block of ashlar, which also rests upon a projecting block. The arch is in a line with the sewer already opened; and not far from this arch you come to semicircular terminations which have formed part of the old Roman baths, which, however, are here found to differ, as Mr. Mann tells me, from the dotted lines laid down in the plans given in Gough’s *Camden* and in *Aquæ Solis*. This portion of the building has never before been uncovered, but was supposed to correspond with the eastern portion. This now is found not to be the case, and the work also seems to be of different periods. It has also been cut through and destroyed in Norman times.” He adds that coins have also been found; but of these we have not had particulars. He says as to the arch, that “the pitching stones have a peculiar metallic dressing which was at first supposed to be a deposit from the water, but now rather seems to betoken paint, as if they had been painted over after being placed in position.”

An account of the previous discoveries at the baths, from their first excavation in 1790, is given by Mr. J. T. Irvine in *Journal*, xxix, p. 379, with an attempt to restore the elevation of the Roman temple

¹ The contents are described in *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, vii, p. 218, and viii, p. 202.

and entrance hall to the baths, of which the stones in question formed a part. He has also given references to the various publications on the subject; and the serpentine head which adorned a pediment is engraved in *Journal*, xiii, p. 257, to illustrate a paper on the baths by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth; and his work, *Aquæ Solis*, should also be consulted.

Mr. R. E. Way has from time to time exhibited various fragments of Roman ware, tiles, etc., found in the borough of Southwark, and among them a coin of Domitian, second brass. Under the class of Romano-provincial antiquities may be placed the remarkable hoard of coins found in the well at Procolitia, near the Roman Wall, deposited probably, according to Mr. C. R. Smith, at the close of the reign of Gratian, A.D. 367-379, though containing coins dating back to the early emperors. The whole number in the well must have been at least 15,000 or 16,000. Of these, 13,487 are in Mr. Clayton's possession, and at least 3,000 fell into the hands of other parties.¹ Dr. Bruce, Canon Greenwell, and Mr. Blair of South Shields, did much to decipher and arrange the coins; and Dr. Bruce, in presenting the paper upon them, of Mr. C. R. Smith, to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, said "there were four gold coins amongst the number, one of Nero, one of Sabina, wife of Hadrian, one of Antoninus Pius, and one of Julia Domna, wife of Severus. 184 denarii came into Mr. Clayton's possession; the rest are bronze and copper coin. The number of emperors and imperial personages represented is not less than ninety. Of the early emperors, Augustus and Tiberius are scantily represented. There are 20 coins of Claudius, and more than 50 of Nero, 6 of Galba, and 1 of Otho. Of the coins of Vespasian and Titus there are 550; Domitian has 485, and Nerva 82. After this the coins become still more numerous. Of Trajan there are 1,772; of Hadrian and his wife Sabina, 2,431; of Antoninus Pius and his wife Faustina, 2,829; of Marcus Aurelius and his wife Faustina the Younger, there are 1,355. After this the coins decrease in number. Lucius Verus and his wife Lucilla give 170; Commodus and his wife, 246. Up to this point the bronze coinage greatly preponderates. At the time of Severus the silver becomes more abundant. Of Septimius Severus and his wife Julia Domna there are only 64 pieces; but of these, 36 are of silver. Caracalla has 10 denarii, but only 3 bronze pieces. Of the later emperors, Constantine the Great is most largely represented, there being 200 of his coins. Those of the Constantine family are also numerous.

Mr. C. R. Smith did not meet with "reverses" absolutely new to numismatists, but with several that are rare, and many that are highly

¹ *Archæologia Eliana*, Part 23, vol. viii, New Series, 1879.

interesting. Amongst the rare coins may be mentioned a first brass of Didius Julianus, a denarius of Didia Clara, a second brass of Julia, daughter of Titus, a denarius of Clodius Albinus, and a coin of Julia Aquilia. There is also a specimen of the *Disciplina* type of Hadrian, which is rare, and one of the *Consecratio* type of Antoninus Pius. The most remarkable fact respecting these coins is that there are not less than 327 of second brass, struck in the reign of Antoninus Pius to commemorate the complete subjugation of Britain and the building of the Scottish Wall.

While referring to this very remarkable discovery, I cannot pass over that large hoard found in the south of the island on the 30th of October 1873; that is, on Lord Selborne's estate at Blackmoor Park in Hampshire, at a depth of 2 feet below the surface of the ground. 29,802 Roman coins were contained in two earthenware vases or pots, and these were all of the lower empire. 24,985 have been identified, extending over a period of about fifty years, from Gordian III, 238, to Constans, 292. About 5,000 of the coins were laid aside as incapable of identification. No less than 14,254 are coins of Tetricus and his son.¹

The same year these coins were found, one of the most interesting Roman discoveries of modern times was made in northern Italy, on the site of Julia Concordia Colonia, on the border of the marshes between Altium and Aquileia, near the bank of the river Liguentia (Livenza), at the junction of four military roads. Here was found a cemetery formed over the ruins of an older one. The tombs actually discovered were nearly two hundred. Those inscribed with the deceased's names and biographies were eighty-four. Most are interesting on account of their bas-reliefs, which include the rarest symbols of Christian faith. Many of the deceased were of Greek eastern extraction, such as Aurelius Albanus from ΓΕΚΑΑ; and the dates yet determined, according to the Syrian era given, correspond to A.D. 409-410 and 426-427. The names of those who write in Latin are rather peculiar,—Calatidinus, Ahetia, Domnula, Caprilus, Hariso, Gildo, Saume, etc.²

Among the discoveries of which information has been furnished us from time to time by Dr. Stevens, one at Firgrove Hill, Hants, may be given as an instance of the period which follows that of the cinerary urns. A skeleton was found in a grave, and with it a drinking-cup. The material of the cup is said to resemble Upchurch ware. It is well made, and of elegant form, and therefore is assigned to Romano-British workmanship.

Mr. G. Payne discovered a Roman leaden coffin, with other relics,

¹ *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. viii, Part 23, New Series, 1879.

² Letter of Rodolfo Lanciani to *Athenæum*, 7 Dec. 1877.

near Chalkwell, about a mile north-west of Sittingbourne. Inside the coffin were two *armillæ*,—one of very thin gold, formed into a hollow tube, and the other of jet. The coffin was 3 feet 9 inches long by 1 foot wide. He found also, on May 16, 1878, at Chatham, within a few yards of the road from thence to Maidstone, a Roman leaden coffin, 6 feet in length, containing a human skeleton, together with a pale coloured glass vessel. Two other glass vases were found at the head of the coffin, outside, and two earthen vessels at the foot. The ornamentation consisted of a kind of billet-moulding, triangular design on lid and escallops, one on lid, and two pairs on one of the ends, the other being destroyed. It will be seen that these are of the well known type of which several specimens are figured in *Journal*, ii, pp. 297-300, to illustrate a paper on some leaden coffins discovered at Colchester by Mr. C. Roach Smith, who had no hesitation in assigning most of these coffins to the Romano-British period, though some may be later. A further account may be seen in his lately published *Collectanea*, vol. vii.

On the 17th of March, Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited some articles from a Saxon grave at Canterbury, including part of an armilla of pure gold, weighing three ounces. These Anglo-Saxon articles, of which Mr. Brent has discovered at different times so many in Kent, are specimens of the third division of what I have called the civilised class of antiquities; and Mr. Brent has remarked in his work,¹ that as to the "pottery, glass, personal ornaments, and even weapons", of the Romans and Saxons, "the antiquary is often at a loss to decide to which nation to assign them."

Mr. H. Prigg, of Ipswich, has shewn us many specimens of bronze celts found in Suffolk, often a large number together, and in fine preservation. The frequent aggregation of these bronze weapons is a matter for consideration.

As to the fourth division of the civilised class, or the Anglo-Danish, I do not remember that it has been represented by any specimens exhibited this session.

For the uncivilised class of remains I cannot do better than refer to that fine collection of earthenware cinerary urns and drinking-cups collected by the Rev. Canon Greenwell, and now in the British Museum. In his work on British Barrows (London, 1877), the Rev. Canon remarks, in describing the relative general proportion of burnt to unburnt bodies,—“In the barrows I have opened on the Wolds, out of 379 burials only 78 were after cremation, whilst 301 were by inhumation, which gives nearly 21 per cent. for burials of burnt bodies. And to shew that in the Wold barrows bronze is by no means more commonly found with burnt bodies than with unburnt, out of 14

¹ *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, p. 61.

instances where I have discovered bronze articles associated with an interment, it was only in 2 that the body had been burnt. The proportion, therefore, is that about 4 per cent. of unburnt bodies, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of burnt bodies, had articles of bronze accompanying them. Burial by inhumation, then, is so much more common than burial after cremation, that, as is shewn by the numbers stated above, the latter only amount to rather more than a fourth of the former. In some localities on the Wolds it has been seen that cremation prevailed, though inhumation was the general custom throughout the whole district. In other parts of Yorkshire, however, cremation was all but universal; as, for instance, in Cleveland, where Mr. Atkinson's very extensive investigations did not produce a single instance of an unburnt body; and near Castle Howard, where a large series of barrows contained nothing but burnt bodies."

The question then arises, whether the greater part of the cases in which the body is buried are not to be referred to the Christian period, when this mode of burial succeeded the use of mortuary urns, glass vessels, or stone ossuaries, in which the half-burnt bones and ashes were deposited. When we find specimens of the uncivilised class of urns and flint implements deposited at a late period, we may take them as instances of survivals; for as Christianity and civilisation gradually absorbed the older religion, so the stone implements died out, and the metallic, whether of bronze or iron, remained without evidence to prove their Roman or Gothic origin. I am here reminded of an observation made by the late Abbé Cochet, whose practical knowledge of antiquities in France was considerable, that "in all his diggings and researches in Normandy during ten years he could discover no sepulchral remains which were not Roman or Merovingian; and that although he was far from wishing to say that of prehistoric Gallic remains, none were to be found in Normandy as in the rest of France, yet he could say for himself that he had never been fortunate enough to find any."

The consideration of the various objects exhumed under the aforesaid classification may be pursued in reference to the mounds and earthworks and megalithic structures which are connected with interments. Sculptures or inscriptions upon such monuments are rare; but those at Maes Howe, in Orkney, seem to shew that building and mound to have been originally erected as a burial-place for the sons of Ragnar Lodbrog in the ninth century, and that it was used up to a much later period as a royal burial-place, as described in the Runic inscriptions on the walls;¹ and yet in this grand relic of past times the same idea continues to prevail of a strong and secure royal sepul-

¹ See the account of Maes Howe, by T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., in the *Collectanea Archaeologica* of this Society, vol. ii, Part I.

chre, and at the same time a hiding-place for the metallic treasure stored up in it, as it was in the earliest times, to go back to the example of the famous Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ.

On the 3rd of December we had an account, by Mr. Romilly Allen, of some markings on the walls of a stone cist in Argyleshire, being carved representations of stone axe-heads differing from anything hitherto found in Great Britain, though similar to some carved celts on the walls of Gavv Innis in Brittany. We are reminded of the battle-axes of Thor and of the Baltic sea-kings, of which Mr. H. Syer Cuming lately exhibited a remarkably fine specimen from Guernsey. And I may here refer to some of the fine collections of stone implements in the British Museum and the Christy collection, and in the Museum at Salisbury, which we may, perhaps, have an opportunity of visiting at our Congress in Wiltshire.

The researches of Dr. Keller among the lake-dwellings of Switzerland are throwing light upon the habits of the early races, and will also illustrate the similar habits of people using stone implements and warlike arms, and to whom the name of Saxons might very properly be applied as well as was that of Picti to the painted barbarians whom Cæsar describes as such.

Mr. Grover produced a stone celt with part of the wooden handle still attached to it, from one of the lake-dwellings in the south of France.

Dr. Warne, the historian of Dorset, exhibited some beautiful statuettes in bronze from Etruria. Two female figures in a recumbent position represent the calm repose of similar figures on the early tombs of Etruria and Latium, which are emblematic of the peaceful state looked forward to by the ancients after death; and the attenuated figure of a warrior, whose limbs are little more than wires, is probably the *umbra* or shade of some hero in a disembodied state.

Two plates of lead from Malta, bearing early Roman sepulchral inscriptions of the republican period, were described and translated by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, who pointed out the Greek character of some of the names, suggestive of historical reflections.

The exhibition of glass, both Venetian and Spanish, from the rich collections of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew and Mr. H. Syer Cuming came in seasonably with the recent discussions on the manufacture of this article among the ancients, and at a time when the moderns are making very exact imitations of the *Vasa Myrrhina* of the Romans, in which metallic figures and patterns are introduced with excellent effect into the glass.

Dr. Earle, from Winchester, brought up a large collection of Roman remains found near the Roman or Saxon bridge there, which he described; but the more careful attention of the Association will be

directed to these important relics hereafter, when we receive a more detailed account of them in the form a paper.

Some clay tubes were sent up by Mr. J. C. Ford of Edgbaston, Birmingham, found in digging at Soddington, on the road between Bewdley and Tenbury, which he supposed were Roman, and used to convey water from the adjoining heights into a fortress. Each tube was about 2 feet long, and 4 inches total diameter, though the aperture for conveying the water was not more than $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter. At one end were hollow tenons, and at the other mortices; all exactly fitted so as to be air-tight without the intervention of mortar. The opinion that they were water-pipes was formed when a discovery on the same spot, of similar pipes, was made in 1807. Workmen were then employed in taking down the ancient mansion which had belonged to the family of Blount, and was burnt by the Parliamentary army because the Blounts refused to make them arms at their forge. Other Roman remains were found in the neighbourhood, and a complete brick-kiln, containing, perhaps, some ten thousand bricks, mostly well baked, the rest only half ready for use. Mr. Milner, in describing this discovery,¹ concludes this was a Roman station from certain vestiges of an entrenchment. The tubes exhibited correspond with the description of Mr. Milner; but the Meeting seemed to want more evidence of their being Roman than could be gained from the tubes themselves.

Epigraphic collections are casting much new light upon Roman history, and the importance of adding to these by writing down unpublished examples in private collections, whenever found, has been properly appreciated by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth when he sent us an account of some Roman inscriptions in the museum of Colonel Hill at Rookwood, near Llandaff.

Of what singular interest is that fresco painting lately exhumed at Pompeii, where the mountain of Vesuvius is shown in the background, with no more signs of volcanic eruption than when it harboured the insurgent gladiators of Spartacus within the cavity on its summit.

The value of such contemporaneous evidence of history has been more than ever shewn by the exhibition of the bronze metal plates wrought into bas-reliefs, with inscriptions, which strengthened and adorned two pairs of the doors of an Assyrian temple near Nimroud, and which describe the military exploits and hunting expeditions of Shalmanezzer II, B.C. 860-851. Thanks to the labours of Mr. Theo. G. Pinches of the British Museum, who explained the value of these new discoveries made at Balawat under the superintendence of Mr. H. Rassam, and to others who have laboured in the same way to decipher the tablets, cylinders, and sculptures, brought to light of late years, we come to know as much, and in some respects more, of Assyrian

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, vol. 77, p. 1009.

history than we do of the Greek or Roman ; and yet it was only in the year 1842 that Mr. Austen H. Layard made his first discoveries at Nimroud, soon after M. Botta, the French Consul at Mosul, had the honour of digging up the first Assyrian monument, and exploring the mounds of Kouyunjik and Khorsabad. When the first edition of Mr. Layard's work on *Nineveh and its Remains* was published in 1849, he might well say that the ancient history of Assyria was then almost a blank. The wedge which he inserted into the sepulchre of the buried city has laid open to us, with its palaces, the written history of the empire and the deeds of its rulers. It was discovered that the mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamle, served to form a square within which ancient Nineveh was contained ; the four sides corresponding pretty accurately in distance with the 480 *stadia*, or sixty miles, of the geographers, which make the three days' journey of the prophet Jonah. Compare the magnificent collections of Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum and the Louvre, in Paris, with the one case, scarcely 3 feet square, which Mr. Layard informs us before his discoveries contained all that remained, not only of the great city of Nineveh, but of Babylon itself ; and these were the few fragments collected in 1820 by Mr. Rich, the political resident of the East India Company at Bagdad.

When such discoveries as these are made by our countrymen who have taken a prominent part in rearing up a new science, and deciphering a lost language, it is surely not beyond the province of the British Archæological Association to take cognizance of them. But let me resume the work of our session.

Mr. Myers exhibited some beautiful figures of bronze, with golden lines inserted to form the eyes, brought over by him from Egypt, with many other objects exhibited, as will appear in the "Proceedings"; and the interest of our meetings has been not a little increased by the presence of those who had returned in person from the scenes they described, as the Rev. S. M. Mayhew in giving us an account of the Isle of Man, and Dr. Phené when he produced drawings of Pergamus, the citadel of a noted line of kings whose effigies are still to be seen on the series of very beautiful coins of Pergamus, from Philetærus I, in the third century B.C., till the state was absorbed by the Romans. The fine sculptures lately exhumed here, of which Dr. Phené gave us an account, quite corroborate the high culture of this school of art, and the evidence of the coins and the records of history. As one of the seven churches of Asia, Pergamus has a peculiar interest for Christian England.

Before closing my reference to the antiquities exhibited at the evening meetings, I would mention among the most interesting a group of rare jade articles, by Mr. Wm. H. Cope and others, which could not

fail to introduce some valuable discussions on the use of this material among the ancients, and speculations as to how it found its way into Western Europe when its origin was in Asia. It is not, however, necessary to suppose an emigration of a whole nation to account for its introduction here, when it would naturally find its way as an article of commerce, being both rare and useful, just as did gold and other precious commodities from the East.

Of medals and other works of art, we have had several exhibitions by Mr. G. G. Adams. The large medallion of George I, never before published, was a very happy specimen.

We have not been without many notices and exhibitions of rare MSS. by Mr. W. de G. Birch, and he produced a photograph of one of King Eadgar, A.D. 958, the text of which we may hope to see printed in the *Journal*. A charter of admission to the Guild of the Holy Trinity at Walsoken, dated 1452, revived the discussion held upon such confraternities at the Yarmouth Congress.

I must refer to the "Proceedings" for the many objects of ancient and mediæval art brought before us, and will only add that our gloomy walls have been often adorned with large coloured drawings of many of the beautiful glass windows of the churches in the counties where our last Congress was held, by Mr. H. Watling of Earl Stonham; and Mr. G. R. Wright produced a drawing of the painting lately discovered on the walls of Patcham Church, near Brighton, a place known in Saxon times as Pæccingas, so named in a charter of A.D. 960.¹

Our Secretaries have been indefatigable in bringing before the notice of the Society any antiquarian discoveries made from time to time, and also in using the humble endeavours of our Association to prevent the destruction or deterioration of ancient monuments by restoring and renewing overmuch, whereby the character of the ancient work is often impaired, and sometimes lost sight of.

We may look back on the past session with satisfaction, and forward to the coming Congress at Devizes with hope, if we meet with the accustomed support from the members of this Association, and the promised co-operation of the local Society and the resident archæologists of the district.

¹ See Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum. Part IV.

Obituary.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, VICE-PRESIDENT.

MANY biographical notices of our distinguished Vice-President, the Somerset Herald, have appeared, more or less accurately written, in the public journals; but the following account, which we extract from *The Athenæum*, with a few additional details, describes the principal events of his life concisely, and it is hoped correctly:

By the death of Mr. James Robinson Planché, the veteran archæologist, herald, and playwright, literature has experienced a heavy loss. He was born in London on the 27th of February 1796, and had, therefore, reached the age of eighty-four at the time of his decease; but until a very recent period he preserved a vivacity of manner which indicated that the gradual decay of his bodily strength in no way affected the vigorous action of his mind. His father, who claimed descent from a Huguenot family, sent him to a boarding-school at Chelsea, where he first formed his life-long friendship with Sir Fitzroy Kelly, the present Chief Baron, and at the age of fourteen destined him for a commercial life; but even at this early period he evinced a liking for the drama. Once, it is recorded, he appeared on the stage of a suburban theatre; but with this single exception he devoted himself, from an early period of his long career, to the production of small plays and extravaganzas which were almost invariably successful.

In 1818, when he was but twenty-two years old, his first dramatic production, entitled *Amoroso*, was produced at Drury Lane Theatre. The success of the piece is believed to have materially influenced his future career, and in the following decade a considerable number of similar pieces were written for the Adelphi, Covent Garden, and Drury Lane Theatres.

In 1821 Planché married; but his gifted wife, who had been seized with paralysis in 1843, succumbed in 1846 to the attack of another disorder. Mrs. Planché also wrote for the stage. Her biography, written by an able contributor to that journal, will be found in the columns of *The Literary Gazette*. Of her two daughters, the younger one, Mrs. Mackarness, writes with considerable ability. Her *Trap to Catch a Sunbeam* was received with universal approbation, and raised expectations which have since been justified.

In 1823 *King John* was played at Covent Garden under the direc-

tion of the late Mr. Kemble, with dresses and appointments arranged by Planché, whose knowledge of mediæval costume and taste for the proprieties of stage details were even then conspicuous. The success of this venture was a severe blow to the conventional but incongruous mode of putting historical plays upon the stage which prevailed at the time. It was an important innovation, and not attempted without hesitation; but the idea was sensible and novel, and in the hands of Mr. Planché sure to be carried out in a thoroughly perfect and harmonious manner. It is undoubtedly one which has conferred lasting benefits alike on the dramatist and the public.

In the following year the music of Weber's *Der Freischütz* was given with an English adaptation of the words by Planché, and hit the popular taste for the time. In 1825 Planché went to Paris to prepare drawings of the costumes worn on the occasion of the coronation of Charles X, and on his return a representation of this stately ceremony was performed, under his supervision, at Covent Garden with very great success. Mr. Planché's association with Weber, of which he was ever after justly proud, was renewed in 1826, when he prepared the English libretto for *Oberon*. This is one of the interesting landmarks in Planché's biography; but the somewhat unexpected death of the composer severed a connection which might have had great results.

Mr. Planché began to work for the Haymarket Theatre in 1827; and in the autumn of that year he made a tour in Germany, a description of which he published as *The Descent of the Danube from Ratisbon to Vienna*, in 1828. This was republished, under the title of *The Danube from Ulm to Vienna*, in 1836. In 1828 he was writing for Covent Garden and Drury Lane. The success of *Charles XII*, produced at the latter theatre, led to its reproduction at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, in a rather unfair fashion, and prompted the passing, in 1833, of the first Dramatic Authors' Act.

The following year saw him occupied upon the words for *The Vampire*, to the music by Marschner, for The Lyceum, and on *The Brigand* for Drury Lane, in which the song 'Gentle Zitella' made an extraordinary sensation; yet although the publishers of this song reaped £1,000, Planché himself obtained nothing at all for it. In this year Planché joined the Society of Antiquaries, and became a frequent contributor to the *Archæologia* and other publications of the Society.

From the year 1831, when he was engaged with Madame Vestris at The Olympic, down to 1853, he was continually busy, producing either the greater part or the whole of, it is believed, nearly two hundred separate dramatic pieces. Of these, nearly half may be claimed as perfectly original; the remainder, adapted foreign productions, display in a marked manner the taste of one who was something more than a mere translator. The principal theatres for which he wrote

were The Lyceum, Covent Garden, Drury Lane, The Adelphi, and The Olympic. During this busy period he contributed considerably to the literature of his favourite themes. Among other works published in a complete form may be specified *Costume of Shakespeare's King John, etc., from the Best Authorities, with Biographical and Critical Notices*, 1823-25; *Twelve Designs for the Costume of Shakespeare's Richard III.*, by C. F. Tomkins, after Planché's drawings, 1830; *Lays and Legends of the Rhine* (the music by H. R. Bishop), 1827, republished in 1832; and *The Rhenish Keepsake: Lays and Legends, etc.*, 1837; *History of British Costume*, 1834, republished in 1849; *Continental Gleanings*, about 1836; *Regal Records, or a Chronicle of the Coronations of the Queens Regnant of England*, 1838; *Introduction to Heraldry*, which had reached its eighteenth edition in 1866; *Souvenir of the Bal Costumé given by Queen Victoria at Buckingham Palace, May 12, 1842* (the drawings by C. Smyth), folio, 1843; *History of British Costume from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, 1847; *The Pursuivant of Arms, or Heraldry founded upon Facts*, 1852, of which a new edition appeared in 1859, and a third edition in 1874; and *Four and Twenty Fairy Tales selected from Perrault, etc.*, translated by J. R. Planché, in 1858.

In 1843 Mr. Planché assisted materially in the formation of the British Archæological Association, of which he acted as Honorary Secretary for upwards of twenty years, explaining and describing the objects exhibited at the meetings, and contributing from his own pen upwards of a hundred original papers and articles on heraldry, genealogy, and costume. Many obscure and doubtful points connected with the early history of titles of honour were elucidated by Mr. Planché. Need it be added that his papers on the naval uniform of Great Britain, on early armorial bearings, processional weapons, the horn-shaped head-dresses of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the clarion, the Stanley crest, ancient and mediæval tapestries, the armorials of Ferrers and Peverel, the Cokayne monuments at Ashburne, the tilting and other helmets, the family of Giffard, the Earls of Strigul, the Lords of Chepstow, relics of Charles I, the Earls and Dukes of Somerset, the statuary of the west front of Wells Cathedral, various effigies, brasses, and portraits, the first Earl of Norfolk, the family of Fettiplace, monuments in Shrewsbury Abbey, the Neville monuments, the Earls of Sussex, of Gloucester, and of Hereford, and the Fairford windows, attest the range of his knowledge and his powers of research?

Mr. T. J. Pettigrew formed an acquaintance with Mr. Planché in very early life, arising out of the literary tastes of both. This led to a long and unbroken friendship, conspicuously shewn in the harmony of their efforts for the advancement of the British Archæological Associ-

ation, to which both belonged from the foundation of the Society. In 1865, when the failing health of Mr. Pettigrew deprived the Association of his services, he made it a point to commend to his successors the judgment of his old friend Mr. Planché in case of any crisis in its affairs, and particularly on the ground of the noble rectitude of his character.

In March 1854 Mr. Planché was made Rouge Croix Pursuivant at the College of Arms, and in 1857 he was employed to arrange the well known Meyrick collection of armour and weapons for exhibition at Manchester. In his official capacity he accompanied Garter King of Arms to Lisbon on the occasion of the investiture of the King of Portugal with the insignia of the Order of the Garter. A second visit was paid by him to the same city in 1864, in order to invest the new King; and when eighty-two years of age he went to Rome with the Garter mission to the present King of Italy. In 1864 also he produced an elegant contribution to Kentish topography and ecclesiastical antiquarianism, entitled *A Corner of Kent, or some Account of the Parish of Ash-next-Sandwich*, of which one of his sons-in-law had been appointed perpetual curate. He was deservedly promoted to the office of Somerset Herald in 1866. He assisted at the ceremony of investing the Emperor of Austria with the Garter insignia in 1867. He again arranged the Meyrick collection in 1868, on its removal to the South Kensington Museum. He re-arranged the relics of armour at the Tower in 1869. He was present in his official capacity at the marriage of the Princess Louise to the Marquis of Lorne in 1871. And his amusing and instructive *Recollections and Reflections*, 'a professional autobiography', appeared in two volumes in 1872, enlarged from articles contributed to *London Society* in the preceding year.

Mr. Planché's latest writings for the stage were as fresh and sparkling as those produced in the prime of his life. In 1872, at the age of seventy-six he wrote the words of the songs for *Babil and Bijou* to Rivière's music, and the pretty little lyric piece entitled 'Spring, spring, gentle spring,' received the applause of all who heard it. It was in 1872 also that Mr. Gladstone conferred upon Mr. Planché a Civil List pension of £100 yearly in recognition of his distinguished services. In 1874 Planché again came before the public as the author of *The Conqueror and his Companions*, in two volumes. This work, excellent in its conception, was written, perhaps, in a more popular manner than the subject required; and it is, too, seriously marred by misprints. *The Cyclopædia of Costume*, a work of immense labour and considerable expense, was commenced in 1875, when he was more than eighty-one. 'The Testimonial Edition' of his extravaganzas, lately published in five handsome volumes, under the editorship of Mr. T. F. Dillon Croker, F.S.A., and Mr. Stephen Isaacson Tucker, who suc-

ceded him in his post of Rouge Croix Pursuivant at the Heralds' College, yielded a handsome sum to the herald-author, whose position necessitated him, at the great age of eighty-four, to labour on without the hope of rest.

Mr. Planché needs no panegyric to keep his memory alive in the hearts of his numerous friends. His brilliant wit and keen sense of humour, his archæological acumen, his blameless private life, combined to make him sought after by all who knew him. One of the most notable traits of his character was his tender solicitude for his widowed daughters and their families. Never a man of large means (for in all his literary labours he worked for the love of the subject rather than for the money it brought him), he remained at his post in the arena of life at an age when most men would have considered themselves entitled to hang up their weapons and fight no more. But if Mr. Planché was unwilling to be considered an *emeritus*, the productions of his old age, though not so numerous as those of his youth, bear the impress of a well matured judgment, of almost superhuman research, and critical discrimination, qualities rarely combined in men far more robust than he. In his plays there is an abundance of harmless mirth, but neither coarseness nor vulgarity; in his scientific papers and contributions to archæology his arguments and deductions are irresistible; his lyric compositions have a sweetness and elegance which many a *soi-disant* poet has sighed for in vain; and his essays and lighter pieces are as readable, amusing, and instructive, as any that have been written in England during the long period that he lived to adorn.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The History of Roche Abbey. By J. H. Aveling, M.D.—Our Associate Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., writes of this:—"The long promised *History of Roche Abbey*, one of the most beautiful, picturesque, and interesting ruins in Yorkshire, has been issued to the subscribers and to the public, whom it amply repays for the long time they have been waiting. The volume is charming and admirable in every respect. The history of the Abbey, of its abbots, its possessions, its architecture,

its monastic buildings, and its other remains, is admirably written' and proves Dr. Aveling to be a thorough worker, and one who knows well where to procure his materials, and how to work them together. It is long since so good and so complete a history of any religious establishment has been prepared, and it reflects the highest credit upon its author. The volume is illustrated by a large number of beautifully executed plates—views, seals, architectural details, plans, etc.—which are exquisitely engraved, and carry truthfulness and beauty in every line; and the whole work is printed with that admirable taste and that remarkable skill which always characterise the productions of the press of Mr. Robert White of Worksop, and give him so proud a pre-eminence over many provincial printers and publishers. *The History of Roche Abbey* is a work which cannot fail to give satisfaction."

The writer has selected a congenial theme, to deal with which he has been fitted by the loving study of years. Like Cuvier or Professor Owen building up an extinct animal from a tooth or a fragment of bone, the writer reconstructs Roche Abbey from the few arches that have escaped the ravages of man and of time; and no one, after reading this chapter, can revisit the place without finding himself possessed of a store of information both interesting to himself and capable of being turned to good purpose in interesting others. Dr. Aveling has been fortunate, too, in securing the aid of a good draughtsman, and the plans of the Abbey Grounds and of the Abbey Church do more to shew to one acquainted with the ruins the relation that the existing remains bear to the whole building than pages of description.

The work itself is prefaced by an introductory notice of the rise and progress of the Cistercian order in England, and historical and genealogical notes of the family of Busli or Builli, the founder, and is divided into three parts: 1, the history of the abbots; 2, the possessions of the Abbey; 3, the architectural remains. The author has gathered together nearly a perfect list of abbots, from Durand in 1147 to Henry Cundal, who surrendered to Henry VIII in 1538. Richard Layton's letter (preserved in the Cottonian Library), detailing the manner of his visitation of this Abbey, is one of the most interesting parts of the book, for the vivid glance it affords of the way in which the proceedings with regard to the dissolution of monasteries were carried out. The surrender-deed, the inventories of goods, and the alphabetical list of lands held by the Abbey, combine to make this book useful to the student of mediæval manners and customs and topography; and the chapter devoted to the botany of the district, together with a copious index, complete a very creditable work of an industrious author. We wish that many another ruined Yorkshire Abbey could arouse the literary enthusiasm of Dr. Aveling.

Discovery of Roman Coins.—The coins lately discovered by the side of a brook near Bristol, between Filton and Stoke Gifford, consist mainly of third brass coins of Constantine the Great, Constantine Junior, and Constantius II, with a few of Tetricus the Younger, Crispus, and Helena, daughter of Constantine the Great. The coins are of common description, and in poor preservation; coins of the Constantines are being found in thousands every year in England and on the Continent. The only coin in the hoard of any rarity, but in poor preservation, is the same as that described in Akerman's *Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 246,—“Obverse, a laureated head with cornucopia on the shoulder; inscription, POP. ROMANVS. Reverse, a bridge with towers at each end. In the field, CONS. E. It is of the size of a quinarius.” The obverses and reverses of the other coins, including the wolf with Romulus and Remus, are very common. The urn was of ordinary Roman ware, formed of a micaceous clay.

Relics of old London: Charterhouse.—Mr. Alfred Marks of Long Ditton, Surrey, has just issued a series of twelve permanent photographic views of the old Charterhouse buildings near the site of Smithfield. This issue of the sixth year of the Society for Photographing Relics of old London needs little to commend itself to our Members, or, indeed, to any lovers of the old and beautiful remains of a bygone period. The set consists of—1. A general view from Charterhouse Square, shewing the gateway, which is the original Tudor-arched portal of the Monastery, and possesses many indications of antiquity. The dripstone terminates in plain corbels. Over all is a shelf supported by two brackets representing grotesque lions, executed in the early part of the sixteenth century. 2. The Preacher's Court, built in 1825, after the designs of the architect, Edward Blore. 3. The Washhouse Court, also known as The Abbot's Court. Of the courts this is the most solitary and retired, and also the most ancient. In one corner half an arch may be observed; the other half has been incorporated with the east side of the court. The stone windows, although square-headed, betoken antiquity. 4. The Cloisters, a long arched row of buildings on the west side of the Green. In the west wall is an ancient doorway leading to the site of the cells. The windows are plain squares in the wall. There appears to have been a flat ceiling immediately above the windows, traces of which still remain. In the centre is an abutment in form of a half-octagon, which has been denominated “Middle Briars” from time immemorial. These Cloisters were the favourite resort of the football and hockey-players; but now that the School is removed to Godalming their ancient stillness has fallen upon them again, perhaps never to be dispelled. 5-8. Four views of the Great Hall, the west wall of which was part of the conventual edifice. It

was probably built by Sir Edward North, who obtained the Charter-house for his private residence in 1535. At the west end is a spacious gallery for musicians, and from its style and the letters T. N., with date 1571, appears to belong to a period when the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk was a prisoner in this his own house. The chimney-piece was added by Sutton, the founder of the School. 9. The grand staircase, is magnificently carved with arabesque ornamentation of the Jacobean style. 10. The Governors' Room. The decorations here are magnificent specimens of Elizabethan style. The flat ceiling is adorned with the armorials of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and with his motto, "*Sola virtus invicta.*" This relic of the sixteenth century was repaired in 1838, and forms now, perhaps, one of the finest rooms, for its date, in London. 11. The Chapel Entrances; and 12, the Founder's Tomb, complete this fine collection of views, in the selection of which Mr. Marks has evinced considerable judgment and taste.

Taking photographs of old London buildings is not always an easy process. The atmosphere of our smoky city is not favourable, its ceaseless traffic is also an occasional hindrance, and often enough the most picturesque or historically interesting subjects lie in some confined nook or crooked corner which must put the ingenuity of the photographer to a severe test. Interesting relics of old London are, perhaps, more abundant than is supposed, for they lie in a great degree hidden away in retired places. The Society, however, is evidently diligent in exploring, and its collection is likely long to increase in interest and importance. No one who cares for London as London, no topographer, no painter of antiquities, no collector of views of this order, ought to fail to secure copies of these really capital photographs. Mr. Dixon, of 112 Albany Street, is the photographer; and his photographs, often taken under difficulties, are as good as photographs can be. Every sympathy is due to the Society that is instrumental in giving us these records, which have been produced in the best style, and are fit for any portfolio. The Society can do much, if it is supported, towards cultivating the interest of the public in architecture, and it would be difficult to discover in all England a better investment for a guinea than it now offers to the subscribers.

Progress at the British Museum.—The Annual Parliamentary Return of Progress made in the arrangement and description of the collections at the British Museum, and an account of the objects added to them in the year 1879, has just been issued, and a very cursory inspection of it will shew how great that progress has been. In the statement of accounts which precedes the Return, the welcome item of upwards of £63,000, a bequest of the late Mr. Wm. White, with interest, has thrown into the hands of the authorities a very useful fund, which

has enabled them to remove part of the sheds and sculptures recently housed under the front colonnade, to a new and more retired spot in the inner quadrangle. The rest will follow shortly, and the colonnade again become free from obstructions. The total of visitors amounts to 782,823, and contrasts favourably with the 611,612 of the previous year. Mr. Bond reports that the transference of the collections of botany, mineralogy, and geology, will probably be effected in the course of the present year; and the galleries vacated by them will be at once made use of for the exhibition of objects of archæological interest, which have been accumulating for many years, and from want of space have been stored away in imperfectly lighted rooms in the basement. The White bequest enables the erection of a substantial addition to the south-eastern façade, and an extension of the gallery for exhibition of Greek sculptures.

Other items of progress in general administration, viz., the removal of the sculptures of the India Museum to Great Russell Street, the zoological and geological collections of the India Museum to South Kensington, the classification and printing of the book-catalogue, the increased accommodation for readers in the Reading Room, and the electric lighting appliances, have been already mentioned from time to time, as they occurred, in the periodical press.

The separate Reports by the keepers of the respective departments indicate a very well defined wave of substantial progress which has flowed over the Museum since the accession of its present chief officer. Classification of the works on the shelves of the library—a great boon to favoured students if they may obtain access to the presses which contain the subjects of their researches—has been one of the marked features of this progress. Four hundred and thirty readers, on an average, have daily consulted nine books each. Among the rare acquisitions special mention is made of a Josephus printed in 1566 at Lyons, with engraving by Pierre Woeiriot de Bouzey, of great beauty, and the only copy known; and *La Somme des Vices et des Virtus*, by Lorens, the Dominican confessor of Philippe le Hardi, printed at Paris, and also unique. A considerable number of books of rarity and interest, chiefly printed in Scotland, or relating to that kingdom, were purchased at the sale of Dr. Laing's library. Among other special acquisitions is an imperfect copy of Tyndale's New Testament, printed probably at Antwerp in 1535, distinguished by the curious spelling of certain words, such as "saiynctes, seynctifie, stoene, thoese", believed by some to be provincialisms of Gloucestershire, intentionally so written by Tyndale himself for the "boy that driveth the plough". Upwards of a hundred books printed in the fifteenth century have strengthened the collection of typographical *Incunabula*. In the Department of Maps and Plans few very important acquisitions during

the year are recorded, the principal ones being Comberford's Chart of Brazil, 1647; Verniquet's Plan of Paris, in seventy-two sheets, 1761-1791; and a reproduction of Bufalini's Tenth Century Plan of Rome. The Manuscript Department indicates a great amount of vitality. Mr. Ward's long expected "Catalogue of Romances" is approaching completion, the third Part of Signor Gayangos' "Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts", the "Index to the Catalogue of Additions", the "Seal Catalogue", and other important works, are in a forward state. Among the finest acquisitions of the past year are the Arden papyrus of Hyperides, the Bankes papyrus of Homer's *Iliad*, the only perfect Romance of Protolaus, and the Waterhouse, Byron, Haddock, Cobbett, Trevelyman, Wentworth, and Nicholas Papers. Unpublished State Papers and autograph music form two prominent features in the newest purchases. The Oriental Manuscripts Department report a continuation of the Persian catalogue, and some important additions, including sixty volumes from the library of the late Yogapradhāna Ratnavijaya Sūri, a Jaina priest of Ahmedabad, Gujrat. These form the largest store of writings of that sect yet brought to Europe. Their dates range from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. A further collection, by Mr. Shapira of Jerusalem, has contributed fourteen Hebrew manuscripts belonging to the Biblical and Massoretic class.

In the great division of antiquities Dr. Birch reports considerable improvements in the display and preservation of the Egyptian and Assyrian relics. The most important acquisitions are, some fragments of calcareous stone sides of a tomb inscribed with hieroglyphics and inlaid red material, from a site beyond the Pyramid of Meidoum, the oldest in Egypt; a bronze hatchet-blade inscribed with a drawing of a bull-fight; and a series of terra-cotta tablets from Palmyra, stamped with figures of deities and other personages,—among others the name of Tirhaka, who reigned about B.C. 690; a terra-cotta barrel-cylinder of Sennacherib, in perfect condition, containing an account of that King's expedition against Hezekiah, and fixing the date of that event at 701 B.C.; documents illustrating the language, history, and private life, of the lower classes in Assyria; a beautifully modeled figure of Assur-bani-abla in combat with a lion, evidently the original design for the slab sculptured with the same subject in the Assyrian-basement room; and above all, a valuable unbaked tablet describing the sixth to the eleventh years of Nabonidus, the triumph of Cyrus over Astyages, the victorious march to and capture of Babylon under Gobryas, and the flight and death of Nabonidus.

Mr. Newton's acquisitions include the gift by the Sultan of a fine fragment from the frieze of the Mausoleum; a rare marble portrait head of Euripides; a head of the youthful Bacchus, remarkable for the beauty of the features and the general charm of the expression.

In this example the artist has blended the beauty of both sexes in accordance with the androgynous conception of Bacchus conventionally adopted in later Greek art. A defaced but specially interesting head of Apollo; the so-called Sappho, so well known by the many replicas which exist of it; and a head of Alexander the Great, bound with the diadem; the neck bent on one side; the portrait differing entirely in conception from the one already in the Museum, and executed with far greater refinement; perhaps a copy of some celebrated bronze of the time of Lysippus,—are included in this department.

British and mediæval antiquities and ethnography have been immensely benefited by new systems of arrangement under Mr. Franks. The Greenwell collection of British *fiotilia*, from twenty years' excavation of barrows in the north of England and Gloucestershire, more than doubles the former collection of articles illustrative of the manners, customs, and manufactures, of the early Britons. And among a large series of acquisitions we can only here notice a collection of ninety-nine specimens of glass vessels of various ages, chiefly collected in Egypt by the Rev. G. J. Chester, one of which is a remarkable Arab goblet, of the thirteenth century, with fishes in gold.

The coin department has acquired some important hoards of Roman coins from Norfolk and Northamptonshire, and promises a catalogue of Roman consular pieces, and a guide to the English and Italian medals exhibited in the King's Library.

Professor Owen's Report on the state of the natural history collections speaks of improvements and acquisitions far too numerous for us to describe here. We can only mention the magnificent Hewitson collection of exotic butterflies; the Indian zoological collection; the Wollaston collection of St. Helena Lepidoptera; the examination of the large collection of bones of extinct wingless birds from New Zealand; the increase of acquisitions of aerolites, which now number three hundred and thirty specimens of siderites, siderolites, and aerolites, chiefly from America, Hungary, India, and Russia; and the extensive herbarium of the late Mr. John Miers, F.R.S., of South American plants.

Mr. Reid reports 4,750 acquisitions of prints and drawings illustrating an immense range of styles and countries, artists and epochs, which must be read in the original Return for their value and importance to be fully appreciated.

Discovery of ancient Lake-Dwellings at Boho, Fermanagh, Ireland.—Our Associate Captain Taylor, of Tyn Llwyn, Corwen, sends an account of the discovery of a lake-village in the deep cuttings of bog at Boho, co. Fermanagh. The discovery has been surveyed by Mr. T. Plunkett, and a memoir will shortly be communicated to the Royal Irish Academy. The portion at present uncovered consists of two log huts formed of

slabs and trunks of large oak trees. They are rectangular, measuring 6 ft. 3 ins. from side to side, and 11 ft. 10 ins. from "out to out". It is inferred the coverings were destroyed by fire, as charred wood has been found within; but from the corner-posts *in situ*, the height of roof from floor seems to have been about 4 feet. The construction is very simple. Four posts occupy the corners, some of 8 feet in circumference. Through these large holes have been hacked, and beams inserted, so that the structure now resembled a common bedstead. Oak planks were laid, resting on the substantial transverse beams, and formed the floor. Some of these cleft planks measure 3 feet across. The tenons of the lateral and roof-planks have been cut in the rudest manner, and the whole of the carpentry gives evidence of the stone axe and chisel. There is no clean cutting. In every case the bulged sides tell of the blow of the stone instrument. No objects in metal have yet been found; but stone instruments, rudest unornamented pottery, and decayed wooden vessels, were found associated with these primitive habitations.

These huts were built on an artificial island. The bog contains a large extent of piling. The island measures nearly 60 yards in length, and is oval in form. All over this the piling extends, bearing transverses resembling railway-sleepers, a bed of branches, stones, clay, and charcoal. These huts may probably be of a higher antiquity than either the Swiss or Scotch lake-dwellings; at any rate a more primitive civilisation is denoted by the absence of iron or bronze. Again, the peat has accumulated over these dwellings to the depth of 21 feet, and is of a dark, compact character. Peat accumulates, in fifteen years, over an inch. Again, gigantic tree-trunks lay in the peat above the huts, their roots *in situ*; but none on the level of the huts. All this speaks of a high antiquity, and exhibits strange contrivance and perseverance, since in some prominent part each great post or beam is drilled by a small hole as though for the insertion of a halyard, by which they may have been dragged overland, and then towed across the lake to their destination.

ERRATA IN VOL. XXXIII.

P. 176, line 1 of text, for *dolmèn* read *tolmèn*
„ 306, line 16, „ for *posture* read *pasture*.

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CHARTERS RELATING TO THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT YARMOUTH.

BY C. G. H. TENISWOOD, B.A.

(*Read August 1879.*)

IN acquiring a knowledge of the charters of a town, especially those relating to its government, we at the same time become possessed, to a considerable extent, of a historical view of its local government and the gradual growth and expansion of rights and privileges of the citizens, concurrently with the advance of liberty and civilisation. To an archæologist such a task has special interest. Not only does it lead him to examine and seek the meaning, use, and origin, of the many ancient forms and terms which present themselves to his notice, but it opens a wide field for antiquarian research and discovery. There is so much collateral matter incident to the history of an ancient charter, a knowledge of which is so inseparable from a comprehension of the charter itself, that a multitude of opportunities offer themselves to the diligent archæologist of gaining an acquaintance with the spirit and motives which actuated our early ancestors in many of their doings. In this view I venture to offer the following remarks on the charters of Yarmouth, trusting that if any matters of doubt or interest may not be sufficiently elucidated or discussed, an attempt to condense into a few pages a history of charters, twenty-five in number, and extending over a period exceeding five hundred years, will be some excuse.

The first charter was granted by King John in the ninth

year of his reign. It may be called the Magna Charta of Yarmouth, and as it is of so material importance I subjoin it *in extenso*.¹ There is no need to seek farther for the origin of this charter than to look at the position of Yarmouth, and see how important it was, being the key to the whole country round; and how necessary for a town in its position to be flourishing and prosperous, and capable of

¹ "Johannes Dei gra' rex Angliæ, d'nus Hibern', dux Normannie et Aquitanie, et comes Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciar', vicecom', prepositis, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, et presenti carta nostra confirmasse burgensibus nostris de Gernemua, quod habeant burgum de Gernemua ad feodi firmam imperpetuum, et quod burgus ille sit liber burgus imperpetuum; et habeant socam & sacam, tol & theam, & infangenethef & utfangenethef. Et quod ipsi burgenses per totam terram nostram, et per omnes portus maris sint quieti de theloneo, lestagio, passagio, paagio, pontagio, stallagio, et de lene, et de Danegeld, et omni alia consuetudine, salva libertate civitatis London', et quod nullam sectam comitatum vel hundredorum faciant de tenuris infra burgum de Gernemua.

"Concessimus eciam eisdem burgensibus, et hac carta nostra confirmavimus, quod nullus eorum placitet extra burgum de Gernemua de ullo placito preter placita de tenuris exterioribus. Concessimus eciam eis quietancium murdri infra burgum de Gernemua; et quod nullus eorum faciat duellum. Et quod de placitis ad coronam pertinentibus se possint dirationare secundum legem et consuetudinem Oxon. Et quod infra burgum predictum nemo capiat hospitium per vim, vel per liberationem marescallorum. Et quod husting semel tantum in ebdomada teneatur. Concessimus eciam eis gildam mercatoriam; et quod terras et tenuras, vadia sua et debita sua omnia juste habeant, quicunque eis debeat. Et de terris suis et tenuris que infra burgum predictum sunt, rectum eis teneatur, secundum legem et consuetudinem burgi Oxonii; et de omnibus debitis suis, que accommodata fuerint apud Gernemua, et de vadiis ibidem factis, placita apud Gernemua teneantur. Et si quis in tota Anglia theolonea vel consuetudines a burgensibus de Gernemua cepit, excepta, ut superius dicta, civitate London, postquam ipse a recto defecerit, prepositus de Gernemua namum apud Gernemua capiat.

"Insuper ad emendacionem predicti burgi de Gernemua, concessimus quod quicunq' mercatores petierint burgum de Gernem' cum mercato suo, de quocunque loco fuerint, sive extranei sive alii qui de pace nostra fuerint, vel de licentia nostra in terram nostram venerint, veniant, morentur, et recedant in salva pace nostra, reddendo dictas consuetudines illius burgi. Prohibemus eciam nequis predictis burgensibus injuriam vel dampnum vel molestiam inferat super forisfacturam decem librarum. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus, quod predicti burgenses de Gernemua, et eorum heredes habeant et teneant imperpetuum omnia predicta, hereditarie, bene et in pace, libere, quiete, integre, plenarie, et honorifice, reddendo inde annuatim quinquaginta et quinque libras numero, per manum prepositi de Gernemua, ad scaccarium nostrum ad terminum Sancti Michaelis.

"Et burgenses de Gernemua facient prepositos de se per annum, qui sint idonei nobis et eis.

"Testibus, domino P. Wintoniensi, domino J. Norwicensi, domino S. Sarisburiensi, episcopis; G. Filio Petri; W. Marescallo, comite Pembroke; W. fratre comite Sarum, W. comite Ferrari, Petro Filio Herberti, W. Briewer, Adamo de Portu, Garino Filio Gerold, Willelmo de Cantilupe, Johanne de Bassing, Galfrido Lutterell, Thoma Filio Ade. Dat' per manum H. de Wells, archidiaconi Wellensis apud Marleberg, decimo octavo die Marcii anno regni nostri nono."

taking an active part in a defence if called on. This, coupled with the knowledge of John's zeal and interest in the welfare of his seaport towns, I think is a sufficient reason for the grant of this charter.

The grant to the burgesses of the burgh to hold in fee farm, and that it was to be a free burgh, was the cornerstone upon which all the future liberties of Yarmouth rested; and to the present day this charter retains its legal vitality, for it is but a short time since it was brought from its repose to assist the Corporation in some dispute.

The next words to notice are "*soc & sac, toll & theam, infangenetheif & utfangenetheif*". These words are all of Saxon origin. *Soc* means liberty and power to administer justice, also the circuit or territory wherein such justice is administered. In the *Termes de Ley* we read, "*soc* is the suit of men in your court, according to the custom of the realm"; and in *Saxons' Brittany*, chap. xi, "*soc* is a suit of court, and thereof cometh *soken*; but the signification of the word cometh from the German *sucken*, that is, *quærere*; so that *soc* is *inquisitio*, i.e., seeking." Jacobs, in his *Law Dictionary*, says "the Latin word *soca* is used for a seignory or lordship enfranchised by the King, with liberty of holding a court of his *sockmeer*." Hence this word in the charter may be taken as a right or liberty to try suits, and also to bring them.

Sac is a privilege of holding pleas in trespass, and a right to impose fines in respect of such trespass. In the Saxon tongue *sac* is equivalent to the Latin *causa*, and is retained in our own language in the word "sake".

Tol, or *tholl*, or *tolne*, signifies a payment in towns, markets, and fairs, for goods and cattle bought and sold; also it is a liberty both to take and be free from such payment.

Theame or *teame* is a word derived from the Saxon *ty-man*, its equivalent in Latin being *propagare*. It is a royalty or privilege granted by the king's charter to the lord of the manor for the having, retaining, and judging of bondsmen, with their children, goods, and chattels. Some derive *theam* from *than*, a slave; but in this case it bears the first interpretation.

Infangenethief and *utfangenethief* both mean a right or privilege to take and judge thieves and felons; the former of these words giving this right only when they were taken

within the precincts or fee of the court; the latter giving the same right wherever the thief or felon might be taken. The words are of Saxon origin, coming from *in*, in; *ut*, out; *fang*, take; and *thef*, thief.

The terms *lastagium*, *passagium*, *paagium*, *pontagium*, *stallagium*, and *Danegeld*, are of considerable interest, and worthy of remark.

Lastage is from the Saxon *last*, a burden or any certain weight or measure. In the Statute, 21 Rich. II, c. 18, the word "lastage" is taken for the ballast of a ship. In this charter it signifies a custom paid for ballast. That this custom was not in the hands of the Corporation for some centuries after the grant of the charter by King John, the following memoranda, selected from among a number too numerous to quote, will shew: Henry de Hauvill died seized of the lastage of Yarmouth, Lenne, and Ipswich.¹ Thomas de Hauvill had the same by the Yarmouth service of keeping the king's gerfalcons.² "Jur' dicunt quod Henr' de Havyle tenuit lastag' de Mag' Gern' de rege Joh'e per serjeant' custod' d'no regi girfalcon, et Oliverus Wyth et Henr' de Redham modo tenent lastage predict' de hered' ipsius Henr' solvend' eisd' hered' pro eod' lxs. per ann. Placita coron' de lib'tatibus ville de Mag' Gernem' ibid' in octavis s'ti Joh'is Bapt' an' r. r. Ed' fil' H. regis 14to, n. 59."³ In the will of Sir Jeffery With, who died in the year 1331, occurs the following bequest: "Lego et do omnes redditus meos in dicta villa Jern' cum lestagio meo vocato coket Isabelle ux' meæ et Thome Doges." In the 12th Edward II, Thomas de Hauvill held the lastage of the port of Great Yarmouth, as in Demton and Baynham at large, held by grand serjeantry, by the service of keeping one of the king's falcons.⁴ In the 25th Edward III a grant was made of the moiety of the lastage of Great Yarmouth to one Thomas de Braylon; and in the 2nd Richard II, a deed of feoffment of the moiety of the lastage of Great Yarmouth. Eventually the lastage was conveyed to the Corporation of Yarmouth, where it has since remained.

Passage and *paage* have the same meaning, which is the hire a man pays for being transported over sea.⁵ It also is

¹ Esch., 40 Hen. III, n. 32.

² 12 Ed. I, cor. reg.

³ From an original MS. in the possession of Peter le Neve, 1700.

⁴ "Inquisitiones ad quod dampnum", 12 Ed. II.

⁵ 4. Ed. III, c. viii.

the name of a writ directed to the keeper of the ports to permit a man to pass over sea who had the king's protection. It also has a third meaning, viz., the money paid for passage over a river; but in the charter it must be taken in the first sense. The following extracts shew the rents paid to the town of Yarmouth for the ferries, horse and foot: "Ball'i dimiserunt passagium Joh'i le Suttere et Joh'i le Here de le Suthton pro xxxv solidis."¹ "Ball'i dimiserunt fereagium² Joh'i le Here de Dunningdale pro xxxv per ann."³ "Passatores equorum solvereunt hec die lune prox' ante f'm S'ti Mathei pro firma sua xivs. ix*d*."⁴ "Recept' de firma ferie apud Weston xlvis. viiid."⁵ "Roger Reede alloc' le Horsferie pro viii marc' et Simon Blakenham alloc' le Footferie pro vi marcis."⁶

Pontagium is either the toll taken of those passing over a bridge, or a contribution towards the maintenance of bridges.

Stallagium is a right to take money for setting up stalls in a market or fair. The Romans called it *siliquaticum*.

Danegeld comes from *Dane* and *geld*, the Dutch for money. It was originally a sort of land-tax, enforced by the Danes, of one shilling (afterwards increased to two shillings) upon every hide of land throughout the kingdom. It was imposed under pretence of suppressing pirates; but in the time of King Etheldred it was used as a means of raising money by which to purchase peace from the Danes, and was then called *Danegelt*, or money paid to the Danes. It was released by Edward the Confessor, levied again by William I and William II, but finally released again by Henry I and Stephen.

The next matter worthy of note is that none of the burgesses shall be compelled to plead out of the burgh of Yarmouth in any pleas of outward tenure. The meaning of this is clear, with the exception of a little ambiguity in the word *placitet*, as to whether it shall be taken actively or passively; but in the 13th Edward I a charter was granted which declared that the word *placitet* should be interpreted in both ways.

Next comes "*quietancium murdri infra burgum de Ger-*

¹ Roll, 5 Ed. II.

² Synonymous with *passagium*.

³ Roll, 12 Ed. II.

⁴ Roll, 13 Ed. III.

⁵ Roll, 21 Rich. II.

⁶ Roll, 4 Hen. IV. This appears to be the first mention of the foot-ferry.

nemua"; that is, the money belonging to murder, viz., fines and amerciaments for escapes, etc.

The clause, "*et quod nullus horum faciat duellum*", or "fight the combat", meant in ancient times that when a person was arraigned, and he pleaded not guilty, he could choose whether he put himself for trial upon God and the country by twelve men, or upon God alone. In the latter case it was called the judgment of God, it being presumed that He would deliver the innocent. It is one form of the "trial by battel",¹ by which rights to land were often decided. The combatants fought with staves from sunrise to sundown, and judgment was given to him who at that time held the advantage. In this form of combat referred to in the charter, the combatants fought with staves about an ell long, tipped with horn. Both had a target; but no iron was allowed. Before the fight proclamation was made that no one should do anything to disturb the fight, under pain of imprisonment for a year and a day.

The words "*et quod infra burgum predictum nemo capiat hospitium per vim, vel liberacionem marescallorum*", give the burgesses freedom from any purveyor of the king entering the burgh, and taking anything by force for the king's use.

In this as in many other charters of ancient date, there occurs a mention of a word of Saxon origin, viz., *miskeninga*, from *mis*, bad, and *cenninga*, i.e., *citare*. In the laws of Athelstan, *cenninga* is spoken of as a notice given by a vendor to a vendee that the goods or things sold are claimed by a third party, and is a sort of summons to the vendor to come and justify the sale. Taken with the prefix *mis*, it may be understood as a fraudulent action, or a summons to obtain money.² It is also spoken of by an ancient author³ as "*inconstanter loqui in curia*". In this charter I am strongly inclined to give it a meaning based on the one last mentioned, that every one must stand to his plea, and cannot alter, having once raised it.

An important grant to the burgesses is contained in the

¹ An interesting account of "trial by battel", ordeals, etc., is found in Stamford's *Pleas of the Crown*. It is mentioned among the privileges granted to the Monastery of Ramsay by Edward the Confessor. (*Mon. Angl.*, tom. i, p. 287.)

² "*Et in civitate London' in nullo Placito meiskennagium.*" (Chart. Hen. II.)

³ Minsthen.

words "*Et quod husting semel tantum in ebdomada teneatur*". This *husting* comes from the Saxon *hus*, a house, and *thing*, a cause ; or *hustinge*, a court or council ; and may be taken to mean both the court-house and the court itself. By this charter the burgesses were granted a merchant-guild (*gilda mercatoria*), which is a liberty or privilege granted to merchants, by which they can hold certain pleas of land within their own precincts. This is in a statute called "Fraternite et Gilde de Merchaunt."¹ The Guildhall is the place where the society meets, makes its laws, and transacts its business. The word is derived from *ghelden*, to pay, from *gheld*, money ; for every member had to pay something towards the support of the company. The origin of these guilds is of a very ancient date, being of the old Saxon law, by which neighbours entered into an association, and became bound for each other, to bring up any one of them who had committed any crime. For this purpose a sum of money was raised amongst themselves, and put into a common stock, out of which, when an offence had been committed, pecuniary satisfaction was made.

There is in most charters of a like description to this a clause similar to that which prohibits any one from injuring or molesting the burgesses of Yarmouth upon forfeiture of £10; and it may be worth remark that the sum is generally the same.

The sum to be paid to the Exchequer as rent for the fee-farm of Yarmouth was £55, as seen by the words of the charter, payable annually at Michaelmas. To pay this sum the burgesses had only the customs arising out of the port, they not being allowed to take any custom of goods bought or sold in the market on land. In the year 1373 this sum was raised to £60, the burgesses agreeing to pay 100s. in consideration of Kirkley Road being united to Yarmouth, which was first done by a charter of the 46th Edward III ; but of this charter I will speak further on.

Perhaps second to Yarmouth being made a free burgh, the most important privilege given to the burgesses was that of yearly choosing provosts from among themselves. The first instance we have of the office of provost is in the year 1108. There must have been officers peculiar to burghs long before this ; but it is probable none had so exclusive a

¹ 37 Ed. III, c. 5.

commission to reside in the town, collect the customs, and perform the offices of government of the burgh. At the free fair which was annually held in Yarmouth, bailiffs of the Cinque Ports came to hold a court ; and it has been surmised the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports' Warden arose on the extinction of the "*Comes Littoris Saxonici*", who had jurisdiction over all the Norfolk shore. As before mentioned, the office of provost arose in Yarmouth in the 9th Henry I, when an officer called "*Le Provost*" was invested with authority, and chosen by the king ; but whether he was first recommended by the burgesses does not appear. By virtue of the charter of King John the burgesses chose annually four provosts, according to the chief divisions of the town at that time.

Naturally Little Yarmouth and Gorleston were alarmed at, and jealous of, the acquisitions of Great Yarmouth, and attempted to curtail at least, if not wrest from that burgh, some of the many privileges and rights acquired under the charter. Though many disputes arose, still no real contest was entered on till the 12th of Henry III, when Roger Fitz-Osbert, warden of the manor of Lothingland, took certain customs in the port of Yarmouth contrary to the liberties and rights of the burgesses of that town under the charter of John. One Martin de Petershall was commanded by the King to make inquiry into the matter, and an inquisition was held at Yarmouth in the 12th of Henry III, on the Wednesday next after Midlent Sunday, on the oaths of twenty-two men of Norfolk and twenty-six men of Suffolk. In this inquisition there were several charges against Roger Fitz-Osbert. The first and most important was that he attracted ships, and took customs, to the detriment of Great Yarmouth, and in violation of the rights granted by charter. Roger, in defence, claimed an ancient right to take such customs and dues ; but the decision given was that all goods ought to be landed at Great Yarmouth ; that the whole haven belonged to the burgesses ; but that lesser wares might be landed on Lothingland side, at the option of the importers of the goods. The burgesses of Yarmouth were not satisfied at this decision, as if ships laden with victuals might unload at Lothingland, then they would lose much profit in respect of their fishery, their chief source of revenue ; so in the 40th of Henry III they petitioned that

monarch to grant them a new charter ordaining that all merchandise and fish, with all other commodities, should be sold at Yarmouth by the importers of them into the haven of Yarmouth, whether found in the ships or without. This privilege was accorded them by a charter granted by Henry III, dated Norwich, 25th March. The words are :—
 “Et quod omnes mercandise seu mercimonia tam de piscibus quam de aliis rebus ad portum de Gernemue veniencia in navibus vel extra inventa, libere et aperte per manum mercatorum hujusmodi mercimonia deferencium, sine alicujus impedimento vendantur et emanant.” Then follows a clause prohibiting brokers; and the charter concludes by forbidding any one to molest or disquiet the burgesses of Yarmouth on pain of forfeiture. In face of this charter, the very next year the bailiffs of Lothingland took customs of ships belonging to Great Yarmouth.

Before proceeding to a circumstance which tended to propagate these disputes between Great Yarmouth and Gorleston and Little Yarmouth, I will mention that in the same year, and on the same day, as the last charter, another was granted, which is called the charter of *Non arrestentur nisi*. This gave to the burgesses liberty that they and their goods, wherever found in the king's dominion, be not arrested for any debt of which they had not been sureties or principal debtors, except in certain cases.

The circumstance which fomented the disputes with Gorleston and Little Yarmouth was, that in the 22nd of Henry III that King made a grant of the farm of Yarmouth and the manors of Lothingland and Torkesey to John Baliol and Devorgil his wife, in exchange for some lands in Cheshire.¹ This transaction was evidently displeasing to the people of Yarmouth, for I find they petitioned the King to grant them a new charter, as this exchange of lands was obviously prejudicial to their obtaining their customs and dues. The subjoined extracts from some old records are of considerable interest with reference to this.² The Baliols

¹ The reason of this seems to have been that John Scot, the last Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, died without issue, and all his lands went to his three sisters. King Henry, seeing that royal prerogatives belonged to this earldom, assumed it into his own hands, and gave the heiresses other lands in exchange. To Devorgil (married to John Baliol), the daughter of the eldest sister, with other lands he gave the farm of Great Yarmouth.

² “Burgus de Gernemua tenetur in capite, reddendo ad scaccarium 55 libras per ann’. Et rex H. III assignavit firmam predictam Joh'i de Balliol et Devor-

appear to have been in possession of the farm of Yarmouth in the reign of Edward I.¹

The next charter granted was in the year 1260. Its effect was to give licence to the burgesses to enclose the town with a wall and fosse, also to build a gaol. That some defence was necessary is evident from the exposed situation of the town; and more so, it being the principal entrance into Norfolk and Suffolk. But notwithstanding the grant just mentioned, and the voluntary efforts of many of the burgesses, the building of the walls seems not to have been commenced till the year 1284, though the licence was given in 1260; and further, from bequests made in wills dated 1382, 1386, the walls appear not to have been completed at that time, or one hundred and twenty-six years after the licence to build was given. The first bequest is "It' lego ad muros Magne Jern' faciend' duas wagas sal' gross."² The next is "Item, do et lego ad muros claudend' xxs."³ In this last will is another clause which throws some light on the building of the wall. It is "It' cuilibet domui lepros' extra muros Jernemuthe 11s." The usual form of a gift or bequest to the two leper houses at and before the plague, which took place in 1348, was "To the lepers of the town". The words "extra muros" were never mentioned till after the north end was enclosed. From this it is a fair inference that the two leper houses being in the same position both before and after the plague, the wall and gate at the north end of the town were not completed in 1349, or else the words "extra muros" would have been used.

Whatever the causes which led to the delay of building the walls may have been, certain it is that there was this delay, and according to the following extract it seems at one time there were some doubts as to carrying out that

gille uxori ejus in escamb' pro terr' in Cestri' qui habent nundin', in parva Gernemue in Suff. in prejudicium Magne Gernemue. Ubi (scilicet in parva Gernem') consuetudo quod non debent capere aliquas consuetudines nisi tantam de navibus que jacent ita prope terram de Luddingland q'd ballivus ejusdem partis a sicca terra cum una virga longitudinis unius ulne et dimid' eas possit attingere." In the *Domesday Book of Yarmouth*, long since destroyed, there was an entry to the same effect.

¹ "Quod Joh'es rex Scotiæ possit dimittere manerium suum de Luddingland, ac duas partes maner' Duffield Ebor' et Torkesey Linc' necnon firmam suam de Magna Jernemutha." (*Rot. Scotie*, 23, 24 Ed. I, m. 18.)

² From the will of one William de Rookhage of Great Yarmouth, dated 20th May 1382.

³ From the will of one John Rayl of Great Yarmouth, dated 24 Sept. 1386.

intention: "It appears that shortly before the 46th Hen. III, the men of Yarmouth had a grant of certain customs from the merchants trading hither, towards walling their town; but this year, there being a doubt about building them, the said grant of murage, and the custom, therefore, was recalled, and the money collected ordered to be paid to Robert de Bodham for the King's use, because the merchant strangers made a great complaint about it."¹ No further account of murage appears till the year 1284, again in 1286 and 1324.² During the reign of Edward III no mention is made of murage. This probably is owing to the fearful plague which almost depopulated Yarmouth and the surrounding country; and as merchants would naturally avoid such a stricken spot, little money would be raised to carry on the work. In the reign of Richard II there are three entries respecting murage; but no further memoranda occur of grants of murage later than 1390, so we may conclude the walls were completed soon after that date.

The word *murage* itself is deserving of some notice. It is "reasonable toll taken of every cart and horse coming laden through a city or town, for the purpose of building or repairing the public walls thereof, due by grant or prescription."³ Also it signifies, according to a statute of Edward I,⁴ a liberty granted to a town to collect money for walling the city; and "service of work and labour done by inhabitants and adjoining tenants in building or repairing the wall, or city, or castle, was *operatio murorum*; and when the personal duty was commuted into money, the tax so gathered was called *murage*."⁵ In ancient times there were in the city of Chester two officers called *murengers*, who were two of the principal aldermen, chosen annually, their duty being to see the walls kept in good repair. There is much matter of interest connected with the walling of Yarmouth, which, not bearing on the subject of this paper, must pass unnoticed.

In the reign of Edward I four charters were granted. The first, dated 12 June 1284, Westminster, is merely an exemplification of all preceding. The second, dated 1st July

¹ *Rot. Finium*, 46 Hen. III, m. 5.

² "De consuetudinibus capiendis de rebus venalibus ibidem per aquam adductis per spatium septem annorum pro villa claudenda." (18 Ed. II, m. 1.)

³ *Jacob's Law Dictionary*.

⁴ 3 Ed. I, c. 31.

⁵ *Paroch. Antiq.*

1284, Westminster, has already been mentioned, namely, that one granted to explain the meaning of *placitet* in the charter of John. In 1276 the famous ordinance called the "King's Dite" was issued, being a declaration of the respective rights and liberties of the two disputants, viz., the Barons of the Cinque Ports and the men of Yarmouth. Riots, discords, and disputes, between them, of frequent occurrence, were the cause of this ordinance; but it by no means determined their controversies, for we find that a pardon was granted to Yarmouth, on the 2nd Dec. 1281, for trespasses and damages done to the Cinque Ports upon the sea-coast, by men of Yarmouth, as far as Shoreham and Portsmouth, for which they had been fined £1,000. Matters went on more smoothly till 1290, when fresh disputes arose between the Cinque Ports and Great Yarmouth, in consequence of which a charter was granted in 1297 by Edward I. In it mention is made of the good and laudable services the burgesses of Yarmouth had rendered to the Crown, and they had equal honour paid to them with the Cinque Ports for their services. The chief privileges granted were, that the burgesses shall be quit of all aids payable to the Crown; and that of lawful goods they may purchase in Ireland, no one shall be their partner. A charter, the words of which are exactly like the words of this one, was on the same day granted to the Cinque Ports. This was, however, ineffectual to settle their disputes, and another ordinance was granted in 1304; but notwithstanding this, in the reign of Richard II the parties were much in the same state as when the "Dite" was granted in 1276.

It will be remembered that in 1237 Henry III made an exchange of the manor of Lothingland and the farm of Yarmouth with John de Baliol, for some lands in Cheshire. This John de Baliol had three sons, one of whom was John de Baliol, King of Scotland. That the Baliols held the manors referred to in the time of Edward I has been shewn; but in the year 1296 the King of Scots renounced his homage to Edward I; and on this all his estates in England became forfeited, so the farm of Yarmouth and the hundred of Lothingland reverted to the Crown.

Whilst the farm of Yarmouth was held by the Baliols, their bailiffs had taken tolls and customs in the port of Yarmouth in direct violation of the rights of that town. The

resignation of the King of Scots seemed a favourable time to the burgesses to petition Edward I for a declaration of their right to all customs in the port of Yarmouth. This was done, and on the 22nd July 1305 Edward I granted them a charter which confirmed all previous ones; and by it the burgesses gained all that they were seeking for, viz., that all merchandise brought into the port, both in ships belonging to the men and tenants of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston, as well as in ships belonging to any others whatever, should be put to sale and unladen at Great Yarmouth. There is also a provision against brokers, forestallers, and the like.

This charter, clear though it was, did not keep the contending parties quiet, their disputes continuing during eight years; and in the 7th Edward II a charter was granted on matters connected with the old source of combat. The most interesting part of this charter is that which refers to "*Trenagium*". This was given to the burgesses, together with the issues of it, as an aid to the payment of the fee-farm rent. The word *tronage* is worthy of note. Its real meaning seems to be duty or toll for weighing wool; and in *Stat. West.*, ii, c. 25, *trona* is a beam to weigh with. With reference to its meaning here, it is, perhaps, a matter of doubt whether it refers only to wool or to any merchandise whatever. I am inclined to the latter meaning, as, though there was considerable wool-trade at Yarmouth, the issues of weighing wool alone would not have been very important.

Edward III, who granted three charters, gave Yarmouth a confirmation of all previous ones by one dated Nottingham, 8th May 1327. The next granted was on the subject of the old contest of levying tolls and customs in Yarmouth Haven. There occurs in the exemplification of a final order, dated 23 June 1331, made by the Lord Chancellor in a dispute between Yarmouth and John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, and his men and tenants,—a passage which shews the pith of this contest: "*Eo quod iidem burgenses ipsos homines et tenentes et eciam cum navibus suis apud easd' villas Parve Jern' et Gorleston applicare et ibid' careare et discareare volentes impediverunt ante hoc tempore exorte*". Then are set out the proceedings that have taken place, and next we come to a passage which declares Yarmouth Haven

to be but one port, and for ever to belong to the town of Great Yarmouth. It was on this process the charter dated 10th July 1332 was granted, which decides that the men of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston may load and unload their own proper ships at those towns; but they are in no way to interfere with the rights of tronage belonging to Yarmouth.¹ There is also a clause prohibiting the men of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston from attracting any ships to the said towns under grievous penalty.² This charter proved effectual, for the disputes which led to its being granted were not renewed for about two hundred and twenty-six years.

The next charter was one of the year 1372, the first in respect of the Kirkley Road. The circumstances which led to its annexation were as follow. When the south channel, the formation of which had proved of so much benefit to the inhabitants, became dangerous for navigation by reason of the many shelves and sands which formed in it between the years 1337 and 1349, a stop was put to the trade of the town. In consequence of this the burgesses petitioned Edward III, about the year 1347, for leave to make a haven opposite to Corton. This was the first of what are called the six havens of Yarmouth. The request was granted, and the haven formed. After about twenty-six years the haven also began to be blocked up with sand; and ships not being able to enter, discharged their cargoes in the adjoining road called Kirkley Road. Of course, under these circumstances the owners of ships would not pay the customs and dues to Yarmouth; and as Lowestoft was acquiring great advantage, the burgesses of Yarmouth petitioned the King to unite Kirkley Road to their Haven. A writ of *Ad quod dampnum* was directed to the escheator of Norfolk and Suffolk, and thereon two inquisitions were taken and returned, and in 1372 Kirkley Road was, by charter dated 22 Aug. 1372, united to Great Yarmouth upon payment of one hundred shillings per annum. There is in this charter a provision that no one shall unload any fish or merchandise whatever within seven "leuks" (miles) distant from Great Yarmouth

¹ This clause supports the view taken in this paper of the meaning of "tronage".

² In the 14th of Edward III one Richard Simoun forfeited to the King five quarters of wheat for unlading at Southtown.

unless the ship, boat, or herrings, shall be such person's property ; also that no fair of herrings shall be held, nor any selling or buying on account of merchandise, within the space of seven leuks, about the town during the fishing or fair of herrings. In 1376, in consequence of some proceedings taken by the men of Lowestoft, this grant—in fact the whole charter—was repealed by letters patent. In 1378 Richard II regranted Kirkley Road to Yarmouth, in 1381 repealed that grant, in 1385 regranted it, and in 1386 repealed the grant again ; but in 1387 he regranted it by charter dated 28th Nov. 1387, in which he confirmed all former charters. After this last no charters of importance were granted till the time of Henry VII. Henry IV in 1399 confirmed all previous charters by one dated 24th Nov. 1399. Henry V and Henry VI granted like documents, dated respectively 20th May 1414 and 12th June 1447.

Up to this time there were no justices of the peace in the burgh. The courts held were the Burgh Court and the Port Court, in both of which the bailiffs sat to administer justice. In the former were heard all causes of trespass, debts, and other contracts, arising in the burgh. In the latter court cases of trespass and contracts relating to marine matters were heard and decided by the bailiffs. This was evidently a court of admiralty held, I submit, by prescription, and as ancient as the Court of Hustings. All *placita Coronæ* were tried before the justices itinerant within the burgh. We have seen that common pleas were to be pleaded and impleaded in the burgh : hence, where a suit relating to any trespass, contract, or other matter, arising or done within the burgh, or relating to any tenure situated therein, was commenced in other court, the clerk or the bailiff went to that court and claimed the liberties of the burgh, presenting at the same time the charter of Edward I ; this being a confirmation of all previous ones, and was named "The Port Horse" from the frequency of its journeys to other courts in support of the liberties of Yarmouth.

This, then, was the constitution of the civil government until the year 1493, when Henry VII, by a charter dated Westminster, 16th May 1493, gave the burgesses of Yarmouth liberty to constitute justices of the peace in the burgh, such justices to have the same authority as any other justices of the peace in England. The right to hold

sessions of oyer and terminer, and liberty to choose two coroners from the burgesses, were given to the bailiffs. This charter was confirmed by one of Henry VIII, dated Westminster, 28th Oct. 1518.

When Mary became Queen, Robert Eyre, one of the Members for Yarmouth, was sent in 1554 to London to sue for a charter of admiralty; on which mission he was not successful, for the Queen refused the charter, and all the burgesses obtained was a charter dated 14th Feb. 1553, confirming all previous ones. So long as the Port Court held its jurisdiction, all maritime causes were tried before and determined by the bailiffs, and all wrecks of the sea found within the precincts of the burgh were taken as town property. In 6th Edward VI a suit was begun in the Court of Admiralty against the bailiffs for retaining a large amount of lead found on the shore. The bailiffs defended their *quondam* rights with vigour; but it appears from a recognizance dated 6th April 1552, that they were ordered to pay a sum of £200 or return the lead.

Queen Elizabeth, when she ascended the throne, hearing of the petition to Mary, granted a charter, dated 26th May 1559, to the burgesses, giving them power to hold a court of admiralty. The document is necessarily of considerable length, there being many matters of detail to set forth; but it is sufficient here to shew its effect was to give to Yarmouth the court of admiralty it desired. The court was to be held every Monday through the year, before the bailiffs of that town for the time being. Also it gave to the town right to retain all goods, waifs, estrays, and wreckage, of the sea; flotsam, jetsam, lamen, etc., wherever found by water in the liberty and precinct of the burgh, and all manner of fishes royal. The charter, however, gave the burgesses no power to deal with cases of piracy; but they would not allow (and in this they were quite justified by their charter) any process issued from High Court of Admiralty to be executed without their consent in the town.¹

¹ "The Muscovite Company sent to Yarmouth two men with a process under the seal of the Lord Admiral, to arrest certain ships and goods which be com- from the Narve; whereupon the bailiffs offered the two men who brought the process their officers to go with them into the road to arrest such ships and goods as were there; which they refused, saying they would have Mr. Bailiffs go by themselves by virtue of that commission, to which the Bailiffs would not assent." (16 Eliz.) "Anthony Styles left with the Bailiffs a commission under

The year after this charter was granted, a Mr. Anthony Styles, of Norwich, was made clerk of the court by a patent dated 23rd August 1560, at a salary of £5 per annum. He remained in the office about fourteen years, and then was discharged, a Mr. Charles Calthorpe taking his place.

It is interesting here to note that as Queen Mary had made Sir Thomas Woodhouse Vice-Admiral of Norfolk and Suffolk, a compound was made with him by the bailiffs. They were to pay him £10 per annum, or the value of such sum, he undertaking not to interfere with the Admiralty Court of Great Yarmouth. This arrangement continued till he died ; then in 1573 the Queen gave the vice-admiralty to Henry Woodhouse, Esq., nephew of the late Sir Thomas. Three years after this, there having been considerable dispute between Mr. Woodhouse and the bailiffs, he acknowledged in writing the liberties and authority of the Admiralty Court of Yarmouth.

James I was petitioned¹ by the bailiffs and burgesses that he would confirm to them all former charters, and also add to them some new helps and reliefs. The King referred the consideration of this petition to the Earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, and Northampton, as prayed. An order was given that a new charter be drawn ; and on the 1st of July 1608, Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, and at this time High Steward of Yarmouth, surrendered to the King all his jurisdiction of a parcel of the main sea from Winterton Ness to Esterton Ness. The object of this surrender was that the King might give in his charter to the burgesses of Yarmouth the jurisdiction exercised by the Lord High Admiral over that portion of the sea surrendered as a liberty, relief, or help, asked for in the petition. This charter, which is dated 22nd July, 6th James I, gave a grant of Admiralty jurisdiction both in the Haven and other places, from Winterton Ness to Esterton Ness, fourteen leuks in length, and eastward into the sea, seven leuks in

the seal of the Vice-Admiral, to cause twenty-four men of Yarmouth to appear at Norwich, upon a jury, before the Justices of the Admiralty. It was agreed that the same should not be obeyed, but should be answered and defended by the town." (18 Eliz.)

¹ This petition set forth the origin of the town, but in a vague, indefinite manner. It also pleads the great expense the town is at to keep the Haven in repair, alleging that the cost of their Haven made into the sea was over £30,000, of which Queen Elizabeth gave £8,000, and that the town annually paid £500 to maintain these works.

breadth. This gave the town the right to try pirates, and there is no doubt that right was exercised.¹ Beyond this, the bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty, of the burgh were made one body corporate and politic. There were to be twenty-four aldermen, who should compose the common council. The office of steward was to cease, and a recorder to be appointed in his place. The High Admiral of England was not to molest the bailiffs in their office ; but they were at all times to obey any officers having mandate from the King, or authority from those having such mandate, in levying or taking off seamen for the service of the Crown. The Corporation was given authority to make laws for the regulation of seamen's wages, and to levy fines for disobedience. Many other privileges were accorded to Yarmouth by this charter which need no comment.

Charles II granted three charters to Yarmouth. The first was in 1674. The chief matters in it are the confirmation of the court of admiralty, and the prohibition against any one buying or selling commodities in any house or shop in Suffolk, within half a mile of Yarmouth Bridge. In 1679 the King by charter incorporated South Town with Great Yarmouth ; and in 1695 a most important charter, which gave the town a mayor instead of two bailiffs, eighteen aldermen instead of thirty-six, and thirty-six common councilmen instead of forty-eight. Under this charter two fairs were to be holden in the year, and a special court was appointed to regulate them. James II, in 1688, by a general proclamation vacated this charter ; but Queen Anne granted a new one on the petition of the burgesses, and by that charter the Corporation was placed on the footing on which it has since continued.

¹ The first session held at Yarmouth, by virtue of this charter, for trying pirates, was on the 25th of March 1613, when five persons were condemned. Their names and offences were as follow : Michael Smythe of York, merchant, Thomas Jenkins of London, Michael Muggs of Southampton, Edward Charter of Newcastle, and John Jacob of Ratcliffe in Middlesex. All these, with the exception of the first named, were mariners. The offence was feloniously taking away a cockboat, a ship called the *Sea-Horse*, thirty barrels of beer, 22,000 fishes called lampreys ; in cash, the sum of £30 ; six barrels of red herrings : total value, £190. These goods were the property of Messrs. Johnson and Cornellison. On the 23rd September 1617, Hugh Millesent of Great Yarmouth, William Graves of Kingston upon Hull, Edward Bowles of Great Yarmouth, and William Reynolds of Trowse, were condemned in the Court of Admiralty of Yarmouth for the crime of piracy. The reason why robberies at sea were more frequent than now, is probably that in early times bills of exchange were not used, or not so much as of later years, and merchants sent large sums about in ships, thus giving great temptation to pirates.

THE ANCIENT COINS OF NORWICH.

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(Read August 1879.)

THE subject of the present paper being more particularly the money coined at the Norwich mint, I do not purpose to describe in detail any of the ancient coins which formed the currency of the eastern portion of England before the conquest of East Anglia by the West Saxons, and the establishment of the mint at Norwich by Æthelstan about the year 928. In his reign were struck the earliest coins bearing the name of that city, and the first which can be said with certainty to have been coined there.

It must not be supposed, however, by any of my readers that the eastern counties of England were destitute of a local monetary currency before the date alluded to. On the contrary, it has been conclusively proved by Mr. John Evans in his standard work on the *Coins of the Ancient Britons* (London, 1864), that the art of coining money was known to the early inhabitants of this isle even before the invasion of Julius Cæsar. The oldest British coins are the uninscribed gold ones probably made in the Kentish district about the period 200 to 150 B.C. Very soon after these Kentish coins date those of the "Eastern district," by which term Mr. Evans includes Norfolk, Suffolk, and parts of Cambridge and Huntingdon shires. Of this district there exist some gold and silver coins without legends, which are attributed to the tribe of the Iceni.¹ The inscribed coins of the eastern district are rather later in period; and the gold ones bear the name of ADDEDOMAROS, who was a prince of this district, and probably of the Iceni, *circa* B.C. 30 to A.D. 5. The silver coins have the inscriptions: ECEN and ECE (probably for the name of the tribe), ANTED (perhaps for the name of the Prince Antedrigus, about A.D. 45-50); and other legends which may be names of towns, viz., AESV, SAEMY,

¹ Vide Evans, plates xiv and xvi.

CAV, DVRO.¹ There are no copper coins which can be assigned to the Iceni with any certainty. This tribe was finally subjugated by the Romans A.D. 61.

Soon after the reign of Claudius, A.D. 54, it is probable that the native coinage ceased; and when the Roman power had become established in Britain, and the imperial laws and customs introduced (about the time of Agricola's governorship, A.D. 78-85), the circulation of the money of the empire became universal: indeed, the vast quantities of Roman coins which have been found in every part of this country shew to what an extent they were used here. But for further particulars I must refer the reader to J. Y. Akerman's *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, and F. W. Madden's *Handbook to Roman Coins*.

With regard to local discoveries of Roman coins, an interesting paper was read at the Yarmouth Congress by Mr. Henry Prigg, on the recent finds of coins in Norfolk and Suffolk, which will, no doubt, appear in our *Journal*. Roman coins are constantly found in and near the ancient fortifications of Burgh Castle (*Garianonum*), Caister-near-Norwich (*Venta Icenorum*), and Caister-near-Yarmouth. While at Norwich last summer I acquired an interesting "large-brass" coin of Antoninus Pius, struck at Rome A.D. 151, which was probably found in or near Caister Camp (Norwich); and at the other Caister (near Yarmouth) I was shewn another large-brass coin of Septimius Severus, who died in this country, at York, A.D. 211.

There is now a vast gap in the numismatic history of Norfolk, *i.e.*, from the final departure of the Romans (about the year 450) until the reign of Beonna, King of East Anglia, about 750-760; unless, indeed, some of the doubtful and unappropriated *sceattæ* can be proved to have been struck in this district.² But it is in the interesting series of East Anglian coins between 750 and 890 that we find, as Mr. Lindsay well remarks, "a grand practical proof of the illustration which history is capable of receiving from numismatic investigations. We have here a kingdom, the existence of whose princes for a period of fifty or sixty years is

¹ See Evans, plate xv.

² See John Lindsay's *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, 1842, p. 3. He refers to several *sceattæ* which he supposes to have been struck by the East Angles about the seventh century A.D.; but his conjectures have not since been confirmed by other numismatists.

scarcely mentioned by our ancient chronicles, which are altogether silent as to their names."¹

The earliest coins attributed to the East Angles are *see-attæ* (small silver coins of uncertain value) bearing the name of Beonna. They are assigned to a king who was contemporary with Offa of Mercia, about A.D. 750, and whose name is variously given as Beorna, Beonna, or Hunbeanna. In 793 Ethelberht, King of East Anglia, is said to have been murdered by Offa, and his dominions added to the kingdom of Mercia. In the British Museum is an unique silver penny which is attributed to this Ethelberht by two numismatic writers,—the Rev. D. H. Haigh in his *Numismatic History of East Anglia*, and Mr. C. F. Keary in *Coinages of Western Europe*. Mr. Lindsay also inclined to the same opinion. In both editions of *Hawkins*, however, it is assigned to an Ethelberht, King of Kent, 725-60, and some doubt thrown upon its genuineness, although, as it seems to me, without sufficient reason. Its type is very curious,—*obv.*, the King's bust and name, ETHILBERHT, followed by LVL in Runic letters; *rev.*, the title REX, and a representation of the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.²

We next find a silver penny of Offa,³ struck by the moneyer VINTRED, and pennies of Cœnwulf (King of Mercia, 794-819), of the same moneyer,—but on these spelled WINTRED,—which are supposed with much probability to have been coined in East Anglia because one of the latter pennies⁴ has the letter A, the symbol of East Anglia, conspicuously placed on the reverse. Another coin of Cœnwulf, with the moneyer's name, SIGESTEF, also having the letter A in the centre of the reverse, is engraved in Mr. Kenyon's edition of *Hawkins*, fig. 573. Ceolwulf I, the next King of Mercia, and over-lord of East Anglia, A.D. 819, also coined pennies with the letter A, for Anglia, on the reverse.

By the general consent of numismatists, certain very rare silver pennies (bearing *obv.* EADVALD REX, and *rev.* the moneyer's name, either EADNOTH or VINTRED) are now assigned to a king of the East Angles who is, however, unmentioned in history. Eadvald is supposed to have reigned about 819-827 A.D. In the year 824 East Anglia, which seems to have been, since Offa's time, a kind of vassal king-

¹ *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, p. 42.

³ Ruding, plate iv, No. 19.

² See *Hawkins*, fig. 51.

⁴ Ruding, plate vi, No. 6.

dom owning the over-lordship of Mercia, revolted; although one of the pennies of Beornwulf, King of Mercia, 820-824, bears his title as King of the Anglians. The next King of Mercia, Ludica, 824-825, was killed, like his predecessor Beornwulf, in fighting against the East Anglians. Neither Ludica nor Wiglaf, King of Mercia, 825-839, made any East Anglian coins, as far as is known. The next ones of that kingdom are the pennies of Ecgberht, King of the West Saxons, 800-836, which have the Anglian symbol, the letter A, on the reverse. It is stated in the *Saxon Chronicle* that in 827 Egbert "conquered the Mercian kingdom, and all that is south of the Humber"; and Mr. Kenyon supposes¹ "that Egbert retained East Anglia in his own hands for a short time, during which he struck those coins of his which bear the letter A", and that "after the submission of Wiglaf in 828 he gave East Anglia to Ethelstan". Fifteen different types of pennies of Ethelstan I, under-king of the East Angles about 828-836, are described in Kenyon's edition of *Hawkins*. This prince also is unknown to history, his existence having been learnt only from the coins.

Between 836 and 857, Æthelwulf, King of the West Saxons and over-lord of England, made coins bearing the mark of East Anglia, the A, on the reverse; and several contemporary pennies also exist bearing the name of Ethelweard, who is believed to have been the under-king of East Anglia about 837-850. As Berhtulf, King of Mercia, 839-852, also struck some coins with the East Anglian symbol, A, it is probable that he claimed the sovereignty or over-lordship of East Anglia, like his predecessors, although Berhtulf must have been himself an under-king to Æthelwulf at the time.

Next in order come the purely East Anglian coins of Beorhtric, the under-king, about 852. Burgred, who was King of Mercia, 852-874, appears also to have claimed over-lordship of East Anglia at the beginning of his reign, as one of his pennies bears the title of REX A, for King of the Anglians. A good many coins exist of Eadmund, who reigned over East Anglia from 855-870. Having been murdered by the Danes, who had over-run his country, he was canonised, and was subsequently known as St. Eadmund. It must have been during his reign, however, that Æthelred I,

¹ P. 59, Kenyon's edit. of *Hawkins*, 1876.

King of the West Saxons and over-lord of England, struck some pennies with the East Anglian symbol, A. Soon after Eadmund's death, Guthrum, a Dane, was placed upon the throne. In 878, after the Peace of Wedmore, Guthrum was recognised as king of East Anglia by Ælfred, and was baptised, taking the name of Ethelstan. He reigned as Ethelstan II from 878-890. His coins all have his name spelled incorrectly, thus EDELIA RE, EDELSAN RE, etc. It was probably just before this, about the years 872-878, that the Danes in the eastern parts of England coined the various rude imitations of the pennies of Ælfred the Great, which will be found described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, old series, vol. v, and in Kenyon's edition of *Hawkins*, pp. 126, 127.

Only one king, Eohric (890-905), succeeded Ethelstan in the separate government of East Anglia; but no coins bearing his name are known. It was, however, during his reign that a large number of pennies and halfpennies bearing the name and titles of St. Eadmund were probably made. They have on the *obverse*, the letter A in the centre, with the legend, SC. EADMVND REX spelled in many different ways; *reverse*, a cross and the moneyer's name, or some unintelligible legend. Three of the St. Eadmund pennies¹ have, however, the name and title of Ælfred on the reverse; but they were evidently not made in East Anglia. There are no coins of Ælfred known to have been coined in Norfolk. Blomefield, in his *History of Norwich* (1806, vol. iii), erroneously assigns a coin with the *London* monogram to the Norwich mint.

It is thought by Mr. Kenyon² that the St. Eadmund coins were struck for Eohric towards the end of his reign, and that the A on the obverse probably indicates that they were intended for use in the kingdom of East Anglia. Whether they were minted within that kingdom or not is uncertain; but probably very many of them were. Nevertheless, a most experienced authority, the Rev. D. H. Haigh, says:—"My opinion, founded on a careful examination of the evidence of the coins themselves, and the circumstances of the two principal findings of them, is this: that the *Sc. Eadmund* money was neither ecclesiastical nor peculiarly East

¹ Engraved in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1870, N. S., vol. x, plate vii, Nos. 7, 8, 9.

² P. 97 of his edition of *Hawkins*.

Anglian, but that it was minted simultaneously in different parts of the country, after the death of Guthrum-Ethelstan, and that it was chiefly the work of French artists who accompanied the Danes on their return to England, A.D. 892.¹ Eohric was expelled from East Anglia in 905, and his dominions added to those of Eadward the Elder, King of the West Saxons.

About 921 the whole of the Danelagh submitted to the Saxons, and with the prosperous reign of Eadward's son Æthelstan the list of Norwich coins begins. It is very likely that many of the coins of East Anglian kings, which I have alluded to above, may have been made in Norwich; but there is no numismatic evidence of a mint there before Æthelstan's reign, for no coins earlier than his have been found bearing the name of that city.

In order to make the coinage of this confused period, A.D. 750-925, more intelligible to the reader, I have prepared the adjoining tabular view. It will be observed that sometimes there were as many as three different princes making East Anglian money at about the same time; but the table will, I hope, give a clear idea of the chronological sequence of the coins. The dates in very many cases are, of course, only approximate.

As I have just remarked above, the earliest coins which can be said with certainty to have been struck at Norwich are silver pennies of Æthelstan. His brothers and successors, Eadmund and Eadred, also coined money at this mint; but I have not met with any Norwich coins of Eadwig, 955-959. Of Eadgar, two Norwich pennies are in the Stockholm Museum; but none are known of Eadward II, "the Martyr."

With the reign of Æthelred II, "the Unready", 978-1016, the old troubles with the Danes recommenced. In the year 991 they entered East Anglia, and ravaged the country. To purchase their retreat, the celebrated tax of *Dane-geld* was now first imposed, and the Danes were bought off with ten thousand pounds' weight of silver. In 994 the Danes and Norwegians, who were plundering the south of England, were bought off, for the second time, with sixteen thousand pounds of silver; and in 1001 as much as twenty-four thousand pounds were paid to purchase their retreat. But it was in the year 1004 that the Danes, under Swegen or

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. x, p. 37.

Tabular View of the Numismatic History of East Anglia, A.D. 750-940.

MERCIA.	WESSEX.	EAST ANGLIA.
758-794. Offa, King.		750-60. Beonna, King of East Anglia, struck silver coins, <i>seeattæ</i> .
793. Offa annexed E. Anglia.		790, about. Ethelberht, King of East Anglia; a silver penny, perhaps coined by this King.
794-819. Cœnwulf, King of Mercia, over-lord of E. An.		793-794. Offa, over-lord, struck coins (pennies) with his name in E. Anglia.
819. Ceolwulf I, King of Mercia, over-lord of E. Anglia.		794-819. Coenwulf, over-lord, made coins in E. Anglia bearing the mark A.
820-824. Beornwulf, King of Mercia.	} Both killed in battle with the East Anglians.	819. Ceolwulf, over-lord, made coins in East Anglia with the mark A.
824-825. Ludica, K. of Mercia.		819-827. Eadvald, King of East Anglia, struck coins bearing his name.
825-839. Wiglaf, K. of Mercia.		824. East Anglia revolted from Mercia.
827. Mercia submitted to ECGBERHT, over-lord of England.	827. ECGBERHT, K. of the West Saxons, became over-lord of England	827. ECGBERHT, over-lord, made coins in East Anglia with the mark A.
	836-857. ÆTHELWULF, King of the West Saxons	828-836. Ethelstan I, under-king of E. Anglia, made coins bearing his name.
839-852. Berhtulf, under-king of Mercia.	} These two kings claimed the sovereignty of E. Anglia.	836-857. ÆTHELWULF, over-lord, made coins in E. Anglia with the mark A.
852-874. Burgred, under-king of Mercia.		837-850. Ethelweard, under-king of E. Ang., struck coins with his own name.
	857. ÆTHELBALD, K. of the W. Saxons, did not coin in E.A.	839-852. Berhtulf of Mercia made East Anglian coins with the mark A.
	860. ÆTHELBERHT, K. of W. Saxons, did not coin in E.A.	852. Beorhtric, under-king of E. Anglia, struck coins with his own name.
	866. ÆTHELRED I, K. of the W. Saxons	853. Burgred of Mercia made E. Anglian coins with the mark A.
	871. ÆLFRED the Great became K. of the West Saxons.	855-870. Eadmund, under-king of E. Ang., made coins with his own name. [Afterwards known as St. Eadmund.]
874. Ceolwulf II, last King of Mercia, did not coin in East Anglia.	878. Peace of Wedmore. Ælfred, victor over the Danes	866-870. ÆTHELRED I, over-lord, struck coins with A for E. Anglia.
		870. Danes conquered E. Anglia.
		872-878, about. The Danes, who had overrun the eastern portion of England, coined rude imitations of Ælfred's pennies.
		878. Guthrum baptized; recognised by Ælfred as under-king of the Danes. Reigned over E. Anglia by the title of Ethelstan II, 878-890, and struck several coins.
		890-905. Eohric, last under-king of E. Anglia. Pennies made in his reign with the name of St. Eadmund.
	901-925. EADWARD the Elder, King of the West Saxons.	905. Eohric expelled from E. Anglia, and his kingdom annexed by Eadward the Elder.
		921. The whole of the Danelagh submitted to the Saxons.
	925-940. ÆTHELSTAN, K. of W. Sax., over-lord of all Engl.	925-940. ÆTHELSTAN, over-lord, coined in E. Anglia. The Norwich mint established.

Sweyn, made their most destructive descent upon the eastern counties, in revenge for the terrible massacre of St. Brice's Day, 1002. It is related that Norwich was plundered and burnt, and that the same fate befell nearly every town in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire. Again, three years later, in 1007, the retreat of Sweyn, after another invasion, was purchased by a payment of thirty-six thousand pounds of silver. Altogether, the Danegeld, levied many times, amounted to no less than one hundred and sixty-seven thousand pounds of silver.

The only kind of coined money made at this period in England was in the form of silver *pennies* weighing about twenty to twenty-seven grains each. But it is interesting to observe the influence that the payment of these vast amounts of silver as Danegeld had upon the coinage. Whether it was because the Danes were paid a large portion of their impost in coined silver, or because a very large amount of coined money would be necessarily required in every part of the country for paying and collecting this tax levied on each hide of land; the fact remains that the coins of Æthelred II are exceedingly numerous, more so than those of any king before the Norman conquest, except Edward the Confessor. Æthelred had mints in at least forty different towns; and in my list below there will be found a description of no less than fifty-eight varieties of his Norwich coins alone.

There is no doubt that very great numbers of the English silver pennies of Æthelred II, Cnut, Harold I, and Eadward the Confessor, were sent over as Danegeld to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, for large quantities of them have been found in those countries. A numismatic writer, Mr. Samuel Sharp,¹ has computed that no less than 5,075 Anglo-Saxon coins of the four reigns just mentioned have been found in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and are now preserved in the royal and other cabinets in those countries. In 1846 M. Bror Emil Hildebrand, Director of the Royal Museum of Antiquities and Cabinet of Medals at Stockholm, published an elaborate work in which are described more than 3,200 of these Anglo-Saxon coins, all found in Sweden; and in the following pages will be found numerous extracts from his valuable catalogue.

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., 1869, vol. ix, p. 333.

In 1016 the whole of England was under the Danish rule; but the drain of money from this country did not cease. Cnut (1016-1035) struck a considerable number of coins at Norwich, where the mint was again set up; but most of these, as well as his other English coins, found their way abroad, where they now are. Of Harold I (1035-1039) there are also some Norwich pennies; and of his brother, Harthacnut, a few. The English coins of these two latter kings are very much scarcer than those of Cnut, and they are much oftener found in Denmark and Sweden than in England.

Upon the restoration of the Saxon power under Eadward the Confessor (1042-1066), the Norwich mint was again very busy. I find that more different varieties of coins were struck at Norwich in this reign than in any other before or since. See the list given below, where over seventy are enumerated. Comparatively little, however, of Eadward's money was sent abroad as Danegeld, and consequently his coins are much less numerous in the Swedish and Danish cabinets than in England. This tax was definitively abolished in the year 1049.

Harold II reigned for such a short period, 5th January to 14th October 1066, that it cannot be expected that his Norwich coins would be numerous. Nor are they. I have only seen two specimens.

All the Norwich coins prior to the Norman conquest bear on the reverse the name of the moneyer who made the die, together with the name of the city. The moneyers' names are very varied, and offer an interesting subject of inquiry for the philologist. A great many are Danish, as we should naturally expect to find in East Anglia, but a large number also are Saxon. I have given full lists of them in describing the pieces of each king below.

With regard to the name of the city, there is no doubt that its original form was *North-wic*; and local historians explain that it was thus called "the northern stronghold, or place of refuge", in contradistinction to Caister (the ancient Roman *Venta Icenorum*), which is three miles further to the south than Norwich, and is said to have been the older city of the two. In the *Saxon Chronicle* the name is spelled "Norðwic", with the variations "Norhtwic" and "Norwic". On the coins of Norwich, previous to the Norman conquest,

the most usual form is NORÐPIC (in Saxon letters, for NORTHWIC) or some abbreviation. Other forms which also occur are NORÐPICC, NORÐPICE, NORPIC, NORÐPETI, NORÐVIC or NORVIC. The Ð generally has the cross-stroke, and is the Saxon *th*, and the P is the Saxon *w*.

After the Norman conquest the Norwich mint was worked under William I, William II, Henry I, Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III. On these coins the name of the city is spelled NORÐPIC, NORPIC (Saxon letters for NORTHWIC, NORWIC), NORVIC, NOREVIC, NORWIC; and on the pennies of Henry III a new form appears, NORWIZ (but perhaps the last letter is meant for an s). After Henry III there are no more Norwich coins until we come to the reign of Edward IV, when the only *gold* coins ever made at Norwich were struck. These are gold nobles and half-nobles coined in his fifth year, 1465, having the letter *N*, for Norwich, below the ship on the obverse. There are also silver *groats* of the same King, struck after his fourth year, 1464, of the value of four silver pennies, and weighing forty-eight grains. They have the letter *N* on the King's breast, on the obverse; and on the reverse the name of the mint, CIVITAS NORWIC' or NORVIC' (City of Norwich).

Although Charles I had a good many mints in different parts of the country during the civil wars, he had none at Norwich; and the only other regal money made in this city was that of William III in 1696-7, when a large quantity of half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, was coined at five country mints (Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York) in order to expedite the great recoinage of old and worn silver money that then took place. The pieces coined at Norwich are distinguished by the letter *N* placed under the King's bust. I learn from a MS. in the British Museum that the amount of new silver money coined at Norwich in 1696-7, out of old hammered money, plate, and bullion, was £207,963 : 16 : 2. These were the last Norwich coins, for the various tokens made by private tradesmen do not come within the scope of my paper, nor under the description of *coins* proper, *i.e.*, the national royal currency.

As to the locality or precise spot in Norwich where the ancient mint was situated, I regret that I have not been able to procure any information. The Castle, said to have been built by William Rufus, perhaps included the mint

within its walls and fortifications in the time of the Norman and Plantagenet kings, as was very generally the case in other cities at the same period. It should also be distinctly understood that the mint at Norwich was always a *royal* mint, striking coins (for national currency) under the immediate authority of the *king*, and not of the bishop. It does not appear that the bishops of Norwich ever possessed or used the privilege of coining money of their own, as several other bishops in England formerly did.

I shall now proceed to give a detailed list of all the Norwich coins that I have been able to hear of, first asking the reader to bear in mind the following

EXPLANATION OF NUMEROUS REFERENCES IN THE SUBSEQUENT
PART OF THIS PAPER.

Hildebrand signifies M. Bror Emil Hildebrand's *Monnaies Anglo-Saxonnes du Cabinet Royal de Stockholm*. 4to. Stockholm, 1846.

Hawkins, the late Mr. Edward Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England Arranged and Described*. 2nd edition. Edited by R. L. Kenyon. 8vo. London, 1876.

Lindsay, Mr. John Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy*. 4to. Cork, 1842.

Ruding, the Rev. Rogers Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*. 3rd edition, 3 vols., 4to. London, 1840.

Snelling, Thomas Snelling's *View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England*. Fol. London, 1762.

B. M., that the coin to which these initials are affixed is in the National Cabinet, at the British Museum.

S. M., that the coin is in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, Sweden.

C. U., that the coin is in the Cabinet of the Christiania University, Norway.

ÆTHELSTAN, A.D. 925-940.—The earliest coins which can be assigned with certainty to the Norwich mint are several silver pennies of Æthelstan, King of the West Saxons, grandson of Ælfred the Great, and eldest son of Eadward the Elder. After having been for some time under Danish rule, East Anglia was added to his dominions by Eadward, and now, in the reign of his son, was under settled Saxon rule. Commerce flourished, and as a natural consequence money was minted in considerable quantities. The Norwich coins of Æthelstan are comparatively numerous. I have myself seen no less than eleven varieties.

Æthelstan appears to have been the first of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs who ordained laws for the regulation of

the coinage, and at any rate greatly reformed and reorganised it. At a grand synod which was held at Greatanleage about the year 928, it was appointed or enacted "that there should be only one kind of money throughout the whole realm, and that no one should coin but in a town." It was at the same time ordained that there should be in the chief cities seven or eight moneyers, and elsewhere *one* moneyer in each of the other burghs.¹ From the evidence of the coins themselves, however, there seem to have been several different moneyers at work at the same time at Norwich. I have met with seven different moneyers, *Barbe*, *Bardel* or *Burdel*, *Eadgar*, *Giongbald*, *Hrodear*, *Manne*, and *Manticen*, on the pennies of Æthelstan; and five of the same names appear again on the Norwich coins of his successors, Eadmund and Eadred, within the next fifteen years, viz., *Barbe*, *Eadgar*, *Hrodear*, *Manne*, and *Manticen*. It seems, therefore, to follow that no less than five moneyers were engaged coining at the same time at Norwich, which would shew how considerable was the trade and importance of the city in the time of the West Saxon monarchs.

All the coins of this period are silver pennies weighing about 22 to 24 grains Troy, and made of good silver; probably of what is called the "old standard", viz., 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine, to 18 dwts. of alloy. The pennies of this and all the English monarchs down to and including Henry III have the type of the King's head, with his name and titles, on one side; and some form of cross on the other, accompanied by the name of the moneyer and the place of mintage, as, for instance, "*Bardel Mo[netarius] Norw[ic]*," for Bardel, Moneyer, Norwich. In the reign of Æthelred II the word "on" (for "at") begins to take the place of "Mo." Previous to Æthelstan's time there was generally only the name of the moneyer on the reverses of Anglo-Saxon coins; but in his reign the addition of the name of the place became the rule, in consequence, it is supposed, of the before mentioned law, which prohibited money from being struck except within a town.

The Norwich pennies of Æthelstan bear on the *obverse* a rudely executed profile bust of the King to the right, crowned. Legend, around inner circle, ÆDELSTAN REX, with a cross patée at the commencement. *Reverse*, a small cross patée in the centre of the coin; inner circle, and

¹ Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, 1840, vol. i, p. 126.

the name of the moneyer and mint. A cross patée before the moneyer's name. The following are the different reverse legends known to me: BARBE MO NORÐPIC, in the British Museum; BARDEL MO NORP, *B. M.* (see Plate I, No. 1); BYRDEL MO NORPI, *B. M.*; BYRDEL NORÐ...C, *B. M.*; EADGAR MO NORÐP, in the cabinet of John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., etc., Hemel Hempstead; GIONGBALD MO NORÐPC, *B. M.*; GIONGBALD MO NORÐPI, in the extensive stock of coins on sale by Mr. F. W. Lincoln, 462 New Oxford Street, London; HRODEAR MO NORPIC, in the cabinet of Wm. Brice, Esq., Clifton; HRODEAR MO NORVC, *B. M.*; MANNE MO NORÐPETI, *B. M.*; MANTICEN MO NORPIC, J. Evans, Esq.; MANTICEN MO NORVIC, *B. M.* All these coins are of the types of *Hawkins*, figs. 185 and 186, which only differ slightly in the drawing of the bust. Some are in higher relief than others. It should be observed that the ð in ÆDELSTAN and NORÐPIC is the Saxon *th*, and the P is the Saxon *w*.

EADMUND, A.D. 940-946.—The Norwich coins of Eadmund are silver pennies similar to those of Æthelstan, but they appear to be much scarcer. The moneyers' names which I have met with are *Barbe*, *Eadgar*, *Hrodear*, and *Manticen*, all of whom were also moneyers under Æthelstan.

These pennies are all very similar, but some have the bust crowned, and others have no crown. Those *with crown* have, *obverse*, rude bust of the King in profile, to the right, crowned. Outside of the inner circle is the legend, EADMVND RE OR REX, with a cross at the commencement. *Reverse*, small cross in the centre; inner circle with legend around. One has +MANTICEN MO NORPC, cabinet of Wm. Brice, Esq. Another in the same cabinet reads +NRODEAR NO NORVC, evidently meant for HRODEAR MO, etc. (see Plate I, No. 2). A third penny of this type, reading +EADGAR MO NORÐPI, is engraved in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 1806, Plate to vol. iii; copied from the Fountain Plates, tab. 5, No. 1.

Pennies with the bust *not* crowned.—*Obverse* similar to the preceding coins, but without the crown on the King's head. Legend, +EADMVND RE. *Reverse*, small cross and inner circle, as before. Legends, +BARBE MO NORÐPIC (engraved by *Lindsay*, Pl. iv, No. 109, from a coin in the possession of Mr. Richard Peter of Dublin, 1842); +BARBI MO NORÐPIC, *B. M.*; +MANTIEEN (for MANTICEN) MO NORPI, Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen, and also *B. M.*; but the latter penny reads on the obverse, +EADMVN REX. All these coins are of the type of *Hawkins*, fig. 192, and *Ruding*, Pl. xviii, No. 2.

EADRED, A.D. 946-955.—The Norwich coins of Eadmund's brother Eadred are silver pennies very similar in type and weight to those of his predecessor, but still rarer. I have only seen three varieties, bearing the moneyers' names *Manne* and *Secgge*. The former name occurs on a penny of Æthelstan; but the latter, *Secgge*, appears in this reign for the first time.

Eadred's pennies bear, *obverse*, profile bust to the right, filleted or crowned; an inner circle; and the legend, +EADRED REX. *Reverse*, a

small cross patée in the centre; inner circle; and the legends, + MANNE MO NORÐ, followed by three dots and another cross (see Plate I, No. 3), or + SECGGE MO NORPIC. These two coins are in the British Museum. Mr. Brice has a third, reading on the reverse, + MANNE NOV; but this coin is singular in that the two crosses and many of the letters (on the reverse) have little strokes out of the ends, giving the crosses the appearance of *crosses crosslet*. For illustrations of this type, see *Ruding*, Plate xix, Nos. 1-4, and *Hawkins*, figs. 194, 195. Fig. 194 is taken from the penny with MANNE, in the Museum, described above. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, also engraves the same coin, and states in a note to p. 5, vol. iii, that "a piece of this was found in Honedon churchyard, near Stoke, in Suffolk, a'o 1687. (*Philosophical Transactions*, No. 189, p. 356.)" It should be observed that the letters M and N on Eadred's coins are formed very much like H's.

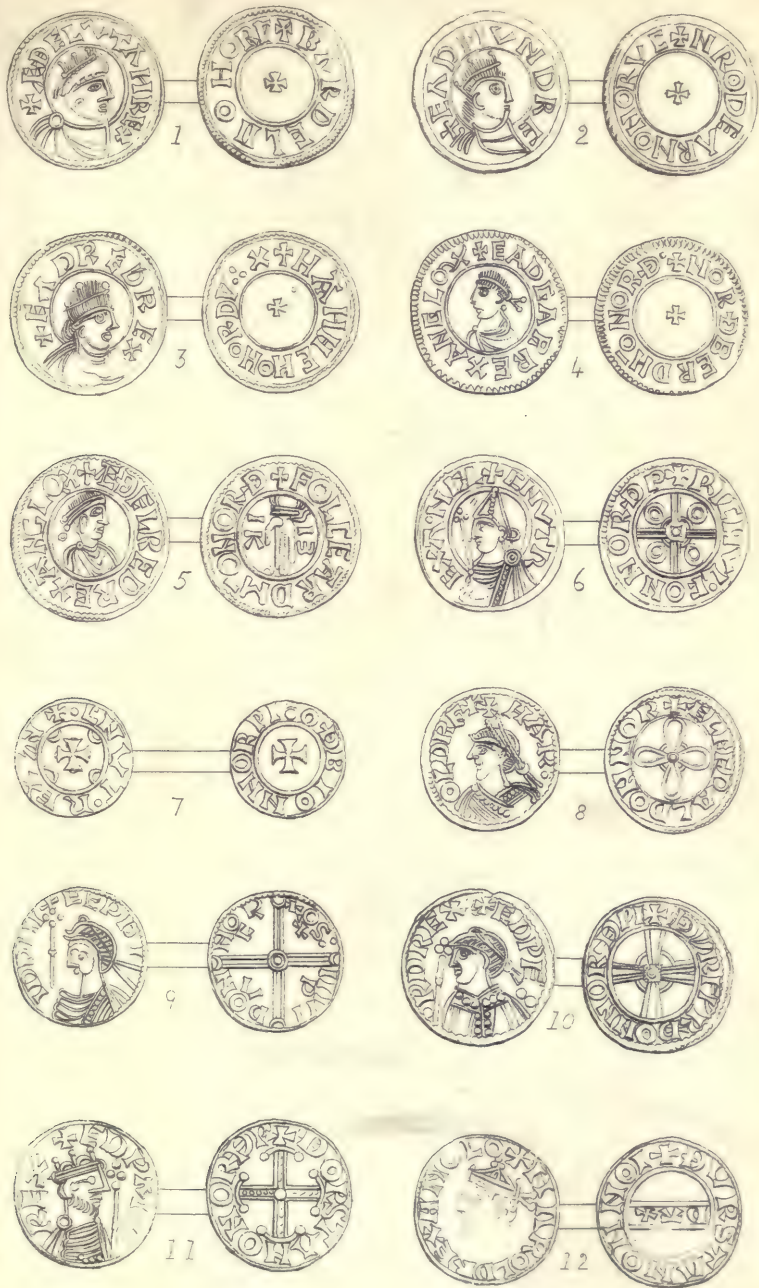
EADWIG, A.D. 955-959.—I have not been able to discover any coin of this monarch bearing the name of Norwich, although it is possible that one of his pennies with the name of the moneyer only, MANN, without any town-name, *may* have been struck by the Norwich moneyer *Manne*.

EADGAR, A.D. 959-975.—No Norwich coins of this King are in the British Museum, or in any other English cabinet as far as I know; but two specimens are to be found in the Royal Cabinet of Stockholm, which evidently formed part of the treasure which went to Sweden as *Dane-geld*, as I have explained in a former part of this paper.

These pennies have on the *obverse*, bust of the King, in profile, to the left, filleted, and entirely confined within the inner circle. Legend, + EADGAR REX ANGLOꝝ (for *Eadgar Rex Anglorum*). *Reverse*, a small cross patée in the centre; inner circle; and the name of the moneyer and the mint. One specimen reads + ERC...OLD MO NORÐ, probably for *Ercimbald Mo(netarius) North(wic)*. The other has + NORÐBERD MO NORÐ, for *Northberd Mo(netarius) North(wic)*. Both these coins are in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm; and I have copied the illustration, Plate, I, No. 4, from *Hildebrand*, tab. i. (Type of *Hawkins*, fig. 200, *Hildebrand*, C. 2.)

EADWARD II, 975-978.—Although it is stated by *Ruding* that coins of this monarch were struck at Norwich, I have not succeeded in meeting with any. None of this mint are in the British Museum.

ÆTHELRED II, 978-1016.—As has been already remarked above, the Norwich coins of this King are very numerous, and by far the greater number of them are to be found in the museums of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark; to which countries they were sent, soon after their coinage, in payment of the burdensome impost of *Dane-geld*. Æthelred's



J. J. Lee & Co.



coins are all silver pennies, varying in weight from 20 to 27 grains each. The following is a list of the different varieties struck at Norwich, arranged according to Hildebrand's types :

Type A of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 205) : *Obverse*, king's bust to the left, filleted, within inner circle. The legend is variously spelled, being some form of ÆTHELRÆD REX ANGLORVM more or less abbreviated. A small cross at the commencement of the legend. *Reverse*, a small cross patée in the centre of the coin ; inner circle ; and one of the following various legends, each with a small cross at the commencement : ÆLFRIC O NORDPI, CENRIC ON NORDP, EADFACR O NORÐP, EDPACR O NORÐP, EDPÆCER MO NORDPI, HPATEMAN O NOR, HPATEMN MO NORÐP, LÆOFFINE MO NORI, LÆOFFINE O NORÐPI, LEOFRIC O NORÐPI, LEOFRIC O NORÐPIC, LEOFFINE O NORÐPI, LEOFFINE MO NRD, OSPOLD MO NORÐP, OSPOLD MON O NRÐ, VLF-CETEL MO NOR, PVLFRM ON NORÐP. All these varieties are in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm. Another penny of this type is in the Cabinet of the University, Christiania, with the reverse legend, + LEOFFINE MO NORÐ.

Type B 1 of Hildebrand : *Obverse*, bust to right, filleted, within inner circle. No sceptre. Legend : ÆDELRED REX ANGLO, followed by two crosses. *Reverse*, hand from heaven between the letters Alpha and Omega, $\bar{A} \bar{\omega}$. On some coins these letters are transposed, thus, $\bar{\omega} \bar{A}$. All within inner circle. Legends, with crosses at commencement, as follow :—BRANTING MO NORÐPIC,¹* University Cabinet, Christiania, and Royal Cabinet, Stockholm ; FOLCEARD MO NORÐ,* British Museum (see Plate I, No. 5) ; LIVING MO NORÐPIC, S. M. ; LIVING MONETA NORÐPI, found at Ipswich, 1863 ; LIVING MONETA NORÐPIC, cab. of J. Evans, Esq., and found at Ipswich, 1863 ; MANNIE MO NORÐVIC, B. M. ; MANNING MO NORÐPIC, Mr. Evans ; MANNING MO NORÐPI, Norwich Museum (found in Ipswich, 1863), also one in S. M. ; SPVRTINC MO NORÐPIC, belonging to E. A. Tillett, Esq., Norwich ; SPYRTINC MO NORÐPIC, Mr. Evans and also Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, from Ipswich find (see *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., viii, 179).

Type B 2 of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 206) : *Obverse*, king's bust to right, filleted, with sceptre ; all within inner circle. Legend, ÆDELRED REX ANGLO, followed by two crosses. *Reverse*, hand from heaven between the letters Alpha and Omega, but with a pellet below each of those letters ; all within inner circle. The legends, all commencing with a cross, are : BRANTINC MO NORÐPI, S. M. ; MANING MO NORPI, B. M. and S. M. ; SPVRTINC MO NORÐ, B. M. ; SPYRTINC MO NORÐ, S. M.

Type B 3 of Hildebrand : exactly like B 2, except that it has on the reverse the hand from heaven alone, without the Alpha and Omega. One of this type, in the Stockholm Cabinet, reads on the reverse, + SPERTING MO NOR.

Type C of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 204) : *Obverse*, king's bust to the left, with sceptre ; all within inner circle. Legend, ÆDELRED REX ANGLO,

¹ Another, with similar legend, was in the Ipswich find, 1863. See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., iv, 30.

* Two coins similar to those marked * are engraved on Plate i, vol. iii, of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 1806.

followed by two crosses. *Reverse*, a double cross, or cross voided, with the four letters c, r, v, x, in the angles; all within inner circle. Legends, each with a cross at commencement, EADMYND MO NODPI, EADMYND MO NORÐ, EADMYND MO NOB, EDELPINE MO NOR, LIFINC MO NORÐPI, MANINC MO NORÐ, MANINC MO NORÐPI, SPEARTINC MO NORÐ, SPERTINC MO NORÐ. All these are in the Stockholm Cabinet; but one, similar to the last, is in the British Museum.

Type C, variety *d*, of Hildebrand: one exactly similar to type C, except that the bust looks to the right, reads on reverse, +FOLCARD MO NORÐ, Stockholm Cabinet.

Type D of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 207): *Obverse*, bust in profile to the left; no diadem, and no inner circle. Legend, +ÆDELRÆD REX ANGLO, with sometimes another cross after the last word. *Reverse*, a long double cross, or cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; no inner circle. Legends, +ÆLFRIC MO NORÐ,—two with this reverse, one reading on obverse, ANGL., and the other ANGLO, S. M.; another with *rev.*, ÆLFRIC MO NORÐ, *obv.* ANGL., C. U.; ÆLFRIC MO NORÐPI, S. M.; HPASEMAN MO NOID, S. M.; HPATEMAN MO NOR, S. M. and C. U.; SPERTIC MO NORÐ, S. M.; SPERTINC MO NORÐ, S. M. and cabinet of H. W. Henfrey.

Type E of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 203): *Obverse*, king's bust to left, helmeted and with radiated crown; no inner circle. Legend, +ÆDELRÆD (or EDELRÆD) REX ANGL. (or ANGLO). *Reverse*, a long double cross or cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents, placed over a square tressure, each corner of which is ornamented with three pellets. No inner circle. Legends, always commencing with a cross, ÆLFRIC MO NOR, S. M.; HPATEMAN MO NORÐ, S. M.; HPATEM MO NOR, C. U.; HPATM' MO NORÐ, S. M. and C. U.; LEOFAT MO NO, given in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 1806, vol. iii, plate i, from the Fountaine coins, tab. ii, No. 31; LEOFSTAN MO NO, S. M.; LEOFSTAN MO NOR, S. M. and C. U.; SPERTG MO NORÐ, S. M.

With regard to the inscriptions on these pennies of Æthelred, I may observe that the obverse legend is on all of them some form of the name and title, "*Æthelred Rex Anglorum*." The Saxon Ð, for *th*, is always used in the king's name, which is often spelled ÆTHELRÆD (the correct, full form); but sometimes the first stroke of the Æ is omitted, and it reads ETHELRÆD or ETHELRED. The last word of the obverse legend is always abbreviated, generally to ANGLO, and is almost always followed by some mark of abbreviation, such as a cross or curve. The reverse legend is always the name of the moneyer and of the mint, with the word MO or ON between. When the word ON (meaning *at*) occurs, the letter N is generally not repeated in *Northwic*, the same letter being made to do double duty, thus, ÆLFRIC ONORÐPI (*Ælfric on Northwic*). More frequently in this reign, however, the moneyer's name is followed by the letters MO, the abbreviation of the Latin *monetarius* (moneyer).

On one or two coins it is fuller, thus, MON and MONETA. Hildebrand appears to think that MO is not simply the abbreviation of *monetarius*, but stands for *monetarius on*, and it is true that many pennies have a dot, a circle, an apostrophe, or a line between the M and the O. One of the coins described above, under type A, seems to give some colour to this idea, as it reads OSPOLD MON O[N] NRÐ, for *Oswold Monetarius on Northwic*. However, it has been generally considered by numismatists that MO simply stands for *monetarius*, and it does not seem possible now for any one to decide with absolute certainty.

The reader should also bear in mind that the P on these coins always represents the Saxon *w*, and the Ð (in *Northwic*, etc.), the Saxon Ð, or *th*. I have alluded to the various spellings of the name *Northwic*, which is the full and correct Saxon form, in a former part of this paper. With regard to the names of the Norwich moneyers on Æthelred's and other Anglo-Saxon coins, I must explain that what is clearly the same name is often spelled in different ways, and often blundered or misspelt, probably by ignorant workmen. I subjoin below a list of Æthelred's moneyers at Norwich, giving the various forms of spelling found on the coins, but placing first that which seems to be the most correct form of each. I am inclined to think that all those names ending in *-inc*, of which there are several, are merely mistakes for *-ing*, the last letter not being properly completed. In several cases I am quite sure that the C is an incomplete G.

Ælfric
Branting, also written *Brantinc*
Cenric
Eadmund
Eadwacer, also written *Edwacer*
 and *Edwecær*
Ethelwine
Folcard, also written *Folceard*
Hwateman; on one coin *Hwase-*
 man
Leofat
Leofric

Leofstan
Leofwine or *Læofwine*
Livinc or *Lifinc*, probably for
 Living
Mannic, perhaps for *Manning*
Manning, also written *Maninc*
Oswold
Swerting, also written *Swertinc*,
 Swurtinc, *Swyrtinc*, & *Swear-*
 tinc
Ulfcetel
Wulfmar.

CNUT, 1016-1035.—The Norwich coins of this Danish King are rather numerous; but much rarer in England than in Sweden, Denmark, etc. They are all silver pennies, weighing about 20 grains each, although several are many grains lighter. The following is a list of the varieties known to me:

Type A of Hildebrand: *Obverse*, King's bust to left, filleted, within inner circle. No sceptre. Legend, + CNVT REX ANGLOR: *Reverse*, a small cross patée in the centre, within inner circle. Legend, + OSPOLD MON ONRÐ (for OSWOLD MONETARIUS ON NORTHWIC). This coin is in the Stockholm Cabinet, and is engraved in *Hildebrand*, tab. 4.

Type B of Hildebrand: *Obv.*, King's bust in profile to the left; no diadem, no sceptre, and no inner circle. Legend, + CNVT REX ANGLOR. *Rev.*, a long double cross, or cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents; no inner circle. Legend, + ASÐRÐ MO: NOR. (for ASTHRITH monetarius northwic). This coin is in the cabinet of the University, Christiania.

Type E of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 212): *Obv.*, bust to left, crowned, within a tressure of four curves, like a quatrefoil. Legend, + CNVT REX ANGLOR, or on some coins, ANGLORV or ANGLORVM. *Rev.*, a long double cross, or cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents, placed over a tressure of four curves, or quatrefoil. Legends, each with a cross at commencement, as follow: ÆFIC MO NOR (for ÆLFRIC), S. M.; EDMVND MO NOR., S. M.; EDMVND O NORD, C. U.; EDMVND O NORV., C. U.; EDPAER M: NOÐ, S. M.; EFIC O NORPI, S. M.; GODPINE M. NOD, Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen (see *Numismatic Chronicle*, xviii, 134); GODPINE MO NOR, S. M.; GODPINE O NORÐP, S. M.; HATMAN M: NOR, S. M.; HVPATEMAN O NOR, S. M.; HPATMAN O NOR, C. U.; INC. O NORÐPICE, C. U.; LEOFRIC MO NOR, S. M.; LEOFRIC M NOR, S. M.; LEOFINE MO NORÐP, C. U.; MANA O NORÐPIC (on the obverse the tressure is like a circle), C. U.; OSPOLD M NOR, S. M.; OSPOLD M NOÐ, S. M.; OSPOLD MO NOR, C. U.; SVMERLDA NOD, S. M.; ÐVREFERÐ (for THVREFERTH) O NO, S. M.

Type G of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 213): *Obv.*, King's bust to left, wearing a mitre (or more probably a pointed helmet), and with sceptre in front of the face. There is an inner circle three fourths of the way round. Legend, + CNVT RECX, or CNVT REX A. or ANGL. *Rev.*, a double circle in the centre, with a cross voided issuing from it; annulets in each angle; all within an inner circle. Legends, each commencing with a cross: ÆLFRIC ON NORÐPI, S. M.; ALFSTAN O NEORÐ, S. M.; ALSTAN ON NODR, S. M.; HPATAMAN ON NOR, S. M.; HPATMAN, O NORÐ, S. M.; MANA ON NORÐPI, S. M. and C. U.; MANA O NORÐVI, S. M.; MANA O NORÐPIC, S. M.; MANNA ON NORÐ, S. M.; OSLACC ON NORÐP, S. M.; RICNVLF ON NORÐP, B. M. (see Plate I, No. 6).

Type H of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 208). The pennies of this type are rather smaller in size than the preceding. They have—*obv.*, bust to left, diademed, and with sceptre; no inner circle. Legend, + CNVT (or sometimes CNV) REX or RECX. *Rev.*, a double cross, or cross voided, with annulet in the centre, all within inner circle. Legends, each commencing with a cross: ÆGELFERÐ O NOR, S. M.; ELFERÐ ON NORÐ, C. U.; LEOFINE ON NOÐP, S. M.; MANA ON NORÐ; B. M. and S. M.; MANA ON NORÐPIC (but reading on the obverse, + CNVT REX ANL), E. A. Tillett, Esq., Norwich; SIRIC ON NORÐ, B. M. and S. M.; SIRIC ON NORÐP, S. M., and E. H. Willett, Esq., from the City find, London, 1872 (see *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., xvi, 338).

Type 9 of *Hawkins* and *Ruding*, Plate xxiii, No. 26. This very curious and I believe unique penny was first published in Ruding's plate, and was then in the cabinet of Rebello. After passing through the collections of M. Trattle, the Rev. T. F. Dymock, and Capt. Murchison, it is

now in the choice and extensive cabinet of Wm. Brice, Esq., of Clifton, who kindly lent it to me for examination and publication in this paper. Although the genuineness of this coin has been doubted, according to Ruding, and the legends misread by Mr. Thomsen (*Numismatic Chron.*, iii, 121), who endeavoured to make out that it was a Danish coin, I am now able to assure the reader, after a very careful examination by myself and by several numismatic friends, that it is most undoubtedly a coin of Cnut, King of England; and also, from its inscription, evidently struck at the Norwich mint. It has also every appearance of genuineness, and I see no reason whatever to doubt its authenticity. As it is quite unique in type, etc., I give an illustration of this coin on Plate I, No. 7, accurately copied from the original, by the kind permission of Mr. Brice. I do not know whether it was intended for a penny or a halfpenny. It is of small size, only six-tenths of an inch in diameter; it is of good silver, and in very perfect preservation, but only weighs $11\frac{1}{2}$ grains. *Obv.*, a small cross patée in the centre, cantoned with four crescents, their horns touching the inner circle. Legend, +CNVT REX AN, the last two letters in monogram, for ANGLORVM. *Rev.*, a cross patée within inner circle. Legend, ODBI ON NORPI. (for OTHBI ON NORWIC). Every letter of the inscriptions is perfectly plain, and the coin agrees with Ruding's plate in every particular. The moneyer's name, *Othbi*, probably for *Othbiorn*, is peculiar, not occurring on any other Norwich coin with which I am acquainted; but there was a moneyer, *Othbeorn* or *Othbern*, at Lincoln, in both Cnut's and Edward the Confessor's reigns.

The following are the various names of the moneyers that occur on Cnut's Norwich coins:

<i>Æfic</i> or <i>Efic</i> , probably misspelt for	<i>Inc</i>
<i>Ælfric</i>	<i>Leofric</i>
<i>Ægelferth</i>	<i>Leofwine</i>
<i>Ælfric</i>	<i>Manna</i> or <i>Mana</i> , perhaps the same
<i>Alfstan</i>	as <i>Æthelred's Mannie</i>
<i>Astkrith</i>	<i>Oslacc</i>
<i>Edmund</i>	<i>Othbiorn</i>
<i>Edwaer</i> , probably the same as <i>Æthel-</i>	<i>Oswold</i>
<i>red's Edwacer</i>	<i>Ricnulf</i>
<i>Elferth</i>	<i>Siric</i>
<i>Godwine</i>	<i>Sumerlida</i>
<i>Hwatman</i> ; also written <i>Hatman</i> ,	<i>Thureferth</i> .
<i>Hwataman</i> , and <i>Hrwateman</i>	

Eight of these, viz., *Ælfric*, *Edmund*, *Edwaer*, *Hwatman*, *Leofric*, *Leofwine*, *Manna*, and *Oswold*, were, no doubt, the same persons as those who were moneyers under *Æthelred II.*

HAROLD I, 1035-1039.—The coins of this King are all silver pennies, generally weighing less than 18 grains each. The varieties of the Norwich pennies are as follow:

Type A of Hildebrand: *Obv.*, King's bust to left, filleted; no sceptre and no inner circle. Legend, +HAROLD RE, REX, or RECX. *Rev.*, a cross formed of four oval loops issuing from a centre of circles or annulets; no inner circle. Legends, each with a cross at the commencement, *ÆLFF-*

PALD ON NOR (see Plate I, No. 8). B. M., S. M., and C. U.; ÆLFINE ON NOR, S. M.; ÆLFOLD O NORÐPI, B. M. and S. M.; MANNA ON NORÐPIC, S. M.

Type B of Hildebrand (*Hawkins*, fig. 214): *Obv.*, bust to left, with sceptre in front of face; no inner circle. Legend, + HAROLD REX OR REC. *Rev.*, cross voided, extending to the edge of the coin; in each angle a fleur-de-lis issuing from a compartment in the centre; no inner circle. Legends, each with a cross at commencement: ALFPOLD O NOR (but reading on obverse, HAROLD REX A), S. M.; LEOFFINE O NORÐ, B. M. and S. M.; LEOPINE ON NORÐ, S. M.; MANNA ON NORÐ, B. M. and S. M.

The various names of the moneyers at Norwich, in this reign, are, as will be seen, only five, viz.: *Ælfwald*, *Ælfwine*, *Ælfwold* (also spelled *Alfwold*), *Leofwine* (also written *Leowine*), and *Manna*. The first three of these are new; but *Leofwine* and *Manna* also coined for Cnut. The name of *Ælfwine* appears again on coins of Edward the Confessor, and *Leofwine* struck coins for both Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor.

HARTHACNUT, 1039-1042.—All the coins of this, the last of the Danish kings of England, are very rare. I have only been able to discover a few Norwich pennies of Harthacnut, all in foreign cabinets.

Type B of Hildebrand (like *Hawkins*, fig. 217): *Obv.*, King's bust to left, filleted, and holding sceptre; no inner circle. Legend, + HARÐACNV (for HARTHACNVT). *Rev.*, double cross, or cross voided, within inner circle; over the centre is a nearly square compartment with a pellet at each corner. Legend, + LEOFFINE ON NOR. This rare penny is in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm. Two other pennies of this type, in the Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen, read on the reverse, + LEOFFIN ON NORÐ and OSMVND ON NORÐ; but the latter reads + HARÐCNV on the obverse.

Another type of Harthacnut (not figured in *Hawkins*, but resembling his fig. 214 of Harold I) bears *obv.*, King's bust to the left, with sceptre. Legend, + HARÐACNVT REX. *Rev.*, cross voided, extending to the outer edge; a flower in each angle issuing from a compartment in the centre. Legend on one coin, + RINVLV ON NOR; on another, + RINVLV ON NORÐ. Both these pennies are in the Royal Cabinet, Copenhagen; kindly communicated by Mr. Herbst through Dr. L. Müller, the Director.

Mr. Lindsay, in his *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, p. 118, simply states that coins of Harthacnut were struck at Norwich and several other cities, but does not describe or illustrate any specimen of this mint.

The Norwich moneyers of Harthacnut were, *Leofwine*, *Osmund*, and *Rinulf*. All three names appear again on the coins of Edward the Confessor.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042-1066.—During the longer and more prosperous reign of Edward the Confessor the

coinage flourished exceedingly. There were not less than sixty-nine separate mints at different places in his dominions; and compared with those of the preceding monarchs, his coins may be said to be quite common. At the Norwich mint, in this reign, were struck pennies of ten distinct types, bearing at least fourteen different moneyers' names, and the subjoined list contains no less than seventy varieties. They are all silver pieces, but they vary a great deal in size and weight, some being nearly half the size of others; some weighing as much as 28 grains, and others as little as 15 grains. However, numismatists consider that all of them were intended for pennies. Halfpennies and farthings were formed at this period—and, indeed, up to the reign of Edward I—by cutting the pennies into halves and quarters.

In the following list I have adopted the arrangement of Mr. Ernest H. Willett, as published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. xvi, pp. 323 et seq. It is here necessary to observe that there have been two large hoards of the Confessor's pennies found in recent years. The first, known as the "Chancton find", was in 1866, when about two thousand silver coins, mostly of Edward the Confessor, were unearthed at Chancton Farm, near Steyning, Sussex. A large selection from this find is in the British Museum, and a valuable account of the hoard was published by Mr. Barclay V. Head in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. vii, pp. 63 et seq. The other large hoard was discovered in 1872, in the course of excavations carried on in the city of London, and is generally called the "City hoard." It has been computed that it contained no less than seven thousand coins; and of this number, about two thousand eight hundred came into the possession of Mr. E. H. Willett, who published an excellent description of them in the *Numismatic Chronicle* at the reference given above. Many of Mr. Willett's coins have now passed into the British Museum cabinet. Another large portion of the City hoard was secured by Mr. John Evans of Hemel Hempstead, and he has kindly allowed me to examine and catalogue all his Norwich pennies for publication in the present paper. Besides these collections of Edward the Confessor's coins in England, a considerable number (two hundred and ninety varieties) have been published in Hildebrand's account of the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm. It is worthy of observation,

however, that by far the greater number of the Confessor's coins which are preserved in the Stockholm Cabinet, belong to what are considered this King's three earliest types. This is, without doubt, to be explained by the fact that the payment of *Dane-geld* ceased about the year 1049, after which date, of course, comparatively few English coins would find their way to Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

In the following list the words *Willett* and *Head* refer to those gentlemen's papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, mentioned above :

Type A of *Willett* and *Hildebrand*, type I of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 226: *Obv.*, King's bust to left, wearing a radiated crown; no sceptre and no inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD¹ REX or REX; but the two pennies of this type in the British Museum both read EDPERD REX A. *Rev.*, a small cross patée in the centre; inner circle. Legends, each commencing with a small cross, as on every coin in this reign: GODPINE O NORÐ, S. M.; LEOCDINE ON NOR . . (this name is, perhaps, an incorrect spelling of LEOFFINE), B. M.;² LEOFFINE ON NOR, S. M.; LEOFFINE ON NORÐ, S. M.; OSMYND O NORÐ; B. M. There were, apparently, no Norwich pennies of this type found in either the Chancton or the City hoard.

Type B of *Willett* and *Hildebrand*, type II of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 229. The coins of this type are considerably smaller and lighter than any other of the Confessor's types, being only nine-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. *Obv.*, rude bust to left, filleted; no inner circle. Legend, EDPERD REX. *Rev.*, a double cross, or cross voided, with a pellet in the centre; no inner circle. Legends, + ÐVRFERÐ (for THVRFERTH) ON NOR, Mr. Willett from City hoard; ÐVRFYRÐ ON NO (three specimens), Mr. Willett, same hoard; LEOPIC ON NOR, B. M.

Type C of *Willett* and *Hildebrand*, type III of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 220: *Obv.*, bust to left, filleted, with sceptre in front of face; no inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD REX. *Rev.*, a cross voided, within inner circle; on the centre a square compartment with pellets at the corners. Legend, + LEOFFINE ON NORÐ, British Museum. This is probably the same coin as one found at Thwaite, Suffolk, in Sept. 1832, and sketched on p. 10, vol. iii, of Dawson Turner's illustrated copy of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, now in the British Museum (Add. MSS., No. 23,015). There were no Norwich pennies of this type found in either the Chancton or the City hoard.

Type D of *Willett* and *Hildebrand*, type IV of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 221: *Obv.*, bust to left, filleted, with sceptre in front of face; no inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD REX, or REX A. *Rev.*, a long double cross, or cross voided, with each limb terminating in a crescent, curved outwards; an annulet over the centre; no inner circle; but in the angles of the

¹ The P in this King's name is the Saxon *w* throughout.

² A drawing of a similar coin, probably the very same one, is given on p. 10, vol. iii, of Dawson Turner's illustrated copy of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, now in the British Museum. It is stated to have been found at Thwaite, Suffolk, in February 1832.

cross are the four letters P A C X (for *Pax*). Legends, each with small cross at commencement, as follows, BLACMAN O NOR, S. M.; OSMVND ON NOR, the obverse legend blundered, B. M. (see Plate I, No. 9). No doubt the same coin as one found at Thwaite, Suffolk, in Sept. 1832, and sketched on p. 10, vol. iii, of Dawson Turner's illustrated *Blomefield*. RINVLF ON NOR, S. M.; RINVLF ON NOR, but with P A C S in the angles, B. M., from Mr. Willett's portion of the City hoard.

Type E of *Willett* and *Hildebrand*, type V of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 219: *Obv.*, bust to left, filleted, with sceptre in front of face; no inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD (or EDPARD) REX. *Rev.*, a double cross, with limbs gradually expanding, issuing from two central circles; all within an inner circle. Legends, each with small cross at commencement, CENELM ON NORÐ, —eight coins of this moneyer were in Mr. Willett's portion of the City hoard, —one of them is now in the British Museum; DEHFIN O NORÐPI, S. M.; ÐORFORÐ (for THORFORTH) ON NORÐP, Willett, from City hoard; ÐORFRÐ O NORÐP, Willett and B. M., from City hoard; ÐVBFRÐ (probably blundered for THVRFERTH) ON NORÐP, Willett; ÐVREVERÐ ON NOR, B. M., from Mr. Willett's portion of the City hoard; ÐVRFRÐ (for THVRFERTH) ON NOR, Willett; ÐVRFRÐ ON NORÐPI, Willett; ÐVRFRVÐ ON NORÐPI, Willett; ÐVRFYRÐ ON NORÐPI, H. W. Henfrey (see Plate I, No. 10); LEOFFINE ON NORÐ, Willett, —five coins from City find; LEOFFINE ON NORÐ, B. M. (not from City hoard); and another, similar, is in the possession of E. A. Tillett, Esq., Norwich. A similar penny of this last moneyer, LEOFFINE, is engraved on Plate i, vol. iii, of *Blomefield's History of Norfolk*, 1806; and on p. 6, note 7, it is stated that "Mr. T. Harwood, Alderman of Norwich, had one of these."

Type F of *Willett* and *Hildebrand*, type VI of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 227: *Obv.*, bust to right, bearded, and wearing a pointed helmet, sceptre in right hand; no inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD REX. *Rev.*, cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents, an annulet in the centre; all within inner circle. Legends, each with small cross at commencement, HRINGVLF ON NOR, Willett, —eleven coins from the City hoard, one of which is now in the B. M.; there is also one in Mr. John Evans' collection from City find; LEOFFINE ON NORÐ, Willett, eight coins from the City hoard; LIOPINE O NORÐPI, Willett, from City hoard; LOPNA (doubtful reading, indistinct) ON NOR, Evans, from City find; RINCOLF O NOR, Evans, from City find; ÐORSTAN (for THORSTAN) O NORÐP, B. M., from Chancton find; ÐVRSTAN ON NORÐPICC, Willett, thirteen coins from City hoard; ÐVRFRÐ (for THVRFERTH) ON NOR, Willett, Evans, and H. W. Henfrey, all from City find; ÐVRFRÐ ON NORÐPI, Willett, from City hoard.

Type G of *Willett*, type H of *Hildebrand*, type VII of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 228: *Obv.*, full-length figure of the King seated on his throne, crowned, with orb in left and sceptre in right hand; no inner circle. Legend, EADPARD REX ANGL. *Rev.*, a double cross within an inner circle, with a martlet (heraldic bird) in each angle. Legends, + GODPINE ON NO, Willett, from City hoard; + ÐVRSTAN ON NOR, Evans, also from City hoard.

Type H of *Willett*, type G of *Hildebrand*, type VIII of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 222: *Obv.*, bust to right, crowned, with sceptre in front of face; no inner circle. Legend, EADPARD (or EADPARRD) REX. *Rev.*, a double cross, or cross voided, each limb terminating in an incurved crescent; no

inner circle. Legends, each commencing with a small cross, as follow: ÆLFINE ON NORÐ, B. M., from City hoard; ÆLFINE ON NORÐP, Evans, City hoard; ÆLFINE ON NORÐPIC, Willett, City hoard; ÆLFINE ON NORÐPICI, Evans; EDPINE ON NORÐ, Willett; LEFFINE O NORÐPI, B. M., from Chancton find, and Willett from City find; LEFFINE ON NORÐPI, Evans; LEFINE ON NORÐPI, Willett; LEFRIC O NORÐPI, Willett; LIOFRIC ON NORÐPI, B. M., Evans, Willett, and H. W. H., all from City find; LIOFFINE ON NORÐ, B. M., from Chancton find; LIOFFINE ON NORÐPI, Evans, Willett; LIOPINE O NORÐPI, Willett; ÐORSTAN (for THORSTAN) O NOR, Evans; ÐORSTAN O NORÐP, H. W. H. (see Plate I, No. 11); ÐORSTAN O NORÐPIC, Evans, with pellets on the cross on reverse; ÐORSTAN O NORÐPICC, Evans,—also with pellets on cross; ÐORSTAN ON NORÐPICC, Willett; ÐVRSTAN ON NORÐPICC, Willett; PVLFSI (for WVLFISI) ON NORPPIC, Willett and B. M.; PVLFSI ON NORDPIC, Evans; PVRSTAN (for WVRSTAN) ON NORP, Willett, Evans.

Type I of *Willett*, type A, var. C, of *Hildebrand*, type IX of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 225. Some pennies of this type are much smaller than others. *Obv.*, full-face bust, bearded and crowned, within inner circle. Legend, EADPARD RE, or sometimes REX A. *Rev.*, a small cross patée within inner circle. Legends, each commencing with a cross: EDPINE ON NORÐ, B. M., Willett, and Evans,—all from City hoard; EDPINE ON NORÐP, Evans; EOPFINE (probably for LEOWFINE) ON NORÐ, Evans and Willett; GODPINE O NOR, B. M. and Willett; PRICE O NORÐ, B. M., Evans; PRICE ON NORÐ, Willett; ÐVRSTAN ON NORÐPICC, Willett; PVRSTAN ON NORP, Willett. There is another, perhaps unique, penny of this type engraved in *Lindsay's Coinage of the Heptarchy*, Plate vi, No. 158, from the specimen then in the possession of Mr. Edward Hoare of Cork, which, according to the engraving, reads on the reverse, + LEOWFINE. HOP N.O. Although there is a pellet or dot between the last two letters, and the H may be either an N or an H, Mr. Hoare, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xiv, p. 176, proposes to read the legend as LEOWFINE HOW NO[rthwic], for *Leofwine How* of Norwich. I am myself inclined to adopt this reading as the most probable, supposing the engraving to be correct, although, as the reader will perceive from the present lists, a moneyer with a double name, or surname, like this, hardly ever occurs on coins of this period. *Lindsay*, on p. 132 of his work, reads the legend, LEOWFINE HOWN. O; making the second name *Hown* instead of *How*, and leaving the O standing by itself, and representing, as he suggests, the mint of Oxford. But I cannot agree with him here; for it is far more likely to be NO for Norwich, as no stress can be laid on the occurrence of the dot between the N and the O. On Anglo-Saxon coins dots are placed in all kinds of places, frequently in the middle of a name. As will be seen also by referring to the above list, under types F and H, there was undoubtedly a moneyer at Norwich in this reign named *Leofwine* or *Liofwine*.

Type L of *Willett*, type I of *Hildebrand*, type X of *Head*, like *Hawkins*, fig. 223: *Obv.*, bust in profile to right, crowned, with sceptre in front of face; no inner circle. Legend, EADPARD REX. *Rev.*, a double cross, or cross voided, within inner circle; in each angle a pyramid terminated by a pellet. Legends, each with a small cross at commencement, ÐORSTAN O NORÐPI, Evans, from City hoard; ÐVRSTAN ON NOR, B. M., from Chancton find; ÐVRGRIM (for THVRGRIM) ON NOR, Willett, from City hoard; ÐVRGRIM ON NORÐ, B. M., from City hoard.

The Norwich moneyers of Edward the Confessor were

numerous. I subjoin a list of their names in all the different forms that are found on the coins; but I suspect that several of the names, though at first sight appearing very different, were in reality meant for the same moneyer. The standards of spelling were not very rigidly fixed in those days, and illiterate workmen, no doubt, made many blunders in engraving the dies. One mistake occurs many times: the letter *p* (Saxon *w*) is put for *ð*, the Saxon *th*, and the cross-stroke of the *ð* is frequently omitted. *E* is often represented by a *c*, the middle stroke being forgotten, and very frequently some letter or letters are left out; therefore the real number of moneyers at Norwich would not be actually so large as might appear at first sight from the following list:

<i>Ælfwine</i> . He coined also for Harold I	<i>Leofwine</i> <i>How</i> on one coin, but uncertain (see above)
<i>Blacman</i>	<i>Leocdine</i> , probably for <i>Leofwine</i>
<i>Cenelm</i>	<i>Leopic</i> or <i>Leowic</i> , perhaps <i>Leofwine</i>
<i>Dehfin</i> . Only one coin with this name; perhaps blundered from <i>Edwine</i>	<i>Lopna</i> . Uncertain; on one penny only
<i>Edwine</i>	<i>Osmund</i>
<i>Eofwine</i> . Probably the same as <i>Leofwine</i> , the first letter being omitted	<i>Price</i>
<i>Godwine</i>	<i>Rincolf</i>
<i>Hringulf</i> . Perhaps the same person as <i>Rincolf</i>	<i>Rinulf</i>
<i>Lefric</i> or <i>Liofric</i>	<i>Thorforth</i> or <i>Thurferth</i> , also spelled <i>Thurfyrth</i> and <i>Thureverth</i>
<i>Leofwine</i> , also spelled <i>Liofwine</i> , <i>Liowine</i> , <i>Lefwine</i> , and <i>Lewine</i> . This moneyer also coined at Norwich in the reigns of Harold I and Harthacnut	<i>Thurgrim</i>
	<i>Thorstan</i> or <i>Thurstan</i>
	<i>Wulfsi</i> .
	<i>Wurstan</i> ; but the first letter may be <i>p</i> , erroneously put for <i>ð</i> , <i>Thurstan</i> .

HAROLD II, 5th January to 14th October 1066.—The coins of this King are silver pennies very similar to those of his predecessor, and weighing about 21 grains each. They are much rarer than those of Edward the Confessor; and, in fact, I have only seen two examples of the Norwich mint,—one of the moneyer *Godwine*, and the other of *Thurstan*, both of whom were moneyers at this city in the reign of Edward.

These pennies are both of the type of *Hawkins*, fig. 231, having on the *obv.* bust of the King in profile, to the left, crowned; no sceptre and no inner circle. Legend, +HAROLD REX ANG on one coin in Mr. Evans' cabinet, and +HAROLD REX ANGLO on one in the British Museum. *Rev.*, the word PAX across the centre, between two straight lines (beaded lines on Mr. Evans' coin), and within inner circle. Legend on Mr. Evans' penny, +GODPINE ON NORI, or on the one in the British Museum, +ÐVRSTAN ON NOI (see Plate I, No. 12).

(To be continued.)

ANTIQUARIAN LOSSES IN COVENTRY DURING A CENTURY AND A HALF.

BY W. G. FRETTON, F.S.A.

(*Read May 21, 1879.*)

IF Browne Willis, who has left us such graphic accounts of our cathedrals and monasteries as they appeared to him on his personal inspection of them about a century and a half ago, were enabled to revisit this ancient city of the Midlands as it appears to us in our day, it is not unlikely that the veteran antiquarian's first exclamation would be "Prodigious!" with a stronger display of disgust than ever characterised the same word when used by the astonished Dominie Sampson. He would look in vain for many architectural gems which thickly studded the quaint old city, and regret as much as I do the loss of so many examples of mediæval architectural skill and beauty. Taking the standard of what still remains to us, it must have presented in his day a glorious combination of picturesque effects, although many of its elements had even then suffered partial destruction. The monasteries, of course, had mostly disappeared, and the fortifications had been dismantled, so that even in his time there was much loss to deplore; but even of these there were remains much more considerable than now, and the place had not succumbed to the rage for unnecessary demolition which in a few years after Willis's visit prevailed. Some of which was so utterly needless that it is hard to find a term sufficiently condemnatory of the spirit of Vandalism that promoted it. Utilitarianism and modern improvement have much to answer for in Coventry, as I shall have occasion to shew.

Taking the subject of our local antiquarian losses in order, the monasteries claim our first attention. Their destruction had arrived at an advanced stage in Willis's day. The Benedictine Priory, one of the chief glories of the city before the Reformation, had become for the most part a heap of ruins; and after serving as a quarry for building materials, its site was becoming rapidly covered with domestic habitations.

Part of the area had been converted into gardens; but prominent portions of the monastic buildings had been suffered to remain, being incorporated with private dwellings. One of these fragments was called "The Tower House", erected by a vicar of Trinity Church against the great tower of the Priory Church: hence its name. He also utilised the western towers in a similar manner. A considerable portion of the north-western tower still remains, and owes its preservation to its incorporation with the buildings of the Bluecoat Girls' School; but Willis could not recognise it in its new dress. Its venerable exterior, bearing on its northern face an Early English arcade, has been mercilessly sheared off and recased, and the summit crowned by two diminutive turret-spires which look like extinguishers. The guest-house was situate without the Close, and was a curious, half-timbered edifice of considerable extent. This was removed in 1820, and a publichouse erected on the site, the carved window-frames of wood being inserted in the new building. The remains of the Bishop's Palace, which stood at the south-east corner of the Precincts, were removed in 1856 to make way for a new street communicating with the north-east suburb of the city. Comparing Browne Willis's description of the Priory with what is left, there is a clear evidence of considerable change in the locality where the bones of Lady Godiva and the "Grim Earl" are deposited.

The White Friars' or Carmelite Monastery has during the period experienced considerable alteration. A century and a half ago this house (which, after the Dissolution, had been converted into a private residence by John Hales) was in the possession of the Hill family of Shenston Park, Staffordshire; and after serving as a factory for Jersey combers and weavers (to old John Carter's disgust, it being so occupied when he visited it), it came into the hands of the Directors of the Poor in 1801, and has since that date been occupied as a Workhouse. This has involved many alterations and additions. The buildings which formed a small eastern court have been superseded by modern structures suitable for their present purpose; but one avenue of the cloister, with dormitory above, still remains pretty nearly intact, sufficient to shew the character of the structure of which it formed a part. During some alterations recently made, a feature has been removed, the loss of which there

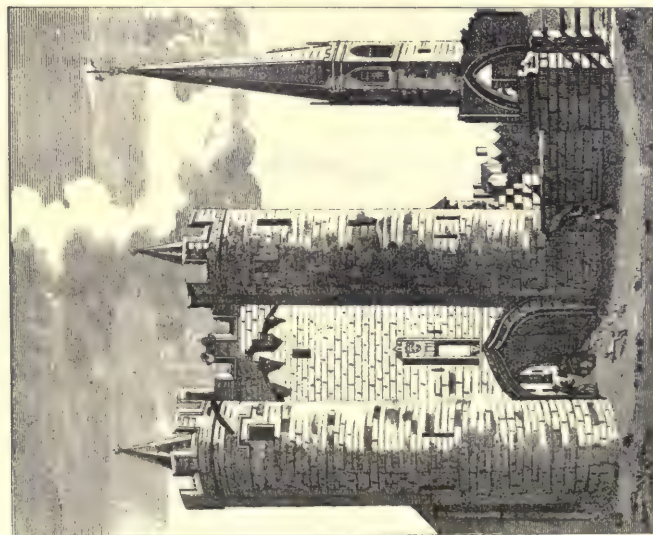
is much reason to regret. This was an ancient staircase which formerly led from the north-east corner of the dormitory to the church, and which is both illustrated and described in Carter's work and in *Ancient Relics*.

The remains of the Carthusian house, situated without the city walls, eastward, have become "small by degrees and beautifully less", and are now entirely incorporated in a modern dwelling known as the Charter House. A considerable portion of the external wall still remains in excellent preservation.

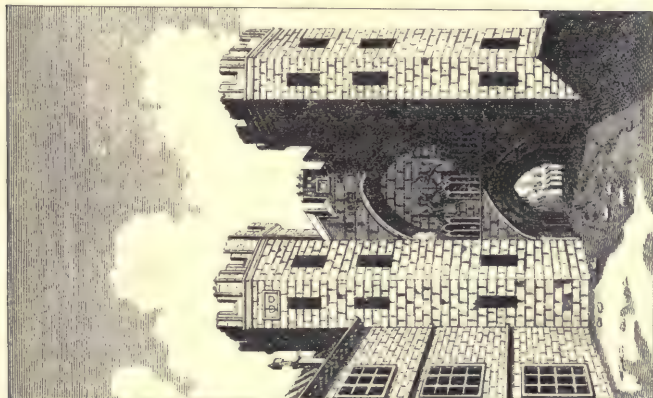
Of the Grey Friars' or Franciscan Monastery only the spire of the church is left; but to this has been attached a modern church erected in 1830. This steeple has suffered materially in the process, as may have been expected. For nearly three hundred years this tower and spire stood alone, and exhibited some peculiar external features which are now either obliterated altogether or hidden by modern casing.

The Hospital of St. John, converted into a Free Grammar School by the same John Hales who had possession of the White Friars, has been curtailed on its western extremity, the west front of its chapel having been set back to widen the street, and the refectory and dormitory above it (which extended southwards) entirely removed, a new street occupying their site. As a matter of course it did not enter into the heads of the promoters of the movement for widening the street, that the same result might have been effected by setting back the houses opposite, and so preserve in its entirety this interesting fragment of mediæval Coventry.

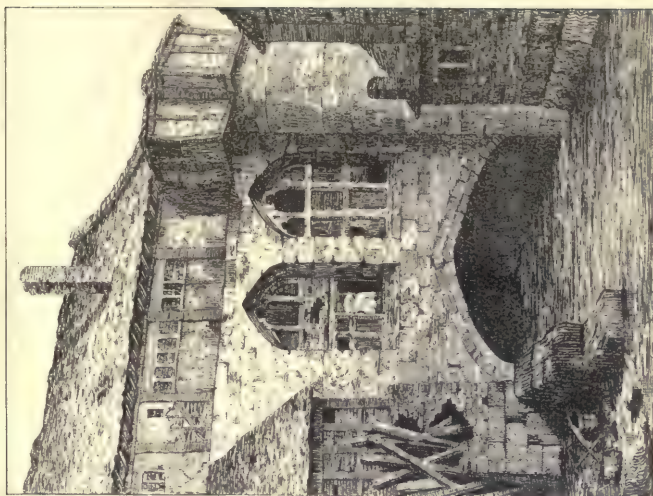
In respect to the churches, of which our old city has reason to be proud, there is cause both for regret and satisfaction. Regret, that in the wholesale restoration to which they have been subjected, many architectural features have been so altered, or entirely removed, and their venerable exteriors so thoroughly skinned, as to give the impression of new rather than ancient buildings; and one may look in vain round the exterior of either St. Michael's or Trinity churches, where they have undergone the process, to find a trace of original moulding or remains of original tracery. In the interiors we have much more to congratulate ourselves upon. The removal of galleries and pews, which in many cases had not even a respectable age and character to recommend them, together with an accumulation of coats of



GREY FRIERS' GATE.
THE STEEPLE IS NOW THAT OF CHRIST CH.



SPONNE GATE.



ST. GEORGES CHAPEL.
NORTH SIDE.



whitewash which almost hid the form of the mouldings, are matters of satisfaction ; the uninterrupted areas shewing themselves in their full extent, being still further improved by the substitution of open sittings of a character more consistent with the edifice in which they are placed, in lieu of the huge churchwarden-boxes of the last century type, besides giving accommodation to much larger congregations. In St. Michael's, however, we have to regret the removal of its time-honoured, carved oak pulpit within the last few years, which has given place to a nondescript construction in metal. One great mistake was made, about a century ago, in connection with the tower of this magnificent church : the vaultings of the bell-chamber were cut away, and an immense structure of wooden scaffolding erected to carry the bells ; thus destroying one of the most marvellous features of this great church, its western lantern, the inside of which is panelled, from the floor upwards, to the height of over 100 feet.

In the case of Trinity Church, if a balance were made of the advantages and disadvantages on account of the restoration, as regards the interior, it would be in favour of the gain. The same cannot be said of the exterior. In St. John's, again, the interior has gained by the process ; but the exterior, excepting in the nave, which is the portion last accomplished, the effect is seriously disappointing. The soft, grey suit of the old tower has been exchanged for a bran new garb of the local red sandstone, crude, and destitute of either tone or proof of even accurate reproduction ; in fact, the evidence of old drawings is against it.

Among the chapels which have disappeared within the period I have selected are, first, St. George's. This stood without, but adjoining, the Gosford Gate, at the eastern extremity of the city, and was built across the river. It was founded by the Shearmen and Tailors' Guild in the time of Richard II, with which fraternity the Fullers were at that period incorporated. At the Dissolution the revenues of this chapel were purchased of the Crown by the Corporation ; and the chapel, after undergoing various stages of neglect and decay, was converted into dwelling-houses, and was finally removed in the early part of the present century, a row of houses being built upon its site. It consisted of a small nave, 30 feet by 20, and chancel, 16 feet square ;

the former being lighted by two windows on its north side, and one on each of its south and west sides; the latter, by one window on the south. There appears to have been no east window. A door on the south of the nave communicated with the inner part of the gate, and a small priest's door on the north gave access to the chancel. Near the west end of the north wall was a circular turret-stair.

At the east end of Far Gosford Street, at the same extremity of the city, stood the Chapel of St. Margaret, to which was attached a hermitage. Fragments of this edifice remained, until a few years ago, incorporated with a building called "The Trinity Tithe Barn." The site is now a garden, and belongs to Trinity Church.

At the west end of the city, where the Sherbourne crosses the Old Holyhead Road at Spon End, are the remains of St. James's Chapel, also described in some documents as St. Christopher's. These fragments are incorporated with some dwelling-houses, and present a somewhat different appearance to what they did half a century since. An archway, then open, which existed between the Chapel on the north and the Domus on the south, has been closed, and forms a portion of the adjoining dwelling. The foundations of the Chapel remain, with one of the western diagonal buttresses; but the buildings thereon are of later date than the Chapel, and are principally of timber framework. Considerable portions of the walls and windows of the Domus remain.

Still further westward formerly stood a hospital for lepers, dedicated, it appears, primarily to St. Leonard, and subsequently to St. Mary Magdalene. At the commencement of the present century some portions of the chapel remained, converted into a barn. On the appropriation of the site for building ground, in 1846, the fragments were removed, and all that remains is the name of the suburb (Chapel Fields), derived from the chapel attached to the hospital, which was founded by Hugh Kevelioke, Earl of Chester, in the time of Henry II.

Of St. Nicholas Chapel, belonging to the Guild of Corpus Christi, no remains are left above ground; but on the building of the new Vicarage for Trinity parish, traces of the foundations were met with, and should have been thoroughly investigated at the time, and any characteristic portions preserved *in situ*; but nobody appears to have thought of doing these things.

Of the guild halls of the city, none remain save St. Mary's, erected by the amalgamated guilds of St. Mary, St. John, and St. Katherine, which took the name of the Trinity Guild. This fine old building stands on the south side of St. Michael's Church; and in reference to it we miss several important features, one of which is the upper story of the tower with its embattlements and north-east turret. This important feature is shewn in Buck's view. Adjoining the Hall, on its western side, was a fine timber-framed archway. This has been removed in my time. Half-timber houses also adjoined the Hall on the east side. These were taken down about 1853, and the new corporate buildings occupy their site. The floor of the great hall was, up to 1755, paved with encaustic tiles bearing heraldic, sidereal, and geometric devices. The removal of this interesting feature is due to Mr. John Hewitt, Mayor in the above-mentioned year, on the occasion of a grand banquet he gave. In a printed record of the proceedings of his mayoralty he thus alludes to it,—“I was obliged, in order to accommodate my company, to floor it.” The whole of his account, in which every detail of the feast is given, is one of the most egotistical yet amusing records ever penned.

A little east of St. Mary's stood the Drapers' Hall. It was of timber framework principally; and was superseded by another building in 1775, of which the only memorial I know of is exhibited on a bronze medal, of which I have a copy. This Hall only lasted about fifty years, and suffering from dry-rot was removed in 1829, and the present edifice erected in the Grecian style.

St. Nicholas, or Leather Hall, stood between Smithford Street and West Orchard. It was in use as late as 1726, the Shoemakers' Company holding their meetings in it that year. It was taken down shortly afterwards,—more is the pity,—for it was a building associated with many historical incidents connected with Coventry. Some of the Scotch prisoners were confined here in 1647-8, after their defeat by Cromwell. Here the ejected ministers, Dr. Grew, vicar of St. Michael's, and Dr. Bryan, vicar of Trinity, established a congregation in 1662, and here it continued to be held until the erection of the new Chapel in Smithford Street in 1701. The building was probably of timber framework on a stone basement. There is no illustration of it that I am

aware of, and a comparatively modern building occupies the site. Several of the Companies held their periodical meetings here.

Jesus Hall stood on the south side of Trinity Church, with which it communicated, and was the ancient residence of the vicars and other priests attached thereto. Humphrey Wanley, who lived there in his younger days (his father being vicar), thus describes it in 1693 : "The house is, as I suppose, three hundred¹ years old, by the work of it, and, as folks say, was called Jesus Hall. One may see the word Jesus cut in wood yet over the gate of it in two places, thus, **J. H. S.** As for the Hall, I am apt to think that the present hall and dining-room, with the place where the stairs are that go to the dining-room, and the chamber above it have been but one room, as is apparent by the work of it ; and I believe that the old Vicaridge house, next adjoining to it, being before united, together made up one house, because one may easily perceive that they were so by the work, and what alterations have been made in some of the windows of the old Vicaridge house." He further describes some painted glass then remaining, bearing the rebus of the founder, Thomas Bowde, vicar of Trinity in 1499 ; and in his will (1507) bequeathes to the use of the church for ever all his right "ad Domum de nomine Jhesu", by him first founded. The Hall and Vicarage were taken down in 1742, and a new Vicarage erected ; but in 1826 it was removed for the purpose of enlarging the City Gaol, and from the proceeds of the sale of the property to the county authorities the present Vicarage was erected on the site of St. Nicholas' Church in 1839. In 1871 the portion of the Gaol occupying the site was taken down, and a new Free Library erected on the spot, by the munificence of one of our leading citizens, John Gulson, Esq.

On the north side of St. John Baptist's, or Bablake Church (which was formerly collegiate), stood a structure known originally as Bablake Hall, and which, until the Dissolution, formed the northern range of the College buildings. This was also of timber framework for the most part, and is occasionally referred to as the Dirige or Dirge Hall. It was subsequently converted, together with the warden's chamber and other offices, into a Bridewell, and was finally removed

¹ This should be two hundred.

about the year 1832. Its site is now occupied by a portion of the playground of Bablake Endowed School. Other halls existed in the city, but their sites are not even satisfactorily known.

But perhaps no section of the antiquities of Coventry has suffered to so great a degree, within the last century and a half, as the fortifications. In 1750 great portions of the walls remained, and all the gates were standing in various degrees of preservation. These have all disappeared save two of the inferior ones. Four of these at least were imposing structures, and were removed as follows:—Newgate, 1762; Gosford Gate, 1765; Spon Gate, 1770; Grey Friars' Gate, 1781. The others were at Little Park Street, Cheylemore (a small portion of which is still left), Well Street, Hill Street, Bishop Street, Mill Lane; this was also known as the Dern Gate, Water Gate, and Bastile Gate, and was removed so lately as 1849. The two standing are Cook Street and Priory Gates, and are much mutilated. There is not one instance in which, by an easy arrangement, these gates might not have been all preserved. The same may be said of the towers which at various distances defended the walls. Of these, only two are left, and these much curtailed of their height. One small postern in the Park wall remained intact till a few years ago, when a stupid inclination seized the proprietor of the adjoining property to modernise it, which was accordingly done. The upper part has been filled in with brickwork, the jambs being made "good" in the same way. A small etching by my son shews its appearance a short time before its mutilation. Of the walls themselves, which were very irregular in their direction, only a few fragments remain, whereas a century ago their extent was considerable; but they formed a convenient quarry, which for a trifling matter was very generally applied to for building materials. An out-house adjoining my residence was clearly built of part of the ashlar from the city wall near, from the arrow-marks still observable on them; and I have traced Norman mouldings on some of the stones removed a short time since from the foundations of my house, clearly pointing to the Priory as the source whence they were obtained.

The manor house of Cheylemore, once an occasional residence of Edward the Black Prince, retains but few indica-

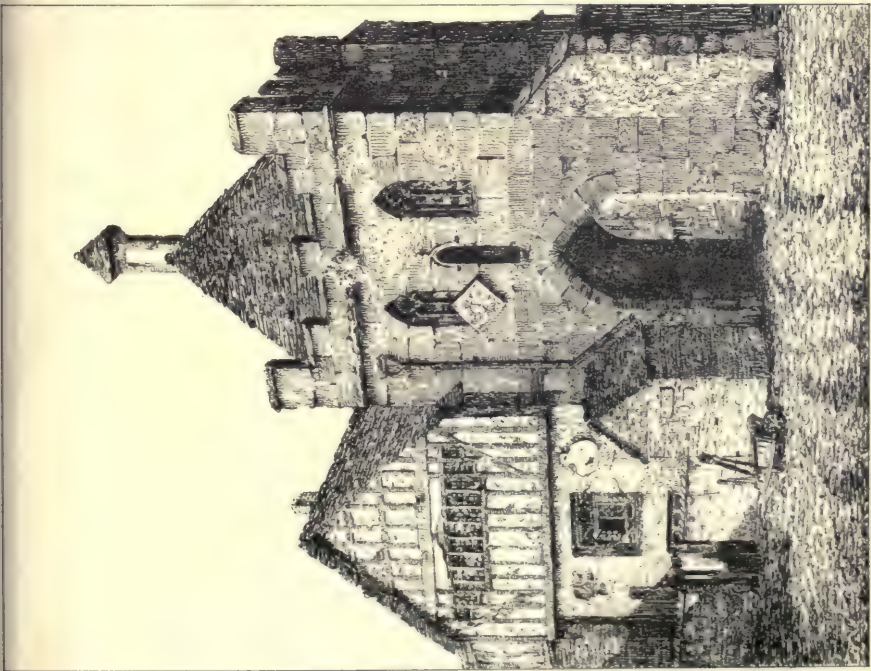
tions of its former state; in fact, at the dissolution of monasteries its glory had departed, for the commissioners, in describing the Grey Friars hard by, speak of this manor thus: "Adjoynyng unto the fryery ys an olde manor called Chyldsmore, where K. Edward iiij kept a parlyament. The Hall ys down"; and I do not think there was much more left of it in 1750 than there is now, from what appears on Jeffery's plan, except that it would be more characteristic of its former purpose. A good opportunity for restoring the two fronts of the most conspicuous portion of this house offered a few weeks ago, but was lost. This portion consists of a range of timber framework plastered all over. Owing to the severity of the winter a quantity of this rough-cast fell off, revealing the wooden framework. Had this been neatly made good, with brickwork between the timbers, and well pointed, the effect would have been good; but instead of this it has been covered up again with a uniform coat of cement, and has become an ordinary object again, quite in keeping with its surroundings.

Less than a century since, the Park, which extended for some considerable distance from this manor, by the south wall of the city, was all open ground, with a fair sprinkling of timber, affording free grazing and recreation to the citizens. This was sold by the late Prince Regent to the then Marquis of Hertford, and the Park enclosed, all the trees cut down, and the area is now occupied by gardens and fields. The old Park hollow in which the martyrs were burnt, is even now in process of being filled up, and "the Park" has become a misnomer.

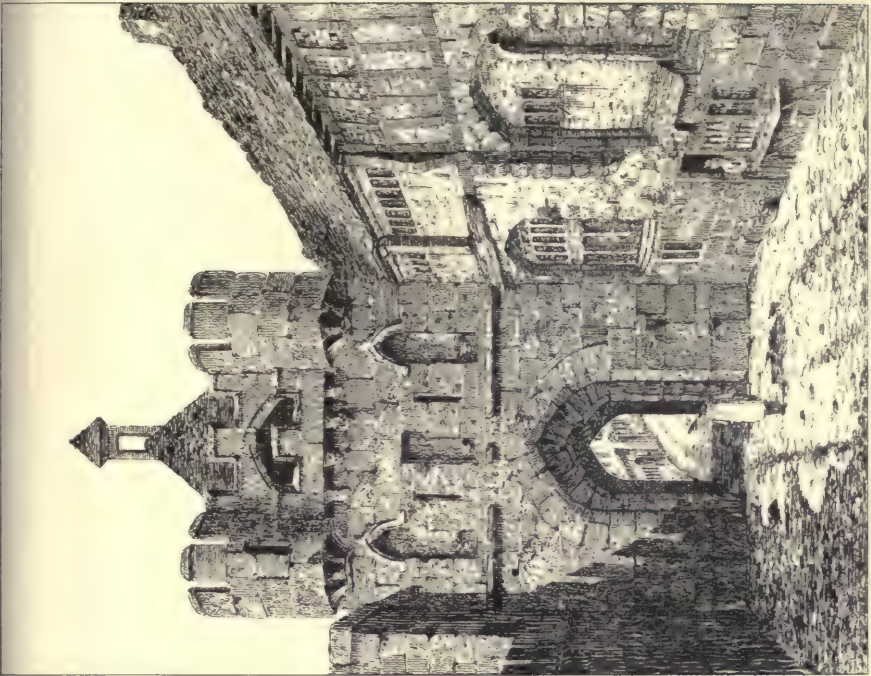
On Grey Friars' Green, within the present century, existed a horsepond with ungallant associations, for it was anciently used for the purposes of the duckstool, or cookstool, to which there are many references in the city archives: "1423. Allso y^t y^r be a cokestownle made apon Chelsmore grene to punyshe skolders and chidders as y^e law wyll."¹

In the centre of the city, in Cross Cheaping, stood one of its most elaborate ornaments, the Cross. Erected in 1541-44 (on the site of a former one built in 1422), at the expense of Sir William Hollis, at one time Lord Mayor of London, it was a splendid structure, pyramidal in form, having six sides, consisting of four stories, and was 57 feet in height; the three upper stories being adorned with canopied niches

¹ Leet Book.



GOSFORD GATE, WEST FRONT.



GOSFORD GATE, EAST FRONT
AND SOUTH SIDE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.



containing figures of celebrated royal and historical personages connected with the city, and further embellished with pinnacles, metal-work, heraldic shields and devices, and so highly illuminated with gold and colour that it was a gorgeous spectacle when the sun shone upon it. Yet in 1771 it was taken down to save the expense of repair! It will be remembered that it was just at the same period that the city gates were for the most part removed. There must have been very little of the conservative element in the city in those days. Two other crosses existed at the same time in Coventry: one near the Gosford Gate, where a cattle market was held, and continued there until the last few years; and the other called Swine Cross, which stood near the Free Grammar School. The latter was taken down in 1763.

Near to the great Cross stood the Mayor's Parlour, where the Mayor's court was held. It was originally one of the half-timbered class, on a stone basement, and a portion of the premises had been used as an inn, known as the "Peacock", previous to its conversion by the Corporation in 1574-78. In 1776 the back portion of it had become so thoroughly out of repair that it was taken down and rebuilt at a cost of about £600. The police business continued to be held here till 1835, when it was removed to St. Mary's Hall, and the old Parlour was then let for business premises. In 1878 the whole block was taken down, the roadway to the market widened, and a large block of commercial buildings erected on the site.

The front of the old Parlour was known as the "Mayor's Walk", at which it seems to have been customary to make money payments and settle business arrangements. Curious entries of payments in the city accounts refer to this edifice: 1617, after a general painting and decorating, "Paid for watchinge the Parlo^r on the saboth day, when the cullours were greene, that the boyes should not spoyle them, vjd."¹

One of the pillars supporting the balcony was used as a whipping-post, and occasionally the process was transferred to the rear of a cart, and the culprit had his punishment as the vehicle proceeded at a not too rapid rate, but all too slow for him, to a figure still standing in a niche in Much Park Street, called "The Knave's Post", a distance of between four and five hundred yards.

¹ City Accounts.

While on this subject, connected as it is with the old Corporation, it may be as well to note that, on the passing of the Municipal Corporations' Act, which came into operation on the 1st of January 1836, a quantity of miscellaneous property, consisting of china, plate, and various paraphernalia, was disposed of by public auction, the most fitting place for which would have been a city museum, had there been one; but this is a want still to be provided. The old Corporation were careless guardians even of their records, for numbers of important documents and books have found their way from the muniment room into private hands, and not a few of these have met their fate in the calamitous fire which consumed the Birmingham Free Reference Library in January last. Archæologically, too, we miss the robes worn by the Mayor and Corporation on days of public display, on the magisterial bench, and in the council; the only remnant left of any external sign of the dignity of the old body corporate being the quaint livery worn by the sword and mace-bearers, the crier, and the city chamberlain. The chain of office now worn by the Mayor was a recent gift by R. A. Dalton, Esq., a late Mayor, in his own mayoralty.

As may readily be supposed, the streets have come in for a large share in the changes that have taken place during the last century. In many cases the changes have been made neither "wisely nor too well". The antique, gabled, and projecting frontages, with their carved oak barge-boards, finials, principals, penthouses, and doorways, have given place to new frontages of the most monotonous and matter of fact description, in which the horizontal sky-line is uniform enough to gratify the veriest Vandal whose taste is limited to a right angle. In a picturesque point of view, Coventry has been very nearly spoilt. Allowing the necessity of wider thoroughfares under the present business requirements and sanitary conditions, I still fail to recognise the need of recklessly destroying wholesale those features that give an air of beauty and character inseparably consistent with the historical conditions of an old city like ours. And the sacrifice already made is still insufficient, the demands increase, and the cry is "Still they come." Would not the same end have been better secured by laying out new lines of wider streets intersecting the older thoroughfares? which in Coventry could have been readily done on

account of the unoccupied space at the rear of the main streets, and thus have preserved the character of the ancient ways.

The most important of the changes made in the streets of Coventry was the widening of Broadgate by setting back the west side about 20 yards for a length of about 40 yards, thus making the wide, open space we observe in the centre of the city. I agree that an improvement, in one sense, has been effected; but I submit the same result might have been brought about by a different course. The fronts of the houses destroyed presented a picture such as nothing left in Coventry now forms the like. One of these was inhabited by Thomas Pidgeon, Mayor of Coventry in 1661, and is illustrated in the ninth volume of the *Topographical Cabinet*. Within my memory nearly the whole of Earl Street, on the south side, has been modernised, together with the west side of Hay Lane and the north side of High Street. Much of the south side of Well Street has come in for its share; and strange to say, part of it was the work of a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, the only one besides myself who has represented Coventry as a member of that venerable institution. I believe he was also answerable for the removal of the Hospitium of the Benedictine Priory. All the old streets have more or less suffered in the rage for straightening up.

One house in Little Park Street is worthy of special mention. Its demolition was inexcusable; it was not in the way; and the reason for its removal I have never been able to learn. It was a handsome, half-timbered mansion, with two gables to the street, and two to the court on the south side, with two large bays on the street front of two stories. The carving throughout the house was not only good but plentiful. In the principal room every panel was carved. It was built by Sir Simon Norton in 1610, was afterwards occupied by Lord Berkley and Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and after becoming the property of a Mr. Wm. Bird was, on the decease of one of his descendants, taken down, and the materials disposed of, about 1820. One of the chimney-pieces is preserved in the dining-hall of the Bablake Boys' Hospital, and is an interesting specimen of Jacobean work.

Other examples might be quoted; but one I must not

omit. At the north-west corner of Grey Friars' Lane stood a half-timbered house belonging to Alderman Owen. In the corner of this house the effigy of Peeping Tom was placed ; and on removal of the house in 1775, to widen the street (at this time the only approach to Coventry from the south) the statue was removed to an upper window of a house in Smithford Street, adjoining the King's Head Hotel, which afterwards became the residence of Thomas Sharp, the celebrated Coventry antiquary, and on the construction of Hertford Street became the corner house. This house was taken down last year, and a new hotel is in course of erection, which, when completed, will supply a niche for Peeping Tom in the same place which has been his home for the last century, but raised a story higher.

Not only have alterations been made in the street frontages, but in some cases their nomenclature has been changed or lost altogether, which is the more to be regretted as their ancient names bore a significance which their modern ones do not. For instance, Mill Lane has been changed into Cox Street for no other reason than that of commemorating a very worthy benefactor ; and the purpose might just as well have been served by dedicating one of the new streets to him. But Mill Lane led to one of the most important of the mediæval mills, which having been reserved by the Earl of Chester for his own estate, when he appropriated so much as he did of the northern part of the city to the Priory, and was in consequence called "The Earles Mylne", and the name of the Lane should have been retained. St. John Street has been known as "Dead Lane" for centuries, on account of the fearful ravages of the plague there. Its original name has been restored, it is true, but carries with it none of the memories of the name it has superseded. "New Rents" has been changed into King Street. The last thatched house in Coventry stood here, and was removed about thirty years since. St. John's Bridges (now known as the Burges) is easily accounted for. Tittle or Tuthill Row (also known as Potter's Row) is now called Ironmonger Row. Bancroft and Maxtoke Lanes have disappeared ; so have Corpus Christi and Glover's Lanes. Cuckoo Lane and Callis Street still exist as thoroughfares, but have lost their names.

We trace lost industries in some of the localities which

still retain their original nomenclature. The Tenter-yard and Stretch-yard remind us of the stretching frames used there, and in several other places about the city, by the fullers who dressed the cloth,—a manufacture for which Coventry was much celebrated in the middle ages.

All the city conduits and many of the public wells have disappeared. The conduits of Cross Cheaping, Grey Friars, and Smithford Street, were particularly noted. Hobbes' Hole, a popular spring, associated with some rather rough ceremonies at election times, is now covered over by a new street. All the mills and dams within the city boundaries are gone, and I cannot say I regret their loss. The site of one of them has received the appropriate name of the Pool Meadow.

I think I have now noted the chief of what may be regarded as the antiquarian losses in Coventry during the last one hundred and fifty years. My sketch is of necessity somewhat superficial, as some of the instances I have referred to would have allowed for more detail than the space at my command will admit. The subject is, however, an important one; and most of our ancient cities and towns could tell a similar story of greater or less degree of iconoclasm; and it is worth an effort to strengthen the hands of those who desire the preservation of our national antiquities, that future generations may not have the same cause to reproach *us* as we have to lament the action of our predecessors in regard to archæological treasures of which we have been, in many cases, ruthlessly and unnecessarily deprived.

ROMAN INSCRIBED STONES AT ROOKWOOD,
NEAR LLANDAFF,
THE PROPERTY OF COLONEL HILL.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY H. M. SCARTH, V.P., M.A.

(Read April 7, 1880.)

IN paying a visit to Rookwood, in the summer of 1877, I found in the summer-house of the grounds attached to the house a number of Roman inscriptions which, by the kind permission of the owner, I was allowed to copy. I am not aware that these have been published in any collection; and although the kind of inscriptions is common enough in Italy, and many have been brought to this country, yet it is well to record any that are known to be genuine. They were obtained in Rome, in 1876, by the present owner, and formed part of the collection of the Marquis Campana, whose effects were sold when exiled by the Papal Government in 1858. It was by this Marquis that the Etruscan Museum at the Vatican was chiefly enriched from his researches in Etruria.¹

No. 1. The first of these is a funereal inscription, probably of the first or early part of the second century. It is marble, and in good preservation, the lettering being well formed. It is as follows :

D . M
CLAYDIANO
CÆSARIS . N̄ . SER
VIRN . VIX . AN . XXIX
POPILIA DEXTRA
CONIVGI . B . M
FECIT.

To the divine Manes. To Claudianus, home-born slave of our Cæsar. He lived twenty-nine years. Popilia Dextra to a well deserving husband erected this.

This inscription is to a home-born slave in the imperial family; put up to his memory by his wife. He died at the early age of twenty-nine. He bore the same name as the poet Claudian, to whose memory an inscription was found in Rome.² By an error of the sculptor an I has been put for E in the word VERNA.

¹ See Hare's *Walks in Rome*, vol. ii, p. 95.

² See Gruter, 391, 5, and Orelli, 1182.

No. 2. D. M. S. CARPO
 CHIYSIS
 CON © IVGI
 BENE
 MERENTI
 FECIT. VIX. AN. LXXX.

Sacred to the Gods of the
 Shades, to Carpus, Chrysis to a
 meritorious husband has placed
 this. He lived eighty years.

The centre has contained a receptacle for tears, as is not uncommon in these sepulchral memorials, many instances of which may be seen in museums in Rome. There are some in the Capitoline Museum, taken from the Columbarium in the Appian Way. There seems here also to be an error in the lettering, the name Chrysis is spelt CHIYSIS. Carpus seems to have reached an age somewhat unusual on inscriptions, being an octogenarian. He is called CONIVX, as in the former inscription; and from the lettering, the date appears about the same.

No. 3. M. ATIVS
 COTILO
 AEDICVLAS. DVAS
 FECIT. SIBI. ET. SVIS
 ET. OLIAS. XIII.

A *tabula ansata* which records that Marcus Atius Cotilo made two small tombs (literally little buildings) for himself and his family, and thirteen *ollæ*.¹

In the year 1876 the tomb of Statilius Taurus was discovered at Rome, not far from the Porta Maggiore. The original portion is of the time of Sylla; but it has been added to at a later date, probably in the time of Hadrian. Inscriptions prove it to be the tomb of Statilius Taurus, who built the first stone amphitheatre at Rome. The lower part of the tomb is full of *columbaria*, or pigeon-holes, to receive cinerary urns.² This illustrates the above inscription, in which we see the conjunction of the two,—the erection of two tombs, and the provision of thirteen *columbaria*. I have not been able to ascertain the site of the *ædícula*, or the place where this inscription was discovered in Rome.

No. 4. M. CLODIVS
 M. M. L.
 FAVSTVS.

A portion of this stone is broken off on the right hand, but

¹ Or jars to receive ashes. For instances of the record of *ollæ* and their different names, see Orelli, No. 4544.

² See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 232.

the lettering is complete. It commemorates Marcus Clodius Faustus, freedman of the two Marci.

5. This is a small monumental tablet to a dog called *Aminnaracus*, bearing a sculptured representation of a little sharp-eared house-dog, evidently a great pet of the family, who have thus recorded his worth. In the Museum of Roman antiquities at York is a small earthen jar with a cover, found in 1874, which contains the bones of a dog.¹

No. 6.

DIIS . MANIBVS
A . LABERIVS . AGATHOPVS²
ET . LABERIVS.

A portion of this inscription appears to be wanting. The marble is broken away on the right hand. The *Diis Manibus* written at length is not so common as the simple letters D. M.

No. 7.

D . M .
FVRIAE DEVTERAE
VIX . AN . XXIII . M . II . D . V .
L . ANTONIVS
PRIMANVS
CONI . B . M . FEC
ET . SIBI . ET . SVIS.

This is a very perfect stone, and contains upon the upper portion the head and bust of the female to whom it is erected, who died at an early age, twenty-four years. Her husband, Lucius Antonius Primanus, erected it to her memory, and seems also to have prepared a burying-place for himself and his family, that they might rest together. This feeling seems to have been very general in heathen times as well as Christian.

¹ Perhaps I may here be excused for giving the epitaph lately placed over a little dog whose master thus commemorates his value. The stone is placed in a grove of the lawn at Woodlands, near Bridgwater, and was copied by me in September 1878 :

HISCE SVB ARBORIBVS
CONDVNTVR OSSA
DILECTI CANIS
CVIVS ANIMA
MIRAE INTELLIGENTIAE
AD DEVM QVI DEDIT ILLAM
REDIIT.
AMICO SVO FIDISSIMO

HOC SAXVM
HERVS MAESTISSIMVS
NON SINE LACRYMIS
PONENDVM CVRAVIT
ANNO MDCCCLXXII.
PEP VIXIT ANNIS VII
MENSIVS IX.

The simple word *Aminnaracus*, under the effigy, tells more than the lengthy inscription, though both worthily record canine affection.

² For the name Agathopus, see Orelli, 4391; but some doubt has been cast upon this inscription.

No. 8. P. AELIVS. CHRESTVS.
 CONIVGI. BENE. MERENTI.
 AELIAE. AFRODISIAE
 ET. AELIO. CRESCENTIA.
 NO. ALVMNO.

Publius Ælius Chrestus, to a wife well deserving, Ælia Afrodissia; and to Ælius Crescentianus, a foster-child.

This inscription appears to be of a later date than the others, as will be observed by the leaf-stop at the end; but the lettering is clear. It is on a simple marble slab. The cognomen *Chrestus* is Greek, but the *nomen* *Ælius* betokens a man of good family, who seems to have allied himself to a lady of the same *gens*, and to have adopted a foster-child for want of a direct heir.

No. 9. P. CVETIVS. S. P. F. COL.
 MAXIMVS.
 VIXIT. ANNOS. XIII.

This is the inscription upon a circular marble *cippus* worked into hoops at the top and bottom, the top being narrower than the bottom, and the centre part contains the inscription. The height is $9\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; width at bottom, $9\frac{1}{2}$; top, $8\frac{1}{2}$. The letters are well formed, and the inscription records a youth aged thirteen, named Publius Curtius Maximus, the son of Spurius, of the tribe Collina (a city tribe at Rome). This tapering form of the urn is not uncommon; a curious one bearing an inscription to a chief priest of Cybele, of the same name (*Maximus*), "*M. Modius Maximus*", who has the title, "*Archigallus¹ Coloniae Ostiensis*", and is in the form of a *modius*, or corn-measure, with a cock sculptured on the top, may be seen in the Lateran Museum at Rome. It was dug up at Ostia.

If Roman inscriptions on funereal urns or tablets, scattered through many country houses in England, were examined and collected, some interesting historical information might be gained. I am not aware that any have yet been published; but while great efforts are being made on the Continent, and especially in Germany, to collect and arrange all lapidary records, it would be a work well meriting the attention of archæologists in England.

¹ See Orelli, 2320 and 2321. *Archigallus* was the title of the chief priests of Cybele, "*Matris Deum Magnæ Idææ*."

ST. FELIX, BISHOP OF DUNWICH.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

(Read June 18, 1879.)

LITTLE did King Redwald imagine, when in his wrath he banished his kinsman Sigebert from East Anglia, that he was working for the introduction of the Gospel among his subjects, and the ultimate establishment of the bishopric of Norwich. In Sigebert were illustrated the force and verity of the old aphorism, that man's necessity is God's opportunity: for the Prince went forth to France a rude, uncultured exile, loaded with the bonds of paganism; but in the land of sheltering safety he learnt the habits of civilised life, acquired a goodly stock of knowledge, and at length received baptism at the hands of his religious preceptor, Felix, who in due time accompanied him back to England, and by his faithful and earnest preaching brought many worshippers of Odin into the Christian fold. Sigebert's two predecessors professed to be followers of the Redeemer. His stepfather Redwald accepted the Christian faith when in Kent, and in his own temple in East Anglia set up one altar to the Saviour, and another to his favourite idols; and his son and successor, Eorpwald, was persuaded by Edwin, King of Northumbria, to conform to the Christian religion. But it was not until Sigebert succeeded to the throne, in A.D. 629, and Felix proclaimed the glad tidings of peace and salvation, that the East Anglians became Christianised.

This Felix was by birth a Burgundian, and received his education and ordination in his native province. On his arrival in England he landed at Babingley in Norfolk, and fixed his abode at a spot on the Suffolk coast, known to this day as Felixstow (the dwelling of Felix), where, as well as at Flixton, or Feliston, he established schools. In the year 633 this devout priest was by Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed Bishop of Domoc or Dommoc, which place in after times came to be called Dunwich. He seems to have laboured diligently in the task of evangelising the Teutonic pagans; and among other noble personages he baptised was Kenwalk, or Cenwalch, who, driven from his kingdom of Wessex, sought a home in East Anglia in 646.

Little has been recorded respecting the life of St. Felix, which terminated peacefully in A.D. 650, after he had presided over his diocese seventeen years. He founded a monastery at Soham, in Cambridgeshire, and here he is said to have been first buried ; but in the time of King Canute his remains were translated to the ancient Abbey of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, famed for its possession of the cheek-bone of St. Egwin and the cowl of St. Alphege.

The festival of St. Felix was held on March 8th, and we find the great jonquil (*Narcissus lœtus*) assigned to him in the *Floral Directory*. The churches of Babingley, Norfolk ; Feliskirk, N. Riding of York ; and Philley, Cornwall, bear his name ; and the church at Kirkby Ravensworth, N. Riding of York, is dedicated to him and St. John the Evangelist.

Much as the East Anglians were indebted to the zeal, piety, and wisdom, of their illustrious Bishop, they seem to have taken little trouble to perpetuate his memory. His name, as we have just seen, is associated with but one of their churches, and his effigy is rarely recognised either in painting or sculpture. It is this fact which lends a peculiar interest and value to a piece of stained glass in one of the windows of Blythborough Church, a sketch of which has been kindly sent me by Mr. Watling of Stonham. In this the Saint appears with a rather meagre and beardless visage, the nose straight, the eyes full, with arched brows and thick lips. He wears a lofty and somewhat cumbersome mitre of the fashion met with on seals and in illuminations of the fifteenth century. It is of the costly description termed *Pretiosa*, on account of the gold employed in its fabric, and the *circulus* and *titulus* being set with gems. About the neck is seen the upper part of a plain alb ; and just outside what seems to be a portion of a crimson nimbus are the letters S. FE., all that now remain of the words *Sanctus Felix*. As there are no less than sixteen saints of this name enrolled in the Romish Calendar, and at least a third of them entitled to wear the mitre, it might be doubtful whom the painted glass represented had it not occurred in a Suffolk church ; but its locality attests the effigy to be that of St. Felix, the Burgundian priest, the friend of King Sigebert, the apostle of the East Angles, and founder of the bishopric of Dommoc, out of which grew the present see of Norwich.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 232.)

MONDAY, AUGUST 18, 1879.

THE Members and Visitors of the Congress arrived in Norwich this day, and proceeded to the Royal Hotel. The place of assembly was the Council Chamber, Guildhall, where they were met by the Mayor, H. Bullard, Esq., who assured the party that they should receive every courtesy and respect from him as the representative of the citizens. The Council Chamber was at their service, the regalia would be laid before them, and the charters and ancient documents would be open to their inspection.

Norwich was the abode of large populations from pre-Roman times. Some consider that the British had a hill-fort here called *Caer Gwent*, by some known as *Venta Icenorum* (the *Gwent* of the *Iceni*) of the Roman itineraries. It was, perhaps, to overawe the turbulent *Iceni* of *Caer Gwent* that the Romans built the large camp at *Caister*, three miles from Norwich. The site of the British stronghold became the site of the Saxon stronghold, around which clustered the Saxon settlers who followed *Uffa* into East Anglia. We must dismiss the conjecture that King *Alfred* was ever here, as the Danes under *Guthrum* maintained their hold of the country north of *Watling Street*. In the tenth and eleventh centuries Norwich had risen to importance. It was plundered and burned by *Sweyn* in revenge for the massacre of the Danes, at the instigation, as is alleged, of *Ethelred the Unready*. The last of the English kings, *Harold*, was Earl of East Anglia, and had lands in Norwich at the time of the Confessor, in whose reign, when Norman architecture and art were encouraged in England, it seems probable that the Castle was begun. *Ralph de Guader*, Earl of Norfolk, false to the English at *Senlac* (by taking up arms on the side of Duke *William*), soon proved false to King *William*, and plotted with others against him, it is said, in Norwich Castle; which, held by *Ralph's* bride, surrendered after a siege. As this Castle, which frowns so proudly over the city, has been recased externally and refitted

internally, it is of less interest to the archæologist than heretofore, and that may account for its omission from the programme this year.

The Dean, Dr. Goulbourn, conducted the party through the fabric over which he presides. Though disclaiming the character of an ecclesiastical architect, and even of a skilled archæologist, he gathered his visitors together in the "Locutory", as the monks' conversation-room is called, adjoining the great west entrance, and read a most able and interesting lecture on the history of the Cathedral from its first foundation. Norwich Cathedral (the Dean remarked) may be said to have been founded amid the blare of trumpets. In the year preceding its foundation (1095) all Europe had thrilled with excitement, as Pope Urban II had touched the chords of chivalry and fanaticism at Claremont. Not the least notice of this enthusiasm is to be discovered in the letters of Bishop Herbert. They are remarkable for the insight they give into the character of the writer. Herbert de Lozinga was a Lotharingian, educated at Fécamp in Normandy, who became Prior of Ramsey Abbey. It is said that by simoniacal practices he obtained from William Rufus this see, which he removed from Thetford to Norwich, where he laid the foundation of the Cathedral in 1096. He lived, however, to complete only the eastern arm of the church with its three circular apsidal chapels (two of which remain), the transepts, choir, with the two bays on the west side of the tower, and the south wall of the cloister with its magnificent Norman arcade. Two other semicircular chapels—one from the north, the other from the south, transept—must have been the work of Herbert. The erection of grand buildings was a mania with the Normans. The date of Herbert's church is attested by the basilicon arrangement of the east end, which still exhibits the Bishop's stone chair raised above several steps, and stone benches arranged on either side for the presbyters. Herbert also founded a convent for sixty Benedictine monks. The easternmost of the chapels having been destroyed, was replaced in the thirteenth century, by Bishop Suffield, by an Early English Lady Chapel, of which only the two entrance-arches remain.

The *Registrum Primum*, or Register of the Prior, shews that Herbert finished the church nearly up to the present screen across the nave, while his successor, Bishop Eborard, completed it. Just on the north of the stone screen was the altar of St. William-in-the-Wood, a lad who was said to have been mockingly crucified by the Jews on Good Friday; whose body was buried in Thorpe Wood, where it was afterwards miraculously discovered.

In the time of Henry III and Edward I a dispute arose between the monks and citizens as to the right of the former to take toll on Tombland, when the Convent was besieged by the citizens. Most of the conventual buildings were destroyed by fire. Edward I ordered the

citizens to pay 3,000 marks to the Prior for the restoration of the buildings. It is probable that the Ethelbert Gate of the Close was then built. The Cloisters were built by Richard de Uppenhall, Bishop Wakering, and Bishop Alnwyck, and completed in 1430. The Beauchamp Chapel was founded in 1320. In 1362 a furious hurricane blew down the steeple, and did great damage to the clerestory, whereupon Bishop Percy with great munificence rebuilt it in the style of the period. In Bishop Alnwyck's time, about 1430, the Norman west front was removed, and one of a Perpendicular character substituted. Bishop Lyhart (1445-72) vaulted the roof of the nave, in which he introduced three hundred and sixty sculptures illustrating sacred history. Bishop Goldwell (1472-98), who inherited much work from Bishop Lyhart, directed his attention to the roof of the choir, which he vaulted and adorned with his rebus. Bishop Nix, who was a persecutor of the Reformers, completed the roof by erecting the stone vaulting of the transept, and adorning it likewise.

According to the Dean, the fabric must have been very beautiful in its interior before the Reformation, with its many altars, chantries, side-chapels, images, and mural paintings; the very bosses of the lofty stone ceiling in the nave—and much more, therefore, those in the choir—being richly coloured. He added that the Reformers and Puritans destroyed much of the ornamentation, which could ill be spared, as testified by Bishop Hall. Having brought the history of the fabric down to the present century, and having deplored certain wanton destruction of some adjacent buildings by the dignitaries of the Cathedral, he mentioned that the good work of restoration had been begun by his predecessor, Dean Pellew, who had cleaned the richly carved oak stalls in the choir from their coatings of long standing whitewash.

This paper was one of the most interesting of those delivered during the Congress. We are, nevertheless, disposed to disagree with the Dean in his derivation of *Losinga* (the epithetic surname of the founder of the Cathedral) from *Lotharingia*, or Lorraine. Apart from the philological difficulties in the way of such a derivation, it appears impossible to sever the connection of this word with an extensive series of cognate words in all the Romance languages signifying flattery, in which, according to the chroniclers, Bishop Herbert Losinga, the founder of Norwich Cathedral, was an adept. The extraordinary legend of the boy saint, William of Norwich, reputed to have been martyred by the Jews, elicited the marked feelings of the audience.

When a hearty vote of thanks had been given to the Dean, on the motion of Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, for his interesting paper, Dr. Bensly read a list of curious books and MSS. in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, which were exhibited in cases around the room. Among these curious documents and works were

original charters of Bishop Herbert and of Bishop Eborard, the manuscript History of Bartholomew Cotton, a Norwich monk; the Norwich Domesday Book, containing a description of ecclesiastical property in the diocese; a Latin copy of the Forty-Two Articles; a sealed copy of the Book of Common Prayer; and other literary curiosities. Two of these documents are of great interest to the palæographer, from their peculiar form and the bold beauty of their handwriting,—one being a charter of Bishop Herbert, granting his manor of Frainges and a carucate of land to the monks of Norwich; which, although indited in the early years of the twelfth century, has its phrases couched in sentences inspired by the inflated preambles of the Saxon diplomatist. The other, which has, perhaps, a better claim to originality, is a confirmation by Bishop Eborardus of the possessions of the Abbey, attested by a large gathering of the Chapter and other witnesses, and authenticated by the seal of the Bishop. We hope to give the text of these documents on a future occasion. Among the documents of precious value here is a charter of William Rufus, of few words, and in the laconic style which characterises the genuine royal *diplomata* of England under the Norman dynasty. Some equally artistic documents are preserved in the muniment room of the Cathedral; and Dr. Bensly, the custodian, would confer a valuable boon upon the historian if he could devote some time to the arrangement and cataloguing of these rare relics of the past. There are also some unique and unpublished seals among them.

Dr. Goulburn then assumed the office of *cicerone*, and with staff in hand took the party round the Cloisters and to the ruins of the monks' refectory and their infirmary; then entering the church, and commencing with the west end, he explained all the curious and remarkable parts of the fabric—Bishop Nix's shrine and recumbent effigy, the Jesus Chapel, the Chapel of the Five Wounds, the Beauchamp Chapel richly adorned with the sculpture of the legendary life of the Blessed Virgin, St. Luke's Chapel (now a parish church), and the lesser Lady Chapel. He pointed out, in the Cloisters, the tomb of Roger Bigod, the Governor of Norwich Castle in the reign of the Conqueror; and in the choir a chapel, to which there is access by a staircase, supposed by some to have been erected by the wicked Queen of Edward II, the "she-wolf of France", who late in life was sent to expiate her sins at Castle Rising in Norfolk, and very probably made a pilgrimage to the Cathedral of the county, and left this as a memorial of her visit. He also drew attention to the "Green Land", as an open space on the north of the Cathedral is called, where sermons used to be preached in the open air. He also pointed out, at the junction of the nave and choir, the tomb and traces of the altar of the boy-saint, put to death, as related in the Dean's paper, in a wood near Norwich, where his

body was supernaturally kept from corruption. And lastly, at the extreme east end of the choir, he shewed the remains, *in situ*, of the early episcopal throne. They are of stone, and shew that the first Norman structure, with its apsidal termination, was constructed after the plan of a Roman basilica, the bishop sitting there and looking westwards towards the nave. The ancient altar-stone marked with the five crosses, he added, had been mounted on an oaken table on a stone plinth, and was once more in its original position.

Canon Heaviside informed the Association that the Dean had omitted to mention one important fact, which was, that the extensive restoration of old work which had been made was at the sole cost of the Dean. The general opinion of the Members was that the restoration is being carried on in a judicious and praiseworthy manner, as it is proceeding upon the principle of preserving the work of the old architects.

Dr. Goulburn's exposition of the architecture of the Cathedral was a model of lucidity. One good work done at Norwich is worthy to be recorded for the instruction of those who are responsible for our cathedrals and churches. A room, or "Museum", has been set aside to receive all objects of interest found on the site from time to time, or removed for alterations. Here were to be seen fragments of beautiful cornices, an early font (perhaps the only visible remains of an early church here), capitals and bosses, *fictilia* of the Norman age, and even matchlocks and helmets of the seventeenth century, so careful are the authorities not to part with any of their treasures.

The Dean then invited the Members of the Association into the grounds of the Deanery, where, in a spacious marquee, an elegant luncheon had been provided for them.

After this pleasant break in the day's ramble, Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, thanked the Dean, first, for shewing them the beautiful Cathedral, and next for his hospitality. The throne of the Norman bishops, and the sudden transition from the early Norman work to the Perpendicular work, were features of remarkable interest. Another remarkable feature of the Cathedral was the series of the bosses illustrative of Scripture history and legends, lately published by the Dean.

The Dean, in reply, said that it had given him great pleasure to receive the Members of the Association, and to conduct them over the Cathedral. He hoped at some future time to reproduce facsimiles of the curious grotesque bosses in the Beauchamp Chapel.

In the afternoon a perambulation of the city was made, under the guidance of Mr. R. M. Phipson, F.S.A., beginning at the Bishop's Palace, to the north of the Cathedral. Part of the structure, that now used as the kitchen (an immense, vaulted apartment), the cellarage beneath the present servants' hall, the lower portion of the private

chapel, are all portions of the Bishop's Palace, built between 1300-1325. They contain much simple quadripartite vaulting with plain ribs and plastered webs, and are built of rubble and squared masonry. A plan of the original Palace was shewn, and displayed a much more extensive building than the present. Till within the last twenty years a quaint, covered passage communicated between the Palace and the north aisle of the Cathedral nave; but this is now cut off, and the spaces walled up so as to obliterate all trace of the openings. In the garden, quite detached from the other buildings, is a picturesque ruin covered with ivy, consisting of four groups of clustered piers and shafts supporting an upper room. The ogee arches on the under sides and the mouldings shew that the work is late Decorated; but opinions were divided as to whether this was a detached entrance tower, or if it formed a portion adjoining the Palace buildings.

The Grammar School is an early Perpendicular building of four bays, greatly restored on the principal façade. It was used as a charnel-house, with chapel above, till 1540, when it was cleansed and devoted to its present purpose. The curious open staircase and porch on the front were added by Bishop Lyehart about 1450. From this portico an oak door carved with vigorous scroll-work opens into the chapel. Most of the windows are modern reproductions; but the four old ones, of crumbling freestone, exhibit a very late flowing tracery, like those at Ely Place Chapel, Holborn. The mouldings have been decorated in colour. The crypt has a groined vault like those at the Bishop's Palace.

Next was viewed the Erpingham Gate to the Cathedral Close, a unique and highly decorated edifice erected by Sir Thomas Erpingham in 1396. On the outer or western face, that towards Tombland, the archivols, spandrels, and the half-octagonal flanking buttresses, are profusely adorned with sculptured figures under canopies and shields of arms. In the gable of this front is a canopied niche with a kneeling statue of a knight, while on either pinnacle is a mouldering figure, one of which has been identified as a secular, the other as a regular priest. The Close had been entered, we should have mentioned, by the Members through the southern gate, that of St. Ethelbert, erected by the citizens in 1272,—a wide structure with a finely groined and embossed vault, a profusion of niches and flint panel-work on the chief front. The upper portion, including a large flint wheel-ornament, had been restored in modern times. It is noticeable that all the decorations of these gates are reserved for the city side, and that both have apartments above.

The next point of interest was the great church of the Dominicans, or Blackfriars, rebuilt by Sir Thomas Erpingham, who died in 1422, before it was completed. At the Dissolution the citizens acquired the

whole building from the King, by the intercession of the Duke of Norfolk, for the moderate sum of £81. The nave (St. Andrew's Hall) has ever since been devoted to civic purposes, and is the largest and most magnificent common hall in the kingdom. The Corporation have leased the chancel to the Dutch Church for two hundred years, at a few shillings a year; and the few representatives of that nation sublet it to various denominations, at present to the Primitive Methodists. This lease falls in in about twenty years' time. The exterior of the building is very plain, and was refaced with flints and thoroughly restored by Mr. T. D. Barry, late Borough Surveyor, some years since. It loses much from the lack of the hexagonal tower formerly at the crossing, which fell in 1712. The chancel, of four bays, has been paved and greatly altered within; the roof is plain, with carved wood bosses; the windows are good five-lights, that at the east end being of seven lights. Some difficulty was felt as to this last window, which is filled with flowing tracery apparently earlier than the assigned date; but Mr. Phipson explained that the fashion in fenestration changed late in the fifteenth century in Norwich, and that in many of the churches windows of this character might be seen, of which there was proof that the work was later than it seemed. The nave and its aisles, shut off from this chancel by plaster partitions, are admirably proportioned; and the richly ornamented hammer-beam ceilings, the large clerestories, the lofty and wide series of seven moulded arches beneath, divided by octangular shafts, the panelled oak-work, the grand Perpendicular west window, all contribute to the noble character of the building; and the modern fittings of an organ and orchestra filling up the east end, the low seats, and the very fine series of full-length portraits on the walls, add to the striking effect of St. Andrew's Hall. The proportions are—nave, 124 ft. by 32 ft.; and aisles, each 124 ft. by 16 ft.

St. Andrew's Church, close by, ranks next to St. Peter Mancroft in size and importance. It is of the usual Norwich type, and is entirely Perpendicular. It was rebuilt in 1500, with the exception of the tower, which is twenty years earlier. It consists of nave and chancel under one rich hammer-beam roof, divided from north and south aisles by octagonal piers carrying ranges of clerestories. There are remains of a little old stained glass and of sedilia and misereres. Here an excellent paper on the history of the church was read. When looking at the Communion plate in this church, a hanap was pronounced by Mr. Lambert to be one of the best in existence, of the period, middle of sixteenth century.

Next the Members went into the Strangers' Hall, in a court off St. Andrew's Street. It seems to have been built by Nicholas Sotherby, some time Mayor of Norwich, who died in 1540, and is interesting as

giving the last stage of Perpendicular work. In the banqueting hall, a fine apartment on the first floor, are an oriel window on the south; an eastern staircase finely carved in Renaissance style, with admirable carving on the string below the balusters; and a hammer-beam roof. Above are several rooms with oak panelling and Jacobean moulded ceilings. Tradition declares that it was a guest-house of the Dukes of Norfolk, and it is now used by the Catholics as a school. Mr. Brock spoke of it as a very valuable example of a merchant's house of Henry VIII's time, rendered more interesting by later fittings.

St. John Maddermarket is a Perpendicular church with aisles and clerestories, a fan-tracery roof, some fine Elizabethan and Jacobean monuments, and some brasses. A public passage runs through the tower, and a street passed under the chancel, now destroyed.

St. Gregory's, the last of a long programme, was built in Henry VII's time, having aisles, clerestories, and single open roofs from east to west. Upon the Decorated font is a good font-cover, the upper part consisting of eight eagles' necks and heads ringed together, with early Renaissance ornament on every surface. On the south-west wall is a fine fresco of St. George and the Dragon, discovered by Mr. Phipson when restoring the church in 1864.

In the evening the Members of the Association sat down to dinner in the great room of the Royal Hotel, Lord Waveney, President of the Congress, being in the chair.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19TH, 1879.

The Members this day met in the Council Chamber at the Guildhall, where Mr. Birch commented at considerable length on the charters belonging to the Corporation, which he stated were of different dates, from Henry II downwards. They were in excellent condition, and had been most carefully kept, and reflected great credit on their custodians. They were mostly under glass cases, and the seals appended to them were in small bags. The little cords by which they were fastened being of silk, and of very beautiful workmanship. The first charter displayed was granted in the fifth year of Henry I, and separated the town from the Castle property. There was another of the first year of King John; and three, each in duplicate, of Henry III. This duplication of charters was carried out to protect them against the chances of fire, natural decay, and abstraction or injury, only the attested copy being produced when required in court. The cases were early and fine examples of silk manufacture, of course hand-woven, and believed to be now incapable of imitation.

Mr. Phipson exhibited and explained a large map of the city of Norwich as it was in A.D. 1500, with its priories, convents, walls, and gates,

and its Castle encircled with a triple moat. Most of the priories, convents, and walls, are now gone, except about a hundred yards of the wall near St. Augustine's Church; and the only city gate now standing is Bishop Alnwick's Gate in the grounds of the Bishop's Palace. Mr. Phipson added that the city walls were begun in 1294, and finished in all essential parts in 1320; but that they were not completely fitted up and fortified till twenty-two years later, when Richard Spink or Spynk, a wealthy citizen of Norwich, erected towers at intervals along the wall, with portcullises to the gates. These towers were removed, by an act of civic Vandalism, about a century ago.

Mr. Brock said they would see in the round tower of St. Julian's Church, that afternoon, that the windows had a double splay, and that they were placed north and south instead of east and west,—features which he considered afforded evidence of Saxon work.

From the Council Chamber the company passed, under the guidance of Mr. Phipson, to the very handsome Perpendicular church of St. Peter Mancroft, so called because it stands on what was once the "Magna Crofta", or Great Croft, of the Castle. The church was rebuilt in 1430-55. It is cruciform, and has a rich western tower, 98 ft. high, still unfinished, large clerestory and aisle-lights, and at the east end are two Renaissance octagonal turrets. The main roof, in one span throughout, has a small wooden fan-vault over each window, above each of which springs the principal of an open roof decorated with angels and the suns of York. Here the timber roof of the nave and chancel, partly vaulted in imitation of stone groining, and partly following the usual type, was much admired, as was also the font with its elegant though mutilated spiral cover. In the vestry also were exposed to the visitors a number of curious early printed books, illuminated MSS., etc.; a fine collection of church plate, including a chalice of pre-Reformation date; and a beautiful panel of alabaster containing seven female saints, which once formed part of an altar, perhaps a reredos. Among the notable antiquities glanced at were a fine example of tapestry dated 1573; an Italian picture of scenes from the life of Christ, in one of which the Saviour is depicted as a gardener with a spade in his hand; some acoustic vases built in the brickwork under the choir; and some old panel-paintings. For the contemplated "restoration" of this church, by the way, the immense outlay of £13,000 is proposed. Here also were pointed out the fine brass of Sir Peter Rede, and the tomb and monument of Sir Thomas Browne. At the east end of the church is a vestry in three stories.

From St. Peter's, the route lay in the direction of St. Stephen's, another fine and large Perpendicular church, also in the Market Place, and close to St. Peter's, of later style than that edifice. The chancel was rebuilt between 1501-21, the nave by 1601. The arcades are very

lofty, and there are flat, square panelings on the columns. The chief roof is remarkably rich, hammer-beam, with open carving below, and brattishing above wall-plate and in spandrels of principals. The large east window contains dated glass of several periods, and has been arranged with the figure of St. Christopher on the north, and Our Lord bearing His cross on the south, with a priest instructing a woman and a mother her boy, one on either side of central light. The interest of the window is increased by the fact that three portions, easily recognisable, are dated either in Roman or Arabic figures, with 1483, 1523, and 1610. This system is continued elsewhere in the church, for under the west window is the date 1550, and on the north front 1610. The font has a Jacobean, open, iron cover, now gilt, and surmounted by an eagle. There are a series of alabaster panels of saints; some interesting MSS. in the vestry, including a Latin Bible written on vellum, c. 1340, and a twelfth century copy of the Pauline Epistles, with gloss. St. Stephen's is one of the latest of all the churches of Norwich in point of date, its west window not having been put up till 1550, and the painted east window in 1601. It contains, however, nine brasses which escaped the hands of Will. Dowsing, and four of which have been engraved by Cotman; and also a small alabaster panel with figures of male saints. In the chancel are some remains of the old oaken stalls.

St. Giles' Church is also a rebuilt church (*temp.* Richard II) of early Perpendicular type, and was restored by Mr. Phipson some years since. Its best features are a west tower, of flint-work, 120 feet high, surmounted by a lantern, and the paneled and groined south porch. The clerestory ranges only one to each bay of arcades, and the aisle-lights are not so large as in the previous churches viewed, making the building appear comparatively dark. The nave-roof is hammer-beamed, with angels at the springers. The porch has a fine groined roof supporting a parvise. In this church also are some brasses, two of which are engraved in Cotman's work.

The archæologists then went on to Heigham to inspect the old mansion commonly called Bishop Hall's Palace, but now an inn and hostelry rejoicing in the sign of the Dolphin. It was not, however, built by that prelate, though occupied by him during the interval which elapsed between his expulsion by the Puritans from the see of Norwich and his death, which happened here in 1658. It was originally the country mansion of one of the rich citizens of Norwich, and has fine heraldic ceilings and carved mantelpieces of the Jacobean period, with traces of earlier work. There are a portion of oak staircase, a plaster ceiling in one room, and a carved Elizabethan oak door. Two dates are worked into the front,—that of 1587 over the door, and 1619 in the flint-work. At the entrance is an elegant piscina, clearly of the

fourteenth or fifteenth century, which must have been brought hither from some church. Mr. Phipson read a short paper on the old house and its associations.

At the village of Arminghall, the church, a Decorated structure, completely restored by Mr. J. P. Seddon, was seen. The floor, seats, roof, plaster internal faces to walls, and fittings, are new; the only remains of the old structure worth notice being some good poppy-heads, which have been judiciously fixed on to the chancel-benches.

More interesting is the "Old Hall", now a farmhouse. The building itself is late Elizabethan, of timber and moulded bricks, with tiled roof; but into its walls are worked an extraordinary series of panels and plaques of terra-cotta, of which nothing is known as to their origin or former purpose. On the south side is a large porch of rich Decorated character, with a series of figures of lizards among foliage sculptured on the archivolts and jambs of the entrance. On either side is a seated figure of an old woman, and above, in an ogee-canopied niche, a bust. Within the porch is a panel grotesquely sculptured with the story of the lion rending the disobedient prophet. To the left of the porch is arcaded woodwork of Elizabethan character. At the rear is a door adorned with carvings of the vine and with busts. Plants and other ornaments in terra-cotta, now unfortunately thickly coated with plaster, are dispersed, apparently haphazard, over the building. The remains have been supposed to have come from Carrow Abbey; but of this there is not the slightest proof. A discussion took place on a black letter inscription carved on the oak door within the south porch, which reads:—"Orate pro anima magistri Willelmi Gladin qui fecit fieri hoc hostium. A° Christi 1487."

Carrow Abbey, now the residence of Mr. J. H. Tillett, was then visited. The members were welcomed by Mr. Tillett, who, after the house had been inspected, read a paper upon its history. He explained that, with various additions fitting it for domestic purposes, it is the last Prioress's residence. The Abbey was in existence as a hospital early in the reign of King Stephen; and in 1146 two sisters, Seyna and Leftilina, founded a Benedictine nunnery. The domestic buildings stood on the site of the present house, and to the south was a cruciform chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, with graveyard around, in which human bones have often been found. The nunnery then covered, with its grounds, an area of ten acres. In 1199 John granted the same rights as to a fair to be held by the nuns in Trowse hamlet, as the Benedictine monks possessed. In 1228 the charters were confirmed, and some time afterwards Pope Gregory X issued an interdict (still in existence) to the Prioress against receiving more nuns than they could support. A list of most of the Prioresses from 1198 to 1530 is preserved by Blomefield. The last Prioress known was Isabella

Wygun, who seems to have built the existing domestic apartments. It was to the last Prioress of Carrow that Skelton, poet laureate, addressed some doggerel verse on the death of her favourite bird, "Philip Sparrow". At the Dissolution the advowson of the Priory was given, in 1539, by Henry VIII to Sir John Shelton, Knight, uncle of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, who lived here. His relict left to her son, the second Sir John Shelton, all her hangings, tables, cupboards, fireplaces, and stoves, in her "great parlour"; so that there is good evidence that the existing parlour is of that date.

The old portion of the house is of the date of Henry VII, with some alterations. It consists of the parlour, on ground-level, a dark and handsome room panelled on every portion of walls, and with fine beamed ceiling, also of oak, now nearly black. Above this is a small bed-room reached by a turret; and over the corridors a third apartment, the refectory or Guest Chamber. In the spandrils of the fireplace, and door in the parlour, and on the beam in the open roof of the refectory, is repeated the rebus (a letter Y and a rude carving of a gun) of Isabella Wygun. In the grounds are a portion of the south wall of the chapel, containing a piscina in position, several fragments of rubble masonry, and outer enclosing walls. The seal of the Abbey, of ogival form, and representing the Virgin and Holy Child, is now in the possession of Mr. John Gunn, who exhibited engravings of it.

The visitors afterwards partook of refreshment under a wide-spread willow, and then walked through the beautifully laid out grounds of Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., which adjoin Mr. Tillett's. In the principal suite of rooms at Mr. Colman's house a splendid series of paintings, of the Norwich School, including those of the Cromes, the Cotmans, W. P. Hunt, Drake, and Lance, crayon-portraits of the junior members of the Colman family, were examined with interest; and also antiquarian treasures of all dates, from a British cinerary urn found at New Buckenham by Mr. Colman's grandfather, to a Jacobean buffet.

Those of the party who did not take a part in the visit to Arminghall and Carrow employed the afternoon in a careful inspection of some of the other churches and curiosities of the city. They visited the churches of St. Lawrence (where the fishermen used to land their boats when an arm of the sea ran up to Norwich), St. Mary Coslany, St. Leonard's, St. Margaret's (where there is a curious sculpture of the Crucifixion on the outside of the vestry, at the north-east); St. Augustine's, which alone of all the Norwich churches has a tower of brick; St. Michael's, or as it is called by the natives, "St. Miles", with its fine panel-paintings of the Crucifixion; and the small church of St. Julian with its Norman east end and round Norman, or perhaps Saxon, tower. Others followed the line of the city walls, or went to see the

two old bridges which still remain, and the picturesque gateway at the bottom of the Lower Close, known as Pull's or Sandling's Ferry. But perhaps the most instructive lesson of the day, if time and opportunity could have been found, would have been the inspection of the unrivalled collection of matrices of conventual, heraldic, and personal seals, and the charming *nielli* and posy and gem-rings, collected with indefatigable perseverance, and a great and exquisite taste, by Mr. Fitch, F.S.A., the well known antiquary of Norwich, who exhibited them to the Congress in 1857.

The evening sitting in the Council Chamber at the Guildhall was one of more than usual interest, for the Mayor and Corporation had kindly allowed their maces, gold and silver cups, and other regalia, to be exhibited before the Members of the Congress.

Mr. Lambert, F.S.A., commented upon this valuable collection of municipal plate, which he pronounced superior to those of any other provincial city or town except Bristol. Amongst them he specially praised two maces given to Norwich by Sir Robert Walpole and by a member of the Howard family; a silver tazza with the motto, "In God is al my trust", a silver salt-cellar of the reign of Charles I, and two silver-gilt cups dated respectively 1609 and 1729.

The first paper, by Mr. Picton, F.S.A., was on the nomenclature of the towns and villages of Norfolk. This has been printed above, at pp. 137-145. It was followed by a paper in which Mr. Knight brought forward evidence to support the theory that Norwich, and not Caister, was the "*Venta Icenorum*" of antiquity. Another was then read on "The Triple Arrangement running through Norwich Cathedral as symbolising the Holy Trinity", by Mr. Gunn; and lastly, Mr. Henfrey read his paper on "The Ancient Coins of Norwich", of which the first part has been printed at pp. 291-315.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1879.

A heavy rain was falling when the Members of the Congress and of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society assembled at the Royal Hotel, to set out on the last excursion in the programme. But the prospect of a long ride of nearly forty miles, in open vehicles, during a wet day, did not turn any of the archæologists from their purpose of visiting some further interesting memorials of the past, of which Norfolk has such a store. Sir F. Boileau, Bart., Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., Mr. Gunn, F.G.S., Mr. Fitch, and the Rev. C. R. Manning, M.A., *Hon. Secs.* of the Norfolk Society, were among the party, which numbered upwards of one hundred ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. R. M. Phipson, F.S.A., furnished some interesting information

respecting the township and church of Burgh-next-Aylsham. The lands of Burgh, he said, were, in the time of the Confessor, in the hands of a freewoman named Marwea. Perhaps she furnished fighting men to swell the forces of King Harold at Senlac, or had her land invaded by some of the followers of King William after the Conquest; at any rate she was deprived of them when *Domesday Book* was compiled, and Arne de Beauvoir was in the enjoyment of them. This affords an example of the manner in which lands changed hands throughout Norfolk after the Conquest. Perhaps the new owner took sides with Ralph de Guader against the King, and so forfeited his estates by the act of rebellion. However, the manor reverted to and was held by the Crown till the reign of Edward I, when it was granted to Sir John de Burgh, together with a charter of free warren; while the tenants of the manor were given the privilege of freedom from toll, stallage, cheminage, pannage, murage, pontage, and passage, throughout England,—a privilege they can assert at the present day. Roger Bigod, Sir John de Felton, Sir Robert Ufford, and Michael de la Pole, held the manor. Here and at other places, throughout the day, as during Thursday of the previous week at Wingfield and neighbourhood, the Members of the Association had further evidence of the extensive possessions and importance of the De la Pole family.

The church, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, consists of a chancel, nave, and a small chapel on the north side of the chancel. There is here the peculiarity noticed at Fritton, of a descent from the nave to the chancel. There is some beautiful Early English work in the chancel. Sir Gilbert Scott says that "the chancel is one of peculiar interest. On the south side of the chancel is a continuous range of beautiful lancet-lights arcaded within, and absolutely simple without." Below is an arcade upon stone seats. The arcading of the windows is continued on the north side as far as the beautiful Early English door opening into a chapel, which has been recently added to present this door in its fair proportions, and the lower arcading is continued beyond that intersecting door. Mr. Gunn suggested that the figures of the twelve Apostles, which the Squire of Martham had, may have come out of these twelve windows of this chancel. A double row of arcading runs the whole length of the north and south aisles of the chancel, except in one place, where the line is broken by the doorway leading into the chapel already mentioned. There is no chancel-arch; but the Early English work is suddenly broken off to give place to a plain and common-place Perpendicular nave with a fine open roof of oak.

The party then left for Blickling Hall. This magnificent Jacobean house is the glory of the country side. There were many exclamations of unfeigned admiration from the occupants of the carriages as

they came suddenly in sight of the stately Hall standing in grounds of rare beauty. A very graceful welcome was given to the large number of visitors by the Marchioness of Lothian, who throughout their stay at the Hall shewed great solicitude to bring before their notice everything likely to interest archæologists. But before the visitors were asked to make a tour of the state rooms of the Hall, they were invited into the dining-room, where an elegant luncheon awaited them. After the long ride this was most acceptable. The grand dining-hall is paneled with oak richly carved, and adorned with many art-treasures. After luncheon the company ascended the double staircase, down upon which look the portraits and carved figures of men and women in the picturesque costumes of the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts. Foremost amongst these, in point of interest, is the carved figure of Anne Boleyn, the unfortunate wife of Henry VIII, whose name is so intimately associated with the place. If it were for no other fact than that Anne Boleyn lived here, Blickling Hall must ever have great historic interest.

The Rev. F. Meyrick, in a short address, gave some interesting facts about Blickling and its occupants from the earliest times. Blickling belonged to King Harold. After the Conquest the manor was granted to the bishops of Norwich. Eborard, the second Bishop of Norwich, transferred the manor to Fitz-Robert, whose descendants possessed it for a considerable period. The most notable man who lived at Blickling was Sir Nicholas Dagworth, a leading statesman in the time of Edward III and of Richard II. Thirty years afterwards Blickling came into the possession of Sir Thomas de Erpingham, the builder of the Erpingham Gate at Norwich. He fought at Agincourt, and is twice mentioned by Shakespeare. From him Blickling passed to Sir John Fastolf, who sold it to Sir Geoffrey Buleyne, Lord Mayor of London in 1457. He was succeeded by William Boleyn, lord of Hever, who was followed by Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of Queen Anne, who became Lord Rochford and Earl of Wiltshire. Blickling then passed to the Clare family, who inherited it from Alice, daughter of Sir Wm. Boleyn. From them the estate passed into the hands of Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who died in 1625. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Hobart, in the time of whose son, Sir John Hobart, Blickling Hall was finished. The next owner was Sir Miles Hobart, a Parliamentarian, who married Hampden's daughter, and who received a visit from Charles II. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Hobart, who was at the battle of the Boyne. His son Sir John was created Earl of Buckinghamshire. One of his granddaughters married the sixth Marquis of Lothian, from whom the estate has descended to the present owner.

This account of the eminent men and women connected with Blick-

ling was given in the magnificent library, a long room, which seems somewhat narrow because of its length, having a fine old-fashioned hearth, a magnificent ceiling, panelled in plaster, and enriched with designs and mottoes illustrative of various truths, social, political, philosophical, and religious, and long ranges of shelves filled with rare books and MSS. in splendid condition. Attention was directed to two portraits, one of the Earl of Buckinghamshire and the other of the Countess, by Gainsborough; and to some exquisite Russian tapestry representing Peter the Great in battle,—a gift to the Earl when, one hundred years ago, he was Ambassador to the Court of Russia.

The company next spent a short time in rambling through the brilliantly flowered parterres set amid a mass of greenery, and reluctantly responded to the summons to assemble in the hall to bid farewell to Blickling and the Marchioness of Lothian. This duty was assigned to Sir Francis Boileau, who expressed the gratitude of the large party to the Marchioness for her hospitality, and for giving them an opportunity of seeing the interior of one of the most interesting houses in the county.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., thanked the Rev. F. Meyrick for his interesting notes on Blickling, which had made those he had prepared unnecessary. The results of his investigations satisfied him that Queen Anne was born at Blickling.

The party then left this interesting building, and proceeded to Blickling Church, a building of the Perpendicular period, which contains several old brasses, the most remarkable being one to Sir Nicholas Dagworth, concerning whose career Mr. Spaul of Norwich contributed some interesting notes. In 1373 he and Sir John Fastolf were employed by Edward III to enter into secret negotiations with France. In 1377 he was sent on a mission into Ireland, in spite of the objection of Dame Alice Ferrers. Richard II sent him upon a political mission into France, and afterwards appointed him Ambassador to the Papal Court, with power to treat with the King of Naples. In the eleventh year of Richard's reign he was imprisoned at Rochester Castle, but was honourably discharged, and then appointed a commissioner to treat with the French King and the Earl of Flanders. He died in January 1401, and was buried in this church. Another brass is to the memory of Anne Boleyn, aunt of Queen Anne. There are also memorials of the Hobart family. The most beautiful monument in the church is a marble tomb having thereon the recumbent, full size figure of the late Marquis of Lothian, with an angel standing at the head, and another at the foot of the tomb. This fine piece of sculpture is by Mr. Watts. It was erected by the present Marchioness to the memory of her late husband.

From Blickling the party proceeded to Salle Church, the proportions

of which building commanded the admiration of the architects. It is one of the most magnificent of the Perpendicular churches which adorn Norfolk. The church, which has chancel, nave, aisles, transepts, with a south porch and parvise, has a fine west door with angels in the spandrels. The church was built in the time of Henry VI, probably by the families of De Brew, Mauteby, Morley, and Kerdiston, whose arms occur upon it. Parts of the arms of the Wingfields and De la Poles occur in various parts of the church. Part of the fine old painted roof, very similar to that at Blythburgh, remains. A rood-screen, which has been sawn in two, and the upper parts utilised in the formation of pews, was enriched with paintings of saints, as may be seen on removing the whitewash or paint which has been thickly spread over them. Some of the misereres have elegant carvings. The church is in a very wretched condition.

Cawston Church, built by Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, is another grand church of the transition period from Decorated to Perpendicular. Its massive tower was never completed by the putting on of the parapets. The principal features in the interior of the church are the beautiful hammer-beam roof with the spandrels filled with elegant tracery, and angels at the ends; the almost perfect rood-screen, its panels filled with paintings of the Apostles, the Fathers, and Sir John Shore; and its singular oak-screen across the tower-arch, on which runs the legend, "God speed the plow, and send us ale enow our purpose for to make. At the sign of the Plow leet in Sygate. Be merry and glad. What good ale this work made." This may have reference to the ancient custom of the blessing of the plough on Plough Monday, or to some old manorial usage. In this church is a brass to William Gurney and his wife, dated 1578. The Sanctus bell, the carved screen, and rood-loft (still rich with the figures of saints, apostles, and evangelists), and the roof, which has not yet quite lost the diaper-pattern of ancient decoration, were much admired; and the restoration of the ornamentation was recommended.

The Members reached Norwich in the evening, and concluded the Congress by a dinner at the Royal Hotel, under the presidency of J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P. After dinner a short paper by Dr. Jessop, on the Norwich Grammar School, was read.

The thanks of the Association were given to Mr. Colman, who in reply expressed a hope that it would not be long before the Association came to Norwich to explore more thoroughly its places of architectural and historic interest.

The thanks of the Association were next given to Mr. Phipson and to the local gentlemen who had read papers, and had made the visit more interesting by imparting information relative to places of note.

Mr. Loftus Brock proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor, magis-

trates, and Corporation, of Norwich; and also hoped that before long the Association would again visit this charming old city. Mr. Fitch acknowledged the compliment.

A hearty vote of thanks was given to Mr. Wright, on the motion of Mr. Phipson, F.S.A., who stated that it was through Mr. Wright's active agency that the three days so pleasantly and usefully passed at Norwich had been brought to so satisfactory a termination. This concluded the proceedings of this most interesting Congress.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1879.

Although the formal business of the Congress was brought to an end on Wednesday evening by the paper of Dr. Jessop, and votes of thanks to the Local and other Secretaries, to Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., and to the Mayor and Corporation of Yarmouth, yet one or two antiquaries resolved to make, if possible, a "pilgrimage to Walsingham" before returning to their homes. The railway to Dereham and Wells offered every facility, and Mr. Lee-Warner, of Walsingham, kindly gave permission to visit the Abbey ruins in his grounds.

Walsingham is a dull, little, quaint town with a small market-place, in the centre of which is an octagonal well or fountain of fifteenth century work. Lower down the main street is a square, embattled, Perpendicular tower, its roof, floor, and groining, all gone, though the niches are still perfect, or nearly so. This is the entry to the Abbey grounds, which here, just as at Glastonbury, form the lawn of a modern mansion built on to the ancient ruins, and blending the domestic part of them with the abode of a gentleman's household. The staircase of the somewhat low hall is covered with family portraits. There are others of an older date in the drawing and dining-rooms, including a fine portrait of Charles I, and several of the works of Sir Peter Lely, Gainsborough, Sir Godfrey Kneller, and other artists. The square plot between the house and the tall eastern wall of the old Abbey was once covered by the cloister; and the three Decorated arches to the left tell their own tale, as part of the Abbot's private chapel. The eastern wall was occupied nearly from top to bottom by a window of late Decorated or early Perpendicular architecture, about 70 feet in height. The sides of it, externally, still are covered with niches, but the saints and their images are gone. Beyond the east end is a small enclosure containing one large square pool and two small circular ones, all faced around with stone. The two last named are known as "The Wishing Wells." The tall window and the small aperture above it are the haunts of a large colony of pigeons who have remained here undisturbed since the monastic times. In another part of the turf, a slight

excavation has brought to light the base of a large cluster of columns which the hand of art and the lapse of time have joined to invest with a peculiar beauty.

Between the railway station and the little town are the roofless remains of a small priory. Two gables of the hall and one of the chapel are still standing, and they are pierced with windows of elegant Gothic tracery. The quadrangle can still be traced; but the cloister is gone, and the buildings are now used for farming and agricultural purposes, part of them serving as cattle-sheds.

Just outside the town, to the south, on the high road to Barsham is the west front of a small wayside chapel, the face of which is adorned with arcades of Gothic mouldings in flint and stone alternately, and with a lofty window, the tracery of which still remains. It was probably the last of a series of such wayside chapels, at which the pilgrims stayed to count their beads and say a "Pater" and an "Ave" before reaching their destination. In like manner, in most of the neighbouring villages, and especially at Hunstanton, Titchwell, Burnham, and all along the coast-road from Lynn, there are wayside crosses erected for the use and comfort of the Walsingham pilgrims. Most of these are mutilated more or less in their ornamentation; but the shafts and some of the seats remain. Mount St. Mary's, the first of the wayside chapels within the precincts of the old Castle at King's Lynn, at which the pilgrims from the North and Midland Counties used to assemble before setting out in company (like Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims at the Tabard Inn in Southwark), and which still remains in a fair state of preservation, was visited by the members of the Congress of the British Archæological Association last year during their stay at Wisbech.

Many kings, queens, and illustrious personages, found their way as pilgrims, at one time or other, to Our Lady of Walsingham; and one of the last was King Henry VIII, who in the second year of his reign, before he had set eyes on Anne Boleyn, the fair lady of Blickling, walked hither barefoot from the village of Barsham, near Fakenham. The image of Our Lady here was famous for its miraculous qualities. "Not many years after", writes Mr. Charles Knight in *Old England*, "the image of Our Lady was burnt at Chelsea, to the horror of the Roman Catholic world; and who should direct the act but that same *quondam* worshipper and royal pilgrim to Walsingham, Henry himself." In 1061 a lady, the widow of Richard or Richolt de Favarches, we are told, erected a small chapel here in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in imitation of the Casa Santa at Nazareth; and to this chapel the lady's son added afterwards a Priory for Canons of the Augustinian Order, and built a church. This, doubtless, is the Priory mentioned above. A paper on this Abbey, in connection with

the pilgrimages, read by the late T. J. Pettigrew, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, as long ago as 1847, has been printed above, at p. 129.

From Walsingham one or two of the party found their way to Wells-on-Sea, to see the ruins of the parish church which was struck by lightning and burnt down only three or four weeks before. They were glad to hear that it had already been resolved to rebuild the parts of it which are shattered, and to restore the rest, Lord Leicester and the town of Wells having each headed a subscription for that purpose with donations of £1,000. The church was a fine specimen of the Norfolk churches in these parts, with a flint tower, nave, chancel, and side-aisles. The whole of one aisle and one side of the nave, as well as the roof, were level in the dust, and a mass of charred ruins. The chancel, fortunately, was insured for £1,000; so that the work of restoration will not be long delayed.

Obituary.

HENRY CLARK PIDGEON.

WE record with regret the death, on the 6th of August, of Mr. H. C. Pidgeon, President of the Sketching Club, and a very old Member of the Institute of Painters in Water Colours. Mr. Pidgeon, who died at a somewhat advanced age on the 6th instant, was born in March 1807. He was educated at Reading under Dr. Valpy, and originally destined for the Church; but that project was abandoned, and after a short trial of a business pursuit at Isleworth, his natural tastes for art and archæology, which he had manifested at a very early age, led him into more literary paths. For some time he edited *The Berkshire Chronicle*, and wrote, among other works, a treatise on the Eton Montem, which attracted considerable attention at the time of its production. Art-studies led Mr. Pidgeon to Paris, and he subsequently filled the Professorship of the School of Drawing at the Liverpool Institute. Here he contributed very considerably towards the formation of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, in co-operation with Mr. J. Mayer and Dr. Hume. In 1851 Mr. Pidgeon returned to London, and worked with great success in preparing the designs on wood for *The Illustrated London News* during the Great Exhibition, which was so extensively illustrated in that periodical; and from that date up to within a very recent period he was a constant exhibitor at the Institute.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1880.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

Nixon, Edward, Savile House, Methley, near Leeds, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. v, 4th Series, No. 39. July 1879.

„ „ for "Journal of the Society of Arts", No. 143.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, announced the forthcoming Congress at Devizes.

Mr. Robert Blair, of South Shields, sent a sketch of a small Roman altar exhumed at the Roman *Castrum* in April. It is 12 inches high and 6 inches broad, and has no inscription.

Mr. John Addy, of Queen Street, Peterborough, forwarded information of the excavation of a Roman villa within a quarter of a mile of Castor station. The pavement thus far opened out is of plain stone *tesserae*, and there are fragments of coloured plastering.

The Rev. Fredk. Smith, Rector of Woodchester, Stroud, announced the possibility that the Roman tessellated pavement in the old churchyard of Woodchester may be opened this summer, after an interval of about twenty-eight years. As the expenses will be considerable, and a temporary building must be erected for protection of the pavement, the writer desired that the Association would afford some pecuniary assistance, in which also the Gloucester Society of Archæology will be ready to help.

Mr. Brock read a paper entitled "Report of the Discovery of Palæolithic Flint Implements in the Reading Drift", by Dr. J. Stevens, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Brock exhibited a variety of antiquities and mediæval relics recently found in excavations at London Wall. These comprised Samian ware with potters' names on the bases, Roman black and red

fictilia, a bone knife, Norman lamp, a spur (fifteenth century), silvered knives, a copper dredger, and a tile with a rose-pattern.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a South American jar with a stopper, and a bowl of terra-cotta from British Guiana. These objects were brought to England by Sir Robert Schomberg.

The Chairman exhibited a sketch by Mr. H. Watling, of the silver mace belonging to the Corporation of Dunwich, preserved in the old borough chest. Mr. Cuming said that the perusal of Mr. Lambert's paper on maces reminded him of the old Dunwich bauble now produced. This mace is about 11 inches in length, and weighs $11\frac{3}{4}$ oz. It consists of a cylindrical shaft divided at given distances by six pairs of rings or collars. The head is nearly hemispherical, and rather less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, with the flat top engraved with the royal arms quartered with those of the borough. The lower end has a wing or plate on the two opposite sides of the shaft, which together form a hexagonal figure. At the base of the shaft is a shield on which is a ship. This mace may be compared with one belonging to the Corporation of Doncaster, with the Hall-mark of the year 1661. The Dunwich mace is much shorter than some of older date. The Corporation of Hendon, in Yorkshire, possesses one of the time of Henry VI (1420-1461), which is 25 inches in length; and another of the time of Edward IV (1461-83), which measures 18 inches; and the Morpeth mace, bearing date 1604, is 27 inches long. Neither of these maces are surmounted by crowns, these emblems of royalty and loyalty seeming to have been adopted at the time of the restoration of Charles II, 1660. Does the crown on the top of the constable's tipstaff date from this era? The example engraved in our *Journal*, viii, p. 327, is of the reign of Charles II.

Mr. H. Watling sent for exhibition one of a number of bone spikes exhumed from the gravel at Stonham, in Suffolk, with bones and fragments of exceedingly coarse, thick, fictile vessels. This stout spike is rudely chipped into shape, and measures in its now fractured state $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. It was possibly employed as a javelin-head. From the Roman remains overlying this archaic deposit, Mr. Watling obtained some flat, ovate beads of jet, which were also exhibited. He added to them a fine, barrel-shaped bead of striped agate, found with Roman *reliquiæ* at Bailham.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited the metal matrix of a seal found in a burial-ground at Berkhamstead. It is of the class known as *fede*, or love-seal, and bears two hands, couped at the wrists, clasped together; above them a fleur-de-lys. The legend is *FOY ME TENT; i.e., *Foi me tient*. It is of the fourteenth century, and probably belonged to a lady of the middle class.

Mr. Alfred C. Fryer of Wilmslow, Cheshire, contributed a paper on

Wrangholm, and exhibited a coin, upon which Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, read the note appended to the paper :

WRANGHOLM, NEAR MELROSE, THE SUPPOSED BIRTHPLACE OF
ST. CUTHBERT.

BY MR. A. FRYER.

This spring I visited Melrose in order to make some inquiries respecting the position and situation of the ancient village of Wrangholm. I had considerable difficulty in discovering the place; but Mr. Andrew Currie, F.S.A. Scot., kindly gave me some information regarding it. I drove firstly to Old Melrose, the Abbey founded by either St. Columba or St. Aidan.¹ Any one not interested in the history of the place where once stood one of the early Scotie monasteries must be struck with its romantic situation. The fair waters of the Tweed here flow, in the shape of a horseshoe, around a promontory. The very name indicates its situation, for it signifies a bare promontory; from *mull*, bare, and *ross*, a peninsula. Across the narrowest part may still be traced the foundations of a stone wall, now known as "Holy Wall", extending from the south corner of the Tweed to the west corner of it. "The place where the Oratory stood is still called Chapel-Know"; and, continues Wade, "places on Tweed, at this place, still retain their names from the monks there, as the Holy Wheel and the Monk Ford."² The mound upon which the chapel was supposed to be built was opened some time ago; but nothing of any moment was discovered within it. It is now generally thought that the monks, from 1136 to 1146, removed everything that was portable to their new abbey. The "Lady Well", where the water still flows clear and cool, was pointed out to me; and I was shewn the pond where the monks kept their fish. The bottom is still flagged, but an accumulation of mud prevents it from being seen.

From the valley of the Tweed we drove past that of the Leader, skirting the red slopes of Earlstoun Block, where tradition says Cuthbert, the peasant shepherd, was born. At a distance of about six miles from the town of Melrose is the field where once stood the village of Wrangholm. The position it occupied was upon the slope of a low ridge of hills; but now only a few ash trees mark the spot where the little town was once built, and the plough of the farmer passes over the place where Cuthbert played with the lads of the village, and where the little child of three years old first foretold the honour that in future years awaited him.³ Here Cuthbert found a home from the time he was eight years old until he was received into the Monastery of Melrose by Boisil, the Prior, and admitted into the community by

¹ *Bæda, H. E.*, iv. 27. Bæda here speaks of its situation, and also of its abbots.

² Wade's *History of Melrose Abbey*, p. 24.

³ *Bæda, Vit. Cuthb.*, i.

Eata, the Abbot. This event occurred in A.D. 651, being the year in which the holy Aidan's spirit passed away from the labour of this life. After the death of Boisil, in 664, Cuthbert was appointed to be Prior of Melrose; and we read that he often visited the good woman who took care of him in his early years. The Lindisfarne monk says, "At the same time the holy man of God was invited by a certain woman named Kensfrid, still living, and a holy widow, who took charge of him (*enutrivit eum*) from the age of eight till the time when he entered into the service of God; for he was accustomed to call her his mother, and often used to visit her. He came one day to the town where she lived, called Hruringaham, at the time when a house at the east end of the town was on fire; and the wind blowing strongly from that quarter, increased the violence of the flames. His so-called mother ran in fear to the house where he was staying, and begged of him to pray to God to preserve their houses from the flames that surrounded them. Without the slightest fear he cheered his mother, saying, 'Fear nothing, for this fire will not hurt you'; and falling prostrate on the ground, before the door, he prayed silently. Immediately, at his prayer, a strong wind arose from the west, and turned the fire away without doing harm to any one."¹

Bæda narrates the same story, but he does not give the name of the village.² Now if "Hruringaham" is the Wrangholm of a later age, the antiquity of the place is certain. The home of Kensfrid or Kenswith is not likely to have been at any great distance from either the Tweed or the Leader; and in all probability it was over the low hills on the opposite side of the vale, where Smallholm Tower now stands, that Cuthbert beheld the horseman approach, whose white garments and kind advice led him to believe that he was an angel sent from God.³ Monsignor C. Eyre,⁴ Dr. Maclear,⁵ and other authorities, place Wrangholm as the scene of Cuthbert's boyhood.

The vale presents at the present time a bare and naked appearance after visiting the beautiful valleys of the Tweed and the Leader. There are not many houses, and the hill-sides have few trees upon them.

Mr. Morgan's note on the coin exhibited by Mr. Alfred C. Fryer of Wilmslow, Cheshire, is as follows:

"*Obv.* IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG.; the Emperor's head encircled with laurel wreath. *Rev.* Female figure holding in right hand a military ensign; D E X S.C. (letters almost effaced). If the inscription is Dacia Felix, this coin of first brass is rare. Brass and silver coins of this Emperor, Cnæus Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, A.D. 249-251, are not rare; but the gold are very rare. The period of history they

¹ *Lindisf. Monk*, p. 120.

² Bæda, *Vit. Cuthb.*, xiv.

³ *Ibid.*, ii.

⁴ Eyre's *St. Cuthbert*, p. 21.

⁵ *Conversion of the West,—the English*, p. 99.

record is memorable in many respects. Decius had succeeded the two Philippi, father and son; the former of whom had celebrated with great pomp, in the Campus Martius, the Sæcular jubilee to commemorate the one thousandth year of the foundation of the city. Decius, whom the Senate had nominated to succeed the Philippi after the murder of these emperors by the soldiery, was called upon to defend the Dacian frontier against an invasion of the Goths in large force. They first began to venture south of the Danube in the reign of his two inactive predecessors, laying siege to Marcianopolis, a city built by Trajan in Lower Mœsia (now Bulgaria), south of the Danube, but had been bought off by payment of a sum of money. Decius now hastened to emulate the fame of Trajan, from whom he claimed descent, and whose name he bore; and probably expected to do as his great predecessor had done by including Dacia within the bounds of the empire; but he found the Goths already south of the Danube, investing Nicopolis; and on the raising of the siege of that place by Decius they marched further south to Philippopolis, a city of Thrace, at the Balkans, which they sacked, murdering the inhabitants. Decius in vain tried to infuse the ancient Roman spirit into the army, and he appears to have lost his life fighting in that desperate engagement at Forum Treverbonii, in Mœsia, where a marshy swamp proved fatal to the Roman army. The Cæsar Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius, son of the late Emperor, though appointed to succeed his father, lost his popularity through again buying off the Goths by payment of an ignominious tribute. The coin with the reverse, DACIA FELIX, which is a rare type, quoted by Vaillant,¹ must have been coined in anticipation of victory, and before the sad result above described. There is, or was, a stone at Valencia, in Spain,² with an inscription to the Cæsar Herennius as follows:

Q . HERENNIO . ETRUSCO . MES
SIO . DECIO . NOBILISSIMO
CAES . PRINCIPI . IVVEN
TVTIS
VALENT . VETER . ET . VETERES."

Mr. C. Teniswood, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze Russian portable altar of the early fifteenth century, with a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the infant Saviour.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., again exhibited his Roman *thuribulum* (now pieced together), shewn and commented on at a former meeting by Mr. Cuming. A long handle, apparently of olive glass covered with an enamel coating, and iridescent. Also a curious tube of bronze, 9 inches in length, supposed to be part of an ancient instru-

¹ *Numismat. Imp. Rom.*, vol. i, p. 169.

² Amb. de Morales, *Coronica gen. de Espana*, lib. ix, cap. 44.

ment of music. To these were added a horn ladle, in one piece, 15 ins. long, of eighteenth century German work; and a carved powder-horn of the time of George II, of American design and execution. It exhibits, the royal arms in colour, with those of Hanover, and the legend of the Garter on a riband. On the reverse is a view of the city of Philadelphia from the river, on which are many and various ships. An island, on which stands a mill, fronts the town. A horseman pursuing a flying Indian in a wooded country, and a dog with a sportsman firing at a deer, complete the design, which is without initials or date.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a flake of jadeite presented by M. Bonfils to T. H. Thomas of Cardiff, and read the following

NOTE ON SPECIMENS OF JADEITE DISCOVERED BY M. BONFILS
IN THE CAVES OF MENTONE.

BY T. H. THOMAS, ESQ.

A note upon the discovery of several fragments of jadeite in the caves of Baussé, Roussé, or Grottes de Menton, may not be uninteresting, as it would appear from Mr. Cope's statement that "no unworked specimen of either" (nephrite or jadeite) "has been found nearer to Switzerland than; for jadeite, China." The Mentone fragments, as we shall see, are possibly not "unworked" in the sense meant by Mr. Cope, having been "chipped" by the hands of man at a very early prehistoric period; but if worked at all, it has been only *par éclat*.

On a visit to M. Bonfils' Museum at Mentone, in December last, my attention was called to a group of fragments labelled "Jadeite." On inquiry, M. Bonfils informed me that he had himself collected the specimens at various times from 1868 to 1870; some from within, and others from the mouth of, the second of the series of caves. They occurred at a considerable depth in the light soil which forms the stratum in which vast numbers of flint chips of local and imported varieties, with nuclei, shattered bones of bos, deer, horse, and other animals (some hardened by fire), stones for pounding, shells of marine mollusca, chalk, charcoal, etc., evince the occupation of the caves by man in a palæolithic age. The proof of this early habitation was considered complete beyond dispute, by many eminent ethnologists, on the discovery by M. Rivière, in the fourth cave, of a complete skeleton of a man, the celebrated "Mentone skeleton" now deposited in the Museum of the Jardin des Plantes, Paris.

As to his discovery of the flakes, M. Bonfils writes as follows: "Tous les éclats de jadéite que j'ai trouvé épars aux abords des dites grottes étaient à une profondeur qui varie entre les 4 et 5 mètres, pêle mêle avec d'autres éclats de silex. Au dessus de ce niveau je n'ai trouvé que de silex. Les morceaux que je possède, et qui sont du nombre de

six, ne sont autre chose que de simples éclats, et le travail par usure n'y figure en rien."

The chips exhibited in the Mentone Museum were thought by M. Bonfils to be jadeite, and were determined to be so by M. Mortellier. Of two of them (A, B) I have careful drawings; and M. Bonfils presented me with one (C) found subsequently, which Mr. M. H. Cochrane, F.C.S., Curator of Cardiff Museum, has carefully analysed.



Of the specimens drawn, A is of an emerald green tint, and translucent, roughly five-sided, of form suitable for an arrow-head; one surface flat, the other traversed by a dorsal ridge in the longest diameter, terminating in a sharp point. Length, $1\frac{1}{2}$; breadth, $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch. B is grayish green, translucent only at the edge, roughly triangular, with narrow base; flat on one surface, on the other a medial ridge from base to the rather sharp point. Length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; breadth, $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch.

The specimen analysed by Mr. Cochrane is celadon, green in colour, triangular; flat on one side, chipped on the other. Length, $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch; breadth, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch; thickness, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch. It was collected in 1870. The analysis is appended beside that of Damour, cited by Zirkel, *Elem. Min. von Naumann* (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 604, 654.)

Jadeite, Grottes de Menton.
COCHRANE.

Silica	59.01
Alumina	17.51
Lime	7.36
Magnesia	13.54
Protoxide of iron	1.64
" manganese33
Alkalies (together)39

99.78

Jadeite.
DAMOUR.

Silica	58.92
Alumina	18.98
Iron	0.98
Lime	6.04
Magnesia	4.33
Natron	11.05

It is very desirable that close analysis should be made of all jade implements found, for a great deal of ambiguity is imported into the question of the occurrence of jadeite in Europe by the use of phrases such as "true jade" or "real jade". Jade is, in fact, the common name for the two closely similar minerals, nephrite and jadeite, both of

which are worked into "jade" implements and ornaments, their hardness and tenacity being equal. The majority of jade carvings from China are, analytically, jadeite or anhydrous silicate of alumina. Silicates in which either magnesia or alumina forms the principal constituent, and which contain, in varying quantities, lime, iron, with sometimes natron and traces of some other minerals (and the hardness of which is 6-7), are "true jades". But when an analysis is given under the name of jade, as, for instance, in Professor Dieulafait's *Pierres Precieuses*, we may expect to find the silicate of magnesia (nephrite) described on account of the superior beauty of some specimens of that mineral.

Before we decide that jadeite does not occur geologically in Europe, we have a serious difficulty to overcome in the presence of the mineral called "Saussurite", which is simply a jadeite. This was discovered originally near Monte Rosa, and described by the great geologist whose name it bears. The borders of the Lake of Geneva, Gabbro, near Genoa, and Corsica, are accepted localities; and specimens from the south of France are among the analyses of Damour. The apocryphal jadeite of Schwemsal, near Düben, in Saxony, Zirkel mentions as an "erratic block".

That the Mentone specimens are jadeite is certain; and their discovery among vestiges which can denote the occupation of the caves by palæolithic man only, seems to raise a question even superior in interest to the discovery of neolithic jade implements. Until the geological occurrence of jadeite suitable for implements in Europe can be substantiated, all the questions which have been asked relative to the possession of the mineral by men of the neolithic period, may be pertinently demanded as regards a still more ancient and palæolithic age; unless, indeed, the Mentone fragments be placed under the somewhat arbitrary and general denomination of Saussurite, and proved to be strays from the Alps, Corsica, or elsewhere. But this can only be done on proof that there is a clear distinction between the form of jadeite they present, and that of the implements from the Swiss lake-dwellings, etc., which have been analysed. Should the Mentone fragments be thus dealt with, they would still remain as interesting evidence of the local movements or traffic of some of the earliest inhabitants of the Mediterranean sea-board.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. W. H. Cope, Mr. Brock, Mr. Brent, and the Chairman, took part.

The following paper was then read on

A ROMAN VILLA LATELY DISCOVERED AT BRADING.

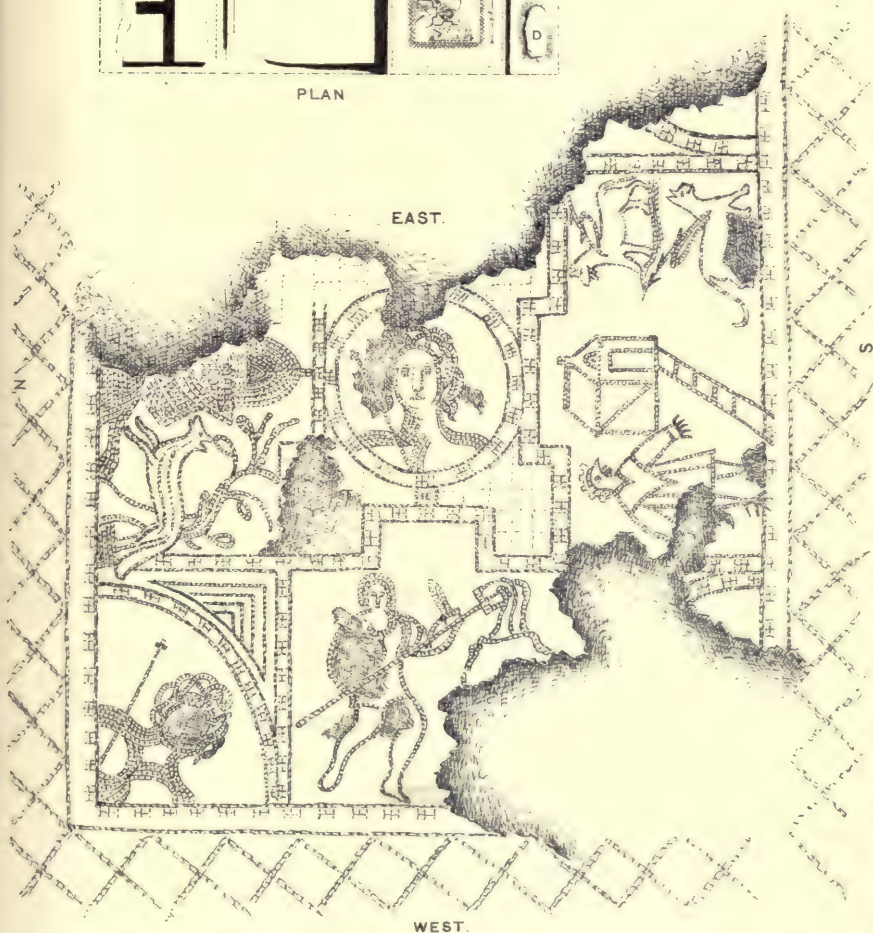
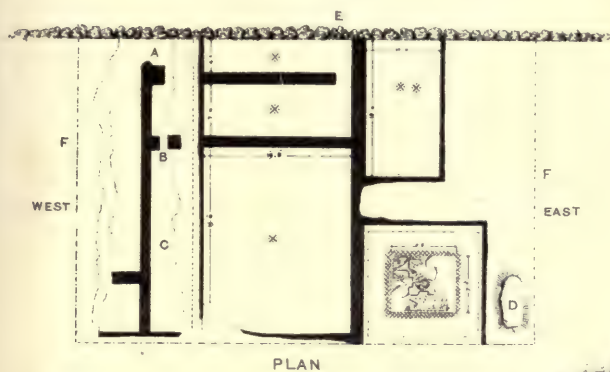
BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P.

In 1866 a paper was communicated to the Association on the discovery of a Roman house in Gurnard Bay, Isle of Wight. Although

much had been obliterated by the action of the waves, a length of wall remained, of some 40 feet; and within, from the coarsely tessellated floors, were picked a coin of Hadrian and Sabina, fragments of Samian ware, a cutting instrument, and some other remains. This house appeared to have stood on the Rue Street, terminating at Puckaster Cove, and one of the Roman intersecting roads leading to the shipping-place for Cornish tin, near or about Puckaster. Subsequent to this discovery was that of the Roman villa near Carisbrook, of which I cannot now speak particularly. It is my pleasing duty to lay before the Association some account of another, larger, and more interesting building, brought to light by the indefatigable research of Captain Thorp of St. Wilfrid's, Brading, who not only discovered and excavated, but has roofed and secured the prize; and to the kindness, talent, and perseverance, of Mrs. Thorp we are indebted for the drawings now before you.

About three quarters of a mile out of Brading is a gently rising ground, from which an undulating landscape is terminated by the sea, having the Culver Cliff to the left, Sandown to the right. The eminence has a semicircular sweep; and here, on the surface of the corn-field, Captain Thorp last year observed *tesserae* and broken tile. Probing the ground, very distinct evidences were felt of a pavement beneath. This spring the ground was excavated by Captain Thorp and Mr. Munn, freeholder, with results seldom enough achieved. An area of 40 feet square has been uncovered; but this measurement does not express the actual area of this building, as walls and floors extend evidently beneath a bank into the adjoining property of Lady Oglander; and on one side, upon both wings of the building, the probe assures us of much yet in reserve. The floors and walls lay from 18 inches to 3 feet 6 inches beneath the surface; and now, standing to the north, on the right, we have a tessellated, figured floor of 15 feet 3 inches square. Beyond this the floor of a larger apartment, or atrium perhaps, as yet but partly uncovered, 19 feet by 10, in chequers of red and white, beautifully perfect. A dividing wall, of 2 feet thickness, edges both apartments, separating from those on the left, viz., a floor of pure white *tesserae*, 19 ft. 8 ins. by 19 ft., edged by a wall, 2 ft. thick, at a right angle to that just mentioned. Then another, tessellated with grey stone, 19 ft. 8 ins. by 7 ft., probably a sleeping apartment; then another, of 19 ft. 8 ins., of the floor of which 4 ft. only are visible; the remainder, like that of its equivalent and complementary room, lying beneath the hedge-bank. These floors are terminated (left) by a thick wall, 36 ft. long; *i.e.*, to the bank. Two parallel trenches have been run, still to the left, disclosing foundation-walls and heaps of bones; but Captain Thorp writes to me that the points on the plan, marked A BB, seem to indicate he is close upon the hypocaust, remains of flue-

MORTON FARM, BRADING. I. W. ROMAN PAVEMENT.

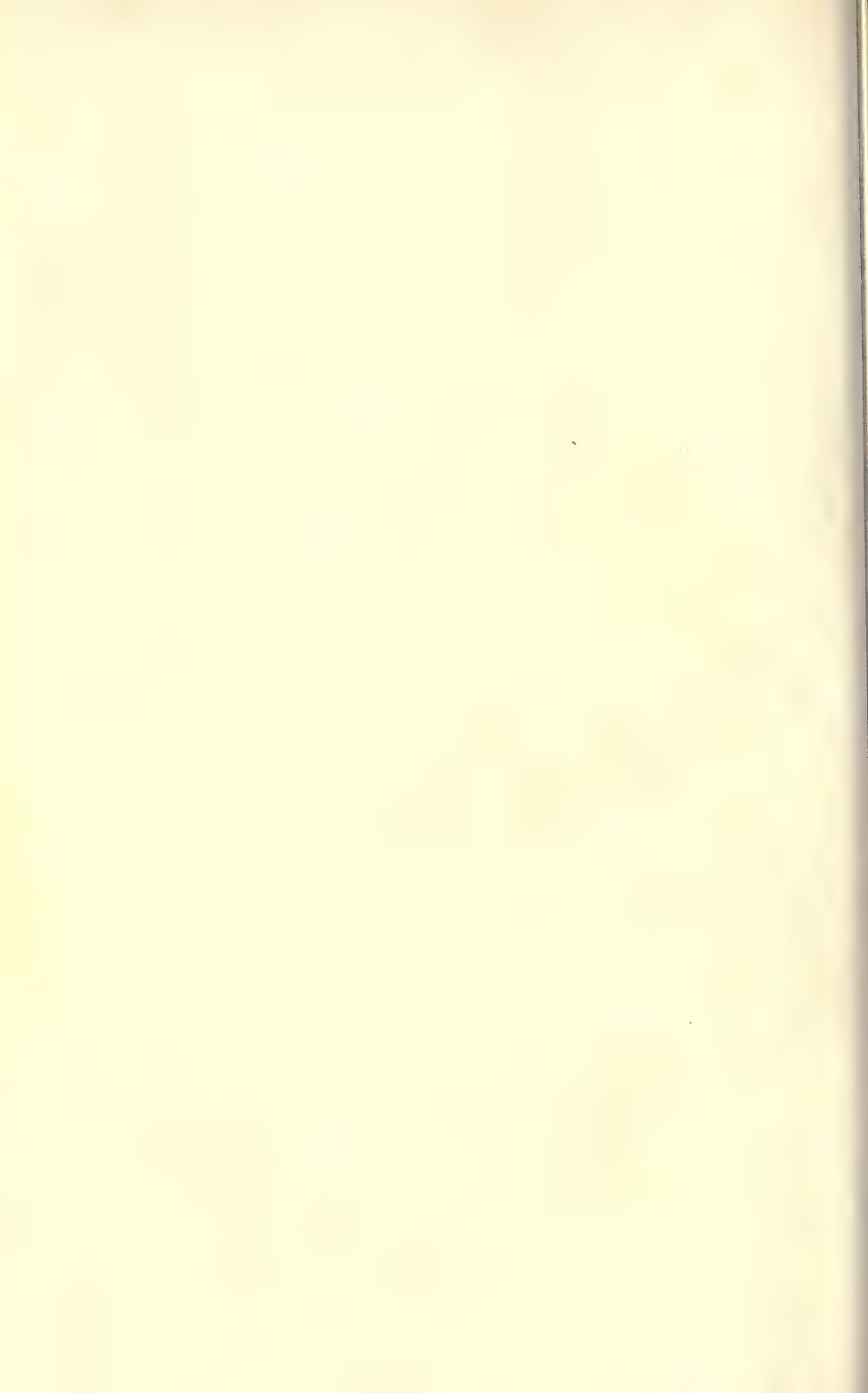


Reference to Plan.

- A Freestone Piers.
- B Door down to Hypocaust.
- C Position of Hypocaust.
- D Refuse Hole.

- E Hedge dividing Morton Farm from Lady Olander's Estate (Walls & pavements extend under it)
- F Walls etc. exist beneath the surface here.

* Pavements of Grey & Stone Tesserae. ** Pavement in Chequers.



tiles and fuel being numerous. But few fragments have come to light tending to fix the date of the building. We might, perhaps, assign it to the second century. A coin of (supposed) Allectus, with reverse, a galley, and others of Victorinus or Tetricus, were found, with fragments of New Forest, Caistor, and Samian pottery; the neck of a wine or oil-flask with painted lettering; a piece or two of bronze and iron; little beside. The building had been swept clean of its contents, burned, and the massive walls falling inwards completed the wreck.

The arrangement and design of the tessellated pavements were by no apprentice hand. The general care and neatness of execution speak of an artist's work, and probably the Roman occupier was a man of both taste and wealth. The pavement of the first apartment to the right may well be pronounced unique in design and execution, whilst its pictures will assuredly give wide scope for speculation, and matter interesting enough for discussion. This floor, of all, is most damaged by the impact of the massive side-walls. Around this apartment runs a crossed pattern on a white ground, enclosing a squared and most elaborate tessaliation. A large double circle occupies the centre of the square, and quadrates, the corners, also doubly lined and patterned. Only one of these is perfect. A pattern somewhat resembling the "Greek key" frames in four pictures, of which three are more or less perfect. That to the west represents, in colours, the combat of two gladiators, one of whom, helmeted and bearing the short gladiatorial sword and *tridens*, has enveloped in the *rete* his adversary, the edge of whose shield just appears. The figure is full of spirit. The quadrant beyond bears a Bacchic male head beautifully inlaid (perhaps the young Bacchus), filleted with white and a dark colour, with *thyrsus*, in the form of a small cross. The central circle is filled by a female head (a Bacchante), with eyes uplifted and hair streaming, accompanied also with a cruciform *thyrsus*. This head in its execution is wonderfully fine. The square picture to the north has a fox of natural size and colour, leaping at and beneath a vine in front of a dome-shaped building partly destroyed, which may be the representation of a wine-press.

The eastern picture is, I fear, destroyed; and it is much to be regretted, as it might have assisted in the interpretation of the mysterious southern figures. In the centre is a small *raised* building with red tiled roof, square headed door, and somewhat ornamental front, reached by a ladder of four rounds laid in black *tesserae*. To the right are two winged leopards looking in different directions; and on the left, towards the building and the leopards, is a human figure, draped, the arms extended; and a cock's head with wattles and comb cut into five turrets, the legs terminating in claws, and armed with most formidable spurs. What is its meaning? Two explanations have

been hazarded. That the heads within the quadrant and circle are those of Gnostic divinities, and the standing figure represents Abraxes; but, as Mr. Cuming points out, whatever partial analogy there may be, the failure in one very important particular is evident. Abraxes is represented with a cock's head and *serpent* legs. Could the figure be identified with Abraxes, then the *building* would probably become a temple, and the former proprietor of the house, a Gnostic. Can the figures bear on the mythical vintage, and is the whole sentiment Bacchic? Then the winged leopards, as sometimes figured on gems in connection with bacchanalian processions, find their place. This building is an elevated lodge or watch-tower, and the mystic figures emblematic of Watchfulness and Courage. Students will be reminded of the watch-lodge in the melon plantation, mentioned by Isaiah, i, 8; and the tower spoken of by St. Mark, xii, 1, raised within the vineyard. It is worthy of remembrance, that a lady just returned from India, on viewing this pavement at the first time, said "We often have seen *that* in India, it is a watch-house or lodge." The cruciform thyrsus is also a Bacchic emblem, this cross being found on the wine jars excavated in Cyprus, of which a fine example is in my collection. Neither of the proposed interpretations of the pavement can be hastily rejected, and perhaps the greater weight may lie with the latter than with the former interpretation. Certainly, two other Roman villas are in the immediate vicinity; and although Captain and Mrs. Thorp should have, and do receive, the sincere acknowledgments of archæologists—thanks hardly meet the requirements of the case. The keen experience gathered in many years' service enables Captain Thorp to show us where lies buried a tempting treasure—he has unveiled a portion—and surely 'tis hardly fair the discoverer should bear the expenses of excavating and securing. Cannot the Isle of Wight produce a helper, who, in the interest of science, may now associate his or her name and effort, and together secure the noble prize?

Mr. Morgan read a paper by Henry Bradley, Esq., on "Ptolemy's Measurement of the South Coast," and Mr. Birch read a reply to the paper by Mr. Hills. These papers will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Brock read a paper by W. C. Dymond, Esq., on "Worlebury, Weston-super-Mare." This paper was accompanied with a very careful plan of the extensive works of defence on that well-known site.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1880.

H. S. CUMING, V.P., F.S.A. SCOT. IN THE CHAIR.

The Right Honourable the Earl Nelson was unanimously elected President for the forthcoming Congress and ensuing Session.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library of the Association :

To H. Kato, Esq., Director of the University of Tokio, for "Memoirs of the Science Department, University of Tokio, Japan,—The Shell Mounds of Omori." Quarto.

To Miss Cuming, for "Night Thoughts and Day Dreams." 1880.

To the Society, for "Archæologia," vol. xlv, Part 2.

The decease of our old Associate and Vice-President, Mr. James Robinson Planché, F.S.A., *Somerset Herald*, was announced, and the sad intelligence was received with considerable feeling by the members. It was resolved to convey to the representatives of Mr. Planché's family the sincere condolences of the Association. A biographical memoir of Mr. Planché has been already given in the June part of the *Journal*.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following notes on—

ROMANO-BRITISH REMAINS FOUND AT CORTON, WILTS.

BY DR. JOSEPH STEVENS.

Some workmen making a deep drain at Corton, near Calne, Wilts, came on a refuse hole, there being no sufficient evidence pointing to it as a place of burial. At about 4 ft. below the surface lay five Sarsen Stones, the three larger ones measuring each about 3 ft. by 2 ft. A quantity of Wiltshire "ragstones" were found underneath, which were partially calcined, having apparently been exposed to the action of fire. The whole appear to have originally formed a vault, the sides having been formed by the ragstones, while the sarsens had formed the cover. The whole had evidently fallen in, enclosing some bones of horse and ox, and some fragments of pottery. On digging deeper the labourers came to a layer of chalk, and beneath that some black mould mingled with ashes, in which two skulls and some bladebones of ox, together with bones of red deer, horse, etc., occurred. There were present also parts of several round-mouthed jars, and one handle of well made red ware, which were evidently Romano-British. A "thumb-flint" or scraper was also among the remains, which are now in the keeping of the vicar of Hilmarton. The pit originally appears to have been about 12 ft. in depth, and probably 5 ft. in diameter. The materials used in constructing the pit are close at hand, the chalk being common in the district; and

the coral rag occurs not far distant. The remains evidently indicate one of the refuse appendages commonly met with in the neighbourhood of Roman dwellings, and lead to the supposition that other more important Roman relics are not far distant.

It was announced that negotiations for opening the Woodchester pavement, mentioned at the last meeting, were in progress and likely to produce a successful result.

Dr. Kendrick sent for exhibition one of a pair of candlesticks which were brought from China in or about the year 1824 by his father-in-law, who had for many years been the Swedish Consul at Canton. These fine examples measure about 8 inches in height, the upper and main portion being of grey agalmatolite, or *wha-she* (flower-stone), as the Chinese call this mineral; the plinth being of *she-kan*, or alabaster. The shaft of the candlestick produced is carved to represent the thick and gnarled trunk of an old tree, from which spring branches bearing expanded blossoms resembling those of the camellia. Close to it also grows the long-leaved bamboo, and at its base squat a baboon and a man. The plinth or pedestal consists of three octangular members, viz., a flat plate, dado, and base-table, on all of which are painted flowers and foliage in black, varnish colour. The nozzles of these candlesticks are of *pak-fong*, or white copper, and perfectly European in fashion. These candlesticks were probably wrought either at Hing-po (about one hundred and eighty miles, by sea, south of Shanghai) or Tse-kong-so, these places being the great centres for the manufacture of agalmatolite ornaments, figures, vessels, etc.

Mr. Cuming remarked that lamps and lanterns are so constantly employed within and without doors in China that we seldom hear of either candles or candlesticks among the Celestials; and, indeed, it has been questioned if they made use of such things. If the sceptics would take the trouble to turn to the Catalogue of Dunn's Chinese Collection, they would find mention there of both candles and candlesticks. Thus No. 150 is entered as "A pair of candlesticks"; No. 262, "Elegant porcelain candlestick"; and No. 479 as "A small metallic candlestick"; and further, Nos. 902 and 903 as "Artificial candles decorated with flowers made from the pith of a plant known in this country by the term 'rice-paper'." These candles are used in temples, in front of their idols, in the houses of the wealthy, and in the celebration of the new year, a moveable feast, which occurs on the second new moon after the winter solstice. The body or stem of the candle is of wood, and at the tip, instead of wick, is inserted a small brass receptacle for oil, as being more economical." Taper sticks of porcelain, consisting of a painted saucer, with gilt nozzle in shape of the *ting* (a tripedal vase with a pair of ears set on the rim), are occasionally seen in collections. It must, however, be admitted that

Chinese candlesticks are not very often met with, and the pair of jade in the possession of Mr. Cope, and those of agalmatolite belonging to Dr. Kendrick, must be esteemed as objects of both rarity and beauty.

Those who feel an interest in candlesticks of stone will find mention of a few examples in our *Journal*, xxii, 105.

Dr. Kendrick also forwarded a curious Scottish spoon of the second half of the 17th century, carved out of a piece of beech wood, $7\frac{7}{8}$ long. The bowl is ovate and shallow; and the upper part of the handle broad and tabular and perforated, with a heart ensigned with a crown, which device Dr. Kendrick thinks may have reference to the badge of the Douglass family.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited an impression of a late thirteenth century leaden seal he had received from Mrs. Adams, the matrix having been picked up by her son on the banks of the Thames at Barnes, and no doubt had been dredged up from the bed of the river. The seal is of pointed oval shape, and bears a large star of six points, between each of which seems to be a small ray. Beneath is a crescent, and lower still a coarse trefoil. The legend reads—S' IOR'AE DE BREINFORDE, *Sigillum Johannæ de Breinforde*.

Mrs. Moore Hyde exhibited a silver goblet, from Germany or the Low Countries, of the probable date of 1650. It stands on three spherical knobs, and has four oval compartments filled with medallion portraits of Roman imperial personages.

Dr. Woodhouse exhibited a plan shewing alterations of Fulham parish church, some tiles of about A.D. 1350, from the church, and a series of photographs of houses and antiquities in the district.

Mr. W. Money, F.S.A., sent for exhibition a series of photographs of the carved wooden bosses of the roof of the church of St. Nicholas, Newbury. He writes as follows: "Respecting the Church of St. Nicholas, Newbury, very little indeed has hitherto been known. The early church was given to the Abbey of Preaux in Normandy at the latter end of the eleventh or early part of the twelfth century. The advowson was subsequently transferred to the Carthusians at Witham, in Somerset, and continued in their hands till the year of the reformation. The present church is stated by Fuller in his *Worthies* to have been built by John Winchcombe (Jack of Newbury), our great local worthy, who died in 1519-20, and is buried in the church. This statement is supported by some material evidence, such as the monogram on his tomb, being identical with one or more on the bosses of the nave roof, and the Late Perpendicular architecture of the whole building. The authorities at Salisbury have, at my request, made a thorough examination of their archives of this date but no entry can be found relating to the church, beyond the institution of its rectors. In one of the bosses is the monogram "I. S.," i.e., John Smalwode,

forming the best key I have found to confirm Fuller's authority. On the brass of Winchcombe, he is described as "John Smalwode als. Winchcom".¹

Mr. Birch also exhibited, on behalf of Mr. J. T. Irvine, a considerable number of deeds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relating to transfers of lands in the Orkney Islands. Several of them shew considerable interest with regard to the law processes and peculiar local institutions. It was hoped that a selection from the texts might be given hereafter.

The following objects were exhibited by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P.:—A bronze memorial medal of Charles I, by Roettiers; a fine portrait of the King in armour, with a reverse; an arm extending from clouds a starry crown; three sheep wander beneath—"sheep without a shepherd". Legend, "*Virtut. ex. me. Fortunam. ex. alijs.*"—A very fine Restoration medal by the same artist, of silver, in original case. Laureated head of the King with flowing hair. Reverse, Britannia seated, looking towards the sun breaking through clouds; and a fleet of war-ships. Legend, "*Favente Deo.*" "*Britannia.*"

Also, on behalf of Mr. Emanuel Boutcher, a Greek medalet of the seventeenth century, of gold, exhibiting on either side the birth and baptism of Our Lord, with (in Greek characters) the words "Birth", "Baptism". It was intended for suspension on the neck of a recipient of baptism.—An ivory cup carved in classic style with marine subjects: children at play, with dolphins and turtles; some blowing shells, others carrying nets, etc. The execution is of less freedom than carving by Fiammingo, although the general handling of the subject reminds us of that artist. The cup is of the seventeenth century. This is the property of Colonel W. Stretton.—An octagonal plate with "Choisy" mark, with an attractive transfer-portrait of the unfortunate Dauphin, son of Louis XVI, with the legend, "Louis XVII, Dauphin de France." The legend is remarkable; but more, the mystery of the Prince himself.—A portrait, 12 by 15 inches, of William Duke of Cumberland, painted on glass, in a gold frame of the seventeenth century.

Remarking on this singular portrait, Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., said: "This is a genuine portrait of a remarkable man. I am persuaded it is the work of a Chinese artist, partly from the brilliancy of its colouring, its peculiar treatment, and the want of shadow on the face. The Duke is represented in a richly embroidered uniform, and is pointing with his right arm."

Of glass, four specimens were placed on the table:—1. A pilgrim's bottle entirely covered with artistically engraved foliage, flowers, and insects, mounted in a plated stand. Venetian, seventeenth century. 2. A *vitro-di-trino* tazza, possessing a close resemblance to those of

¹ *Journ. Arch. Assoc.*, March 1860.

silver belonging to the Armourers' Company, and probably of the same age; another, on tall filigree stem; and a tazza wineglass displaying a rural landscape etched by fluoric acid, once belonging to George III.

Mr. Birch then read a paper by Mr. C. W. Dymond, entitled "Cup-Markings on Burley Moor in Yorkshire", which was accompanied by a very accurate plan of the site described. This paper will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

Mr. Morgan exhibited a very fine series of drawings of Roman *cippi* with sepulchral inscriptions, found at Higham, near Strood. The paper upon them will be printed in a future place.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

From Egypt to Palestine, through Sinai, the Wilderness, and the South Country. By S. C. Bartlett, D.D., LL.D. New York: Harper and Brothers.—Books of travel written by archæologists and antiquarians are always acceptable to the true student of ancient times, and the work just published from the pen of Dr. Bartlett forms no exception to this; for if accuracy of information, thorough exploration of ancient sites, and careful investigation of places of Egyptian and Sacred History, told in flowing language, and in a charmingly descriptive manner, can render any book worth acquiring, this certainly deserves to be placed among many far more pretentious. The paper, printing, and exquisitely fine wood-engravings, combine to set off the contents, which treat of the author's wanderings in Egypt, along the River Nile, through the land of Goshen, the trail of the Exodus, the "Written Valley", the Sarabit El-Khadim (or Northern Route), the Desert of the Wandering, the hill country of Judah, the line of Joshua's march, the battlefields of Palestine, and around the Sea of Galilee.

The object of the author is well set out in his preface, wherein he declares that a large number of industrious and acute investigators have been engaged for many years in unfolding the antiquities of Egypt, the Sinaitic peninsula, and the Wilderness of the Wandering. These investigations have cast great light upon the history of the Israelites, until it has at length become practicable to place the

narrative of the Pentateuch, at least approximately, in its historical and geographical surroundings. These results lie widely scattered; but many persons have desired to find them gathered up compactly, and passed in review by some one who, like Dr. Bartlett, possesses the requisite knowledge of these discoveries and the theories they enlighten, as well as a sufficient personal cognisance of the scenes and facts, so as to bring a considerable degree of intelligence and unity of view to bear upon the subject. Conciseness is the chief characteristic of this work; yet the author has introduced so many anecdotes and narratives into the historical basis of the book, that on that account alone those who merely seek to gratify a transient curiosity, or to while away an hour, will find themselves amply recompensed by its perusal; while others who see in it something more deeply important—a well sustained endeavour to illustrate with facts, examples, inscriptions, antiquities, archaic and mediæval relics, the far off history of peoples whose fate is in many ways bound up with the present state of the civilised world—will close this book, which contains in a small compass a digest of all the latest theories and discoveries, with a sincere conviction that Dr. Bartlett has succeeded in throwing a considerable amount of new light upon much that has been but imperfectly set forth hitherto. Of the literary success of the book in America we cannot give any information; but of this we are sure, that the English student of Biblical History, and of the Old World Histories which revolve around it, will not fail to give it a hearty welcome and a prominent place in his library.

St. Mary Overie, Southwark.—Mr. Francis T. Dollman, architect, author of *Examples of Ancient Pulpits*, *Examples of Ancient Almshouses and Hospitals*, *Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture*, etc., etc., has in preparation, and will shortly publish, by subscription (the drawings for the work being completed), his work entitled *The Priory Church of St. Mary Overie, Southwark, generally known as the Parish Church of St. Saviour*. Illustrated in a series of upwards of forty plates in photolithography (facsimiles of the original drawings), containing plans, elevations, sections, details, perspective views, and letter-press descriptive of the history and architectural features of this most interesting church as it existed prior to the alterations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; from sketches, measurements, drawings, and documents, never before published, in the author's possession. The book will be contained in one volume, complete, imperial 4to, bound in cloth. Price, £2 : 12 : 6 to subscribers; non-subscribers, £3 : 3. Subscribers' names can be received by the Author at his residence, 63 Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park, London, N.W., and the issue will be limited to the number of subscribers and applicants for copies at the full price

of the work. In the event of preference being given to the work in a larger form, a limited number of copies will be printed, of imperial folio size, price £3 : 3 to subscribers, or £3 : 13 : 6 to non-subscribers, each copy, an early application for which should be made to the Author.

Old Coins found at Douglas.—It will be interesting to learn that Lord Dunglass has in his possession 79 coins recently recovered by the workmen engaged in clearing out the foundation of the building in Main Street, Douglas, known as the "Old Lodge." This building, which was very dilapidated, though tenanted, was purchased by Lord Dunglass about a year ago, and is now being rebuilt. Above the doorway a memento stone of the old building is placed, bearing the year 1674 and some hieroglyphics. The gold coins are very well preserved, most of them having been deposited in a jar. A suitable case is being prepared in which to have them preserved, and an opportunity will doubtless be afforded the antiquarian to examine them. The following is a list of the coins briefly detailed:—Nine Elizabethan shillings and fourteen sixpences; four English gold coins called the unit, five English shillings, two sixpences, and two Irish shillings of James I; four thistle merks of James VI, Scotland, dated 1601; two English half-crowns, fourteen shillings, and three sixpences of Charles I reign; one small Scottish copper called a "turner"; six dollars of Albert and Elizabeth of Brabant, and seven quarter dollars; three dollars of Philip IV of Spain, and one half dollar; one small coin of Charles IX of Sweden, 1607; and others.

British Topography and its Literature.—We gladly take notice of *The Book of British Topography: a Classified Catalogue of the Topographical Books in the Library of the British Museum relating to Great Britain and Ireland.* By John P. Anderson, of the Museum Library.

The great and abiding interest with which the English-speaking races regard the localities in these islands that are associated with historical events, with famous men, or with their own immediate ancestry, precludes the necessity of any apology for the issue of a work which provides a safe and comprehensive guide to the vast collection of Topographical books relating to Great Britain and Ireland, by far the most complete existing, now preserved in the Library of the British Museum. The urgent need of a work of this character has long been felt, both by the frequenters of the Museum Reading Room, and by those who, living at a distance, wish to learn what books the National Library contains relating to the places in which they are personally interested. Upcott's excellent Catalogue (1818) is at present the most recent available for reference, if we except that included in the Catalogue of the Hoare Library at Stour-

head (1840), and that printed by the late John Camden Hotten. During the sixty years that have passed since the publication of Upcott's Catalogue a large number of works have been written upon British Topography, many of them being valuable county histories, and others of much local importance. Apart from its utility, this most recent addition to bibliographical literature will be found interesting from the fact that it is the first Classified Catalogue ever published of books in the Library of the British Museum. The work, upon which the author has been engaged for many years, and which could scarcely have been accomplished by any person unconnected with the Library, includes Scotland and Ireland, hitherto much neglected by the bibliographer, and will contain about 13,000 entries, brought down to the present date, with ample indices of persons and places. The numerous local Directories in the Library, invaluable for elucidating family history and descent, have been for the first time included in a work of this character.

The following arrangement has been adopted :

The books relating generally to Great Britain, to Great Britain and Ireland, to England, to Wales, to Scotland, and to Ireland, are arranged according to the nature of their contents under various sub-headings.

The books relating to particular Counties are arranged alphabetically under the places or localities in each, and in chronological order as far as practicable.

To facilitate the labour of referring to the Museum Catalogues, the heading under which each book will be found therein, is indicated by conspicuous type in every title, a saving of time and patience, especially in the case of anonymous works, which can be best estimated by those who are under the constant necessity of using the 2000 MS. volumes, of which the Museum Catalogue now consists.

The work will be finely printed in clear type on good paper, and issued to subscribers at 15s. per copy. A limited number of copies will also be printed for sale to the public at 21s. per copy.

The Roman Villa at Brading.—In reference to this discovery we extract the following from the *Standard* :

“ There are lying, a few inches under the soil of some of the sweetest spots in the garden-ground of England, relics of antiquity almost as interesting and as beautiful as any which can be found elsewhere on the globe. It appears certain that the fine remains of a Roman villa are at present in process of excavation on the grounds of the farm occupied by Mr. Cooper at Morton, near Brading, the property of Lady Oglander. Here are chambers and passages, remains of flues (doubtless connected with baths), fresco paintings, coins, pottery, and tesse-

lated floors. The latter are in fine preservation ; and though a portion of one of them has unfortunately been destroyed, there is enough remaining to excite both admiration and curiosity. Certainly there is something highly exciting in looking at a picture (for a true picture one of these fine Roman pavements presents) which has not been gazed at by human eyes for fifteen or sixteen centuries. Such of our readers as have recently visited Perugia, and have not done too hurriedly the wonderful sights of the grand, old, hundred-towered town, will recall the pavement discovered about eighteen months ago in a sort of rude cellar, with walls still imperfectly shored up, not very far from the Porta Augusta. That large and splendid mosaic pavement represented Orpheus playing the lyre to a dozen animals depicted in black on a white ground, each almost as large as life, and in a curious, slanting position on the floor ; perhaps supposed to afford a perspective view of the scene.

“The subject of Orpheus was a favourite one with the classic artists, as was the entry of the beasts into Noah’s ark with their mediæval successors, each theme affording opportunity for the depiction of as many birds and brutes as the skill of the draughtsman or sculptor could compass. The Romans of the Empire, too, had a passion for seeing wild and strange animals, and great opportunities of studying many of them in the arena of the Colosseum. Lions, tigers, panthers, elephants, cameleopards, apes, the rhinoceros, and even the hippopotamus, were well known to the subjects of the Cæsars. So great, indeed, was the popular interest in rare creatures, that an artificial bird, purporting to be the veritable Phoenix, was brought to Rome from Egypt, in the reign of Claudius, for exhibition. The Romans, however, were too sagacious to be deceived by this ; for had not Pliny described the real Phoenix with purple body and shining, golden neck, a tail of azure and rose colour, and a magnificent cockscomb and crest ?

“The great Perugia pavement appears to be reproduced, or at least its subject is again depicted, in one of the two beautiful pavements at Brading. A monkey and a fox (one on either side of Orpheus) are here undergoing the charm of his music ; and possibly more animals may by and by be disinterred. The other pavement is of a more complicated and enigmatical character. It consists of nine compartments. The centre forms a circular picture of a Bacchante, and is considered by competent judges who have seen it, to be one of the finest pieces of old Roman mosaic work in existence. Around the Bacchante in the other compartments, two of which are unfortunately effaced, are figures of a gladiator, of Bacchus, and of griffins.

“The most remarkable of all, however, which is exercising the acumen of antiquaries, is a figure with a human body, clad in the usual Roman dress. The head, however, is that of a cock with a well defined

comb; and the feet also are those of the bird, with claws and spurs. What this strange figure, which stands near a building (apparently a temple), can be intended to signify is a mystery. The obvious suggestion of a figure half human and half birdlike, is that it is an Egyptian deity; but no member of the vast Pantheon of the Nile was decorated with the head of a cock; nor does the figure in its Roman costume at all recall the gods of Egypt. It may be that the villa was the abode of a medical man, as the cock was the symbol of *Æsculapius*, the patron deity of medicine. A haphazard guess is that the owner of the place was an early riser, and wished to remind his slaves of the story of *Alectryon*, the friend of *Mars*, who was transformed into a cock as a punishment for having failed to keep early hours and good guard when *Venus* paid him a visit, and thus permitted *Sol* to become a spy to *Vulcan*. Ever since his metamorphosis, *Alectryon* has risen at the earliest dawn to crow, in the hopes of redeeming his error. If the mosaic at Brading really represents *Alectryon* undergoing his transformation, it is at best an awkward device; but we may bear in mind that in the later ages the Roman sculptors rather rejoiced in making statues of *Actæon* turning into a stag, with the horns branching from his head; and of *Daphne* turned into a laurel, with the leaves growing out of her finger-tips. The well known fable of *Alectryon*, strange to say, does not occur in *Ovid*, but in *Lucian*, whose date corresponds pretty nearly to that attributed to the Brading villa. This whole hypothesis, however, we mention as merely a suggestion of the unscientific imagination.

"We regret to hear that funds are much needed to carry on this interesting excavation, and we hope, for the honour of English antiquarianism, that they will be readily furnished. When these works are not completely carried through at once, they can never afterwards be resumed with similar advantages. Damage of one sort or another is sure to take place in the interval. Damp and rain and inquisitive fingers penetrate to the precious mosaics and frescoes, and the evanescent treasure, like that of the charming old Irish myth of the *Leprechaun*, disappears the moment that the eye which once has seen it is turned away."

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ON ROTHERHAM AND ITS ECCLESIASTICAL AND COLLEGIATE BUILDINGS.

BY JOHN GUEST, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read August 1873.)

IN King Edward's time the value of "Rodreham" is given at £4. *Domesday Book* brings down this estimate to 30s.; but there was a mill, a church, and priest. This was in 1080-6. After considerable contentions between the families of Vesci and Tilli, in prosecution of their rival claims for the possession of Rotherham, in the 2nd and 4th of the reign of John (1201-5), the litigants, some time during the reign of Henry III (probably in 1216), gave the town and church to the monks of Rufford.



Refectory, Rufford.

At the period when this rich appanage was added to the vast possessions of the house of Rufford, the town had largely thriven, and become possessed of rights and privi-

leges then only appertaining to places of considerable importance. It had a market and a fair; and at the time of Edward I, the Abbot of Rufford claimed assize of bread and beer, tumbrel, pillory, standard of measure (of both length and weight), infangtheof, and gallows; and there is a record of a certain thief *beheaded* at Rotherham.

Rotherham, under the fostering care of the abbots and monks of Rufford, for two centuries and a half, flourished and grew into an important agricultural, commercial, and ecclesiastical centre; had the grant of another market in the 35th of Edward I (1307), and two years after another charter for a market and fair; and this at a period when it is well known these privileges were very uncommon, and highly coveted.

The old book of the feoffees of common lands begins in 1583; but the earliest historic document I found amongst a bundle of papers labelled "Obsolete", is dated "29th June in the 28th yere of y^e reigne of our Sovraign lorde Kyng Henry VIII" (1537), and is the account of Ric. Ellys and Robt. Nailler, old greves, and witnesseth that they have delivered to Ric. Karre and Thomas Patley, new greves, £10. The sheet contains the accounts of the greves for several years, and also the accounts of the greves of Our Lady's light for the several districts of the town, as Westgat, Brigat; and which mention the sum of money passed over to the new greves, and the number of "serghs" (wax-lights) also passed into their hands. The last on the sheet is curious:

"M^d. That Thomas Richardson and John Holdham hath had delivered to their hands of our (Lady) stock of the bryge for certain stuff that was there in money, £6 2s. Item that there remayneth in their hands also a image of our lady and her son, of fine golde, and a broken rying of golde."

And that there is delivered in harness to Robt. Walker and Ric. Cutler, first, "four jacks, a plate cote, 6 pair of splents, 6 standards, 5 saletts, 2 sheafs of arrows; that is to say, in one sheaf 15, and another, 17." There do not seem to have been bows in stock just then; but most likely they were somewhere, for further on we have, "payd to John Stell for making the common butts, 1s. 2d."; also "payd to Robert Shey, to the Cockepit, 10d."; also "payd for six yeads of clothe for pypers gown, 2s. 4d."; also "charges for dyeing, shereing, hyening (ironing), and making the same."

And in the matter of building we have : “ P^d for fourteen horseloads of lyme, £00 : 14 : 00 ; for thre sackes of mault for liquor to mix with lyme, £3.” By which expensive mode of making the mortar, the courses of stone or brick became solid and inseparable.

And so it is that by these old accounts, the religious ceremonies, the charitable uses, the warlike weapons and exercises, the sports and pastimes, the offices and habiliments of public functionaries, now almost entirely unknown, are illustrated and brought vividly under our wondering, if not admiring, observation ; and not, I hope, without emotions of thankfulness for the enjoyment of higher pursuits, pleasures, and privileges.



Rotherham Church.

Rickman, in his *Styles of Architecture*, says of Rotherham Church : “ This is one of the finest Perpendicular churches in

the North. Its execution is very excellent, and the design in every part very rich. It is also in very good preservation. It is a large cross-church with a central tower and spire. These are further enriched with panels, canopies, and crockets. The whole of the buttresses are paneled, and with crocketed canopy set-offs. Almost every door and window are richly canopied, and there is an appropriately enriched south porch. The windows are all good perpendicular, with the exception of two or three poor (perhaps renewed) ones in the chancel. The interior is very lofty and spacious; the piers and arches with very good mouldings; and the original roof of the nave, a flat wood one, remaining. It is one of the best compositions of the kind; plain, but rich from its good proportion and excellent ornaments.....On the whole, this church deserves the most attentive examination, both as to its composition and most of its details."



Old Font.

I feel thankful to Mr. Rickman for having so summarily, and sufficiently for our present purpose, and under our present restrictions, described this unquestionably grand old church. It is selected by Barrington as the example of the Perpendicular style of architecture, in his *Pocket Chart of British Architecture*. Hunter, in his *South Yorkshire*, describes the church as "one of the most beautiful in the diocese". He says "it presents to us a complete model of the ecclesiastical architecture of England in what is, perhaps, its purest stage". Its dimensions, as given by Sir E. B. Denison, Q.C., are,—“internal measurement, 9,856 square feet; greatest length, 147 feet; general width, 61 feet;

transept, 100 feet ; vault or ceiling, 50 feet ; spire, 172 feet. To Archbishop Rotherham, whose love for his native town seems to have known no bounds, is attributed the erection of the noblest portion of this noble edifice ; and the reading of the long list of articles of church furniture given by his will to the College, but no doubt for the use of the church, as requisite for the decent celebration of the divine offices, almost takes away one's breath :

“ That divine service may be more honourably celebrated in my College, I have given them one large chalice with the paten, gilt ; and there is written on the paten, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* ; and on the foot of the same, *Ihesus Christus* ; weighing 31 ounces 3 quarters and $\frac{1}{2}$. Also another chalice with paten gilt, and around the cup of the same is written *Calicem Salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo*, with an image of the Trinity upon the paten, weighing in all 23 ounces 3 quarters and $\frac{1}{2}$. Also another small chalice having an image of Christ crucified upon the foot, weighing 11 ounces. Also I have given them one pax, viz., a paxbred gilt, with an image of the Trinity, weighing 9 ounces and $\frac{1}{2}$ [and] quarter. Also one gilt paxbred with the image of Christ suffering, worshipped by St. Gregory, weighing 5 ounces and $\frac{1}{2}$. Also one gilt paxbred with a beryl in the middle, weighing 9 ounces and a quarter and $\frac{1}{2}$. Also one paxbred with a bone of St. Firminus, weighing 10 ounces and 1 quarter. Also I have given them one gilt cross standing upon a great stone of beryl, weighing 53 ounces. Also I have given to my foresaid College one pair of gilt crewetts, and there is written upon them *Ihesus Christus*, and they weigh in all 7 ounces and $\frac{1}{2}$. Also one pair of gilt crewetts weighing 7 ounces and $\frac{1}{2}$. Also one silver pixis weighing 8 ounces and 3 quarters. Also I have given to my said College two basons of silver and partly gilt, having in the bottom foxes' heads, weighing 2 pounds and a quarter. Also I have given to the said College six cups with one lid for the same, with a sun worked in the bottom of each cup, weighing between them 30 ounces. Also I have given to my said College 12 silver spoons, slipped in the stakes, weighing among them 14 ounces. Also I have given to my said College one suit of vestments of cloth of gold, for the sub-Deacon, Deacon, and Priest, with one cope. The whole suit is of *Clooth of goold*. Also I have given another suit of vestments for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, of red velvet, worked with these words, *Vivat Rex*, of gold, with one cope whose orfray is green. Also another suit of vestments for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, of red purple velvet, worked with flowers of gold, with one cope of the same suit. Also I have given to my said College one vestment of red velvet, worked with flowers of gold, having upon the orfray, on the back, an angel bearing in his hand this writing, *Sanctus*. Also one vestment of silk *blod* (qu. blood coloured), worked with flowers. Also another vestment of red silk, worked with lions. Also one vestment worked with gold upon velvet *brouddred* with pearls, having on the back an image of St. Katherine. Also one vestment of red bawdkyn worked with trees and lions. Also one precious cope of *Cloth of goold groundred grene*, with orfrays well and sumptuously

worked. Also one corporas of white and red colour, worked with gold. Also two other corporases of red velvet. Also six alter clothes of red silk, six curtyns of red silk, two alter clothes of linen cloth, consecrated. Also three consecrated superalters. Also one mitre of *clothe of goold*, having two silver knoppes enameld, given to be used by the *Barnesbishop*. Also one carpet for the chapel, containing in width one yard and 3 quarters. Also I have given to my said College one beautiful Missal, written according to the use of the Church of York, sumptuously illuminated, beginning on the 2nd leaf, *Omnis Judæa*. Also another beautiful Missal of great value, written and illuminated as above, beginning on the second leaf, *Post Diac., eat*; but according to the use of Sarum. Also one large, new, and beautiful Antiphonary according to the use of York; on the second leaf, *facta pectoris*. Also another large, new, and beautiful Antiphonary according to the use of York; on the second leaf, *ad custodiam*. Also I have given to my said College one new and beautiful Graduale according to the use of York; on the second leaf, *In te confido*. Also another new and beautiful Gradual according to the use of York; on the second leaf, *Non erubescam*. Also one Breviary according to the use of York; on the second leaf, *Deus qui*."

Incidentally, perhaps, nothing shews his comprehension of, and care for, all classes more than this bequest of a mitre for the Barnesbishop. Baker, in a communication to Hearne in the *Liber Niger*, says: "Amongst the rest occurs a 'myter for the Barnebishop, of cloth of gold, with two knoppes of silver gilt, and enamyld', which shews the great concern they had for that little bishop, when one was to be appointed only out of six choristers, and in a country village. I had thought that custom had been confined to cathedral churches, and that a mock bishop was only to appear where there was a true one; but it seems that piece of superstition extended further."

The bequests made by the Archbishop in this will must have been largely increased afterwards, as at the time of the dissolution of the College the certificates of the commissioners enumerate lands and houses in many, various, and far distant places.

Other persons, says Hunter, contributed to give the church of Rotherham an appearance of uncommon splendour. One of the family of Clarel of Aldwark bequeathed to it a cloth of arras of the passion of Our Lord, to hang upon the rood-loft, etc. Our ritualist brethren may well

"Exclaim, 'indeed these priests were proper men!'
And mourn the difference between now and then."

Look on that picture and on this. Two hundred years after,

in 1672, we have the following "particulars of the plate, pewter, linnen, etc., belonging to the church of Rotherham": "two silver cups, and one silver cover to one of them, two pewter trencher-plates, three great pewter flaggons, one damask tablecloth, two linnen napkins, one old linnen bag to carry y^e plate in, one great Bible, two Common Prayer Books, three other bookes to be reade on p'ticular occasions, one Book of Homilyes, one Psalm Book, prose and metre, two bookes chained to the reading desk pew, an old Psalm Book, one pulpit cushion, one greene carpet cloathe, four ladders, one gavelocke, two surplices, three Common Prayer Bookes." Well, two hundred years further on (in 1872) the inventory would not be largely increased, but be *minus* the pewter ware, the chained books, and especially the great ladder, which in my early days seemed sky-raking enough to be that of Jacob's dream, and important enough to be the subject of a nursery rhyme,—

"Come, Jacky Stamrod,¹ with your church stee,
And get bright moonpenny for little John & me."

This would be merest trifling, and very much out of place amongst the assumed dry-as-dust pursuits and proclivities of this assembly, if this contrast, and what yet remains for me to say, did not most emphatically exemplify the meritorious munificence with which the service of God was anciently maintained; the almost hourly opportunities which invited to acts of devotion and offerings of thanksgiving; and, as in the religious guilds, the Christian care evinced towards the brothers and sisters living, and the honour paid to the obsequies of the dead. This is not a question of Catholic or Protestant, but of a religion which was not that of Sunday only, but in those in whom it truly dwelt, of every hour of every day. A mere catalogue of the chantries must suffice as they existed 2nd Edward, say 1549:

"The chauntry of ij preistes at the alters of Jesus and our Lady in the parishe church there. Thomas Pylley of thage of lxiiij yeares, and William Feldishend of thage of xxxⁱⁱ yeares, somewhat learned, have every of theym yerely for theyre stypendes, £6: 13: 4, and have none other lyvinges.

"The Chauntry of the Crosse. Thomas Holden hath none other lyvinge. Yerely value of annuall stypends, £10: 7: 5.

"The Service or Gylde of our lady. John Hill, incumbent, hath none other lyving than the proffitts of the said service. The yerely value of the freehold belonging the said Gylde as doth appear by the Rental, £6: 11: 8.

¹ The parish clerk.

Respecting one of the guilds we have the following interesting mention :

"To the very honourable and wise Council of our most dread lord the King, Robert de Munsdere and John de Mersburgh, Wardens of the Fraternity of Rodreham lately made, in the county of York, certify how, in the year of [the reign] of King Edward III, after the conquest the thirtieth (1357), (516 years since), certain people of Rotherham, in honour of God and the holy Crosse, ordained the said fraternity, and how it has been continued, and still exists; that is to say, all the brethren and sisters of the said fraternity once a year assemble in the church of Rodreham, and there among themselves, from their devotion to the Crosse, ordain and collect to find a chaplain to chant masses for a year, and perform other divine service every day before the Cross in the said church, and to find torches and tapers of the value of 13s. 4d. to burn on feast days in honour of the Cross in the said place. And yearly on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the said torches and tapers are renewed and carried in the said church before the procession the same day, in the hands of the brethren and sisters of the said fraternity, and put before the cross there; and when any brother or sister of the said fraternity dies, the survivors shall carry the body of the deceased to the church with the torches aforesaid burning around the body until it be buried, without other ordinances, oaths, congregations, or usages whatever."

The prayer to the King is, that if the fraternity be made a perpetual fraternity, that certain property may be amortised to other property belonging to the guild; if not, that it may be sold and put to other divine services for their souls and the souls of their benefactors.

"The Chauntry of our Lady of the Carr, George Page, incumbent, and hath none other lyving than the profits of the said Chauntie, as doth appear by the rental, £4 : 6 : 4.

"The service or Gnyld of St. Katheryne in the said church, Richard Lyng, incumbent, having no foundation but that of this ordynance of dyvers well disposed persons, to the intente to pray for the soules of the benefactours of all Christen soules, and to do dyvyne service, and to say masse in y^e sayd church at 6 o'clock in y^e mornyng, wynter as somer.

"The service of our lady, George Pare incumbent, the foundation of John Letter, a Clerk, as appeareth by the foundation dated ultim' Augusti, A.D. 1317."

The details of the freeholds, ornaments, plate, the names of the tenants of the properties, and rentals, are of great interest, and will, perhaps, some day see the light.

In giving, as I think is most meet, ample honour to the pious beneficence and Christian institutions and religious services of the olden time, I have the high satisfaction, in relation to this self-same subject, the Parish Church of



The Old Vicarage.

Rotherham, of being able to do equal honour to the present time, which is now doing honour to itself in nobly resolving that this grand monument of past munificence shall be so repaired, and so restored, inside and outside, as to make "its bold and lofty proportions", its wide and lofty arches, its elegantly designed and finely chiseled capitals, once more develope in restored beauty the splendid and harmonious effect of "the best style of the best age of Perpendicular work—the close of the fifteenth century,—before it merged into the more elaborate but less beautiful Tudor".

Sir Gilbert Scott reports the interior as very fine, and well deserving a careful restoration, and proceeds to detail what that should comprehend, and which will no doubt be proceeded with with the least possible delay. Churchmen have come forward unusually handsomely, they are learning to give. Other denominations of Christian churches, who have long since learnt how to give, have generously shewn that their practised liberality is not confined to their own purposes, and some few living at a distance, feeling properly that a structure like Rotherham Church, as an honour to Yorkshire, deserves not only county but general support. The Earl of Effingham, with the spirit of the best age of Christian munificence, is putting a noble window of stained glass at the chancel end, at a cost of £1300 to £1400, which will give to the other general restoration of the interior and exterior a grand embellishment and crowning completeness of which the object is so well worthy.

The College of Jesus at Rotherham.—As the one great benefactor of his native town, I have made Archbishop Rotherham an attentive study, and it would be easy for me to give somewhat copious details of one of the most exalted, most enlightened, most munificent and saintly men of the eventful age in which he lived. A very scant account of the College, built and endowed by him at Rotherham, must suffice.

He was born, as he tells us himself in his remarkable will, at Rotherham, and, as we are told more in detail in Coles MSS., was born of Sir Thomas Scott, *alias* Rotherham, Knight, and of Alice, his wife. He was born on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th, 1423. In his will he says—

"Because I was born in the Town of Rotherham, and baptized in the parish church of the same town, and so at the same place was

born into the world, and also born again by the holy bath flowing from the side of Jesus, whose name, O if I loved as I ought, and would! Lest I should seem, notwithstanding, an ungrateful forgetter



Old Italian Doorways, Jesus College.

of these things, I will that a perpetual College of the name of Jesus, be raised in the foresaid town, in the same place in which the foundation was laid at the feast of St. Gregory, in the 22nd year of King

Edward IV, and in which place I also was born. In which place also was a teacher of Grammar, who came to Rotherham by I know not what fate, but I believe that it was by the grace of God he came thither, who taught me and other youths, whereof others with me reached higher stations."

Hunter mentions the three Blythes of Norton, two of whom became Bishops: Henry Carnebull, the Archdeacon of York, and perhaps Rokeby, of the family of Thundercliff Grange, who was afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.

"Therefore desiring to return thanks to the Saviour, and to magnify that cause, lest I should seem unthankful and forgetful of the benefits of God, and of whence I came: I have determined with myself, firstly, to establish there, for ever, an Instructor in Grammar, teaching all persons gratuitously. And because I have seen the chantry priests there boarding separately in laymen's places, to their scandal and the ruin of others, I have Willed, secondly, to make a common place for them.

"Thus moved, I have begun to rear a College in the name of Jesus, where the first should teach Grammar, and the others in like manner should live and lodge. Firstly, I have given, and so Will that there be given to the other priests yearly for living and clothing, ten pounds, chambers, a Barber, a Laundress, a Cook gratis, and certain fuel, with other things, as the Statutes shall more plainly teach. And because I have seen, thirdly, that many parishioners belong to that Church, and many rude and mountain men of the neighbourhood gather together to it; that they may love the religion of Christ better, more often visit, honour, and love his Church, I have established one other perpetual Fellow, teaching singing gratuitously, and having and receiving for his living and clothing, every year six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence. And I have established, for ever, six Choristers or boys, that divine service may be more honourably celebrated there. And I Will that every one of them have yearly for living and clothing fourty shillings. Fourthly, because many youths are found there of very quick intelligence, and all do not wish to reach the dignity of priesthood: in order that some may be better fitted for mechanical arts and other [occupations] I have Willed and do Will, that there be a third Fellow, who shall teach gratuitously the art of writing and reckoning, and shall be called the Chaplain of St. Katherine, according to the naming of Mr. John Fox, who has given for this certain possessions, but very insufficient; nevertheless, the College will fill up the lack, and perpetuate him, according to the Statutes thereof made and to be made. But because the art of writing, music itself, and grammar in like manner are subordinate to, and do serve the divine law and the gospel, I have established, ordain, and Will over those three, one divine, who shall be at least a Bachelor in Divinity, and shall be bound to preach the word of God through all my province, according to the Statutes thereof made, who shall be called the Provost, being placed over the other three in the ruling and government of the house, and shall have yearly, for living and clothing, 13 pounds 6 shillings and 8 pence. So that I have incorporated, and do incorporate, in my

College, one Provost, three Fellows, and six boys, that where I have offended God in his ten commandments, these ten should pray for me. The priests of the choir I do not oblige to any spiritual [duty], but because I intend that they shall avoid the evils which follow idleness, Therefore I Will that they be always holily and devoutly occupied in the Grammar, Music, or Writing school, or receiving instruction of the Provost, or in the study of the Library, desiring in this to serve God; from him only I look for a reward, who punishes within, and rewards beyond our deserts, who is blessed for ever. Amen."

He then proceeds to say, how "to support these burdens I have appropriated", and enumerates a great number of small properties in the neighbourhood of Rotherham.

The licence of 23rd and 24th King Edward IV is to build the College "upon a certain ground or site of the said Archbishop, in the aforesaid town of Rotherham, which said ground contains in length, between the waste land of the Abbot of Rufford, from the east part, and the tenement of John Wentworth on the west part, 638 feet, 7 inches; and in breadth, between the close of the said Abbot, called the Imp-Yard [Nursery] on the northern, and the common stream in Rotherham aforesaid, running and falling into the water of the Don on the south part, 623 feet, 6 inches".¹

In the "Certificates of Colleges" in the Public Record Office, 2nd Edward VI, it is said—"The same College is within the town of Rotherham, and distant from the parish church 160 feet. The necessity thereof is preaching the Word of God, the instruction of children in the knowledge of grammar, song, and writing, in the said country being very barren of knowledge, and also the continual bringing up of six poor children, and the maintenance of God's service in the parish church of Rotherham, and the keeping together all the priests in the said church of Rotherham. The Mansion house of the said College, with a garden and orchard within the clausture of the same, invironed with a brick wall, contains by estimation two acres and one house near unto the said College, wherein the Free school be kept and taught. Parcel of the said mansion-house is covered with lead, viz., the Gate-house, containing in length 6 yards, in breadth 4 yards, with two little turrets thereto annexed, covered with lead. The chapel on the east side the said gate-house, with a crested roof, containing in length 18

¹ Leland, who visited Rotherham whilst it was still flourishing, tells us it "was a very fair College, sumptuously builded of bricke".

yards; in breadth, on either side of the roof, 5 yards; a chamber on the west side of the gate-house, with like roof, containing in length 12 yards; in breadth, on either side the roof, 5 yards. The said mansion-house is slated." Such is the only meagre description which can be gleaned of this fine structure.

The Stipend of the Preacher of the said College.—Robert Bishop, of Hull, Provost of the said College, hath yearly for his salary a stipend out of the revenue of the said College, £13 : 6 : 8, with a gown cloth, price 18s., wood and coals, sufficient for his chamber, and yearly allowance for finding of three horses. Also he hath promotions and livings, viz., of the King's Majesty, one yearly pension of two and fifty marks, and a prebend in the Church of York of £58 by year.

The Grammar School in the said College.—Thomas Snell, Schoolmaster there, Bachelor of Art, hath and receiveth yearly for his stipend £10, for his gown cloth 12s., for his fire to his chamber 3s. 4d. His barber and launder free, which amounts to £10 : 15 : 4, and hath none other living.

The Song School in the said College.—Robert Cade, Schoolmaster there, hath and receiveth yearly out of the revenues of the said College £6 : 13 : 4 for his salary, 12s. for his gown cloth, 3s. 4d. for fire to his chamber, his barber and launder free, in all, £7 : 8 : 8, and hath none other living.

The Writing School in the said College.—John Addy, Schoolmaster there, hath and receiveth yearly out of the said revenues, viz., for his salary £5 : 6 : 6, for a gown cloth 16s., for fire to his chamber 3s. 4d., in all £6 : 6, and hath no other living.

The Six Choristers or Poor Children in the said College.—The said children have yearly, meat, drink and clothes, out of the revenue of the said College, which is worth to every of them after the rate of 66s. 8d. by year and have none other living.

The Butler's and Cook's Stipend there.—John Parkyn, Butler, and Robert Parkyn, Cook, hath every of them yearly for his wages 26s. 8d., with meat, drink and livery.

Poor People.—There hath been yearly distributed in alms to poor people 6s., according to the will and ordinance of the Founder.

Such is an abbreviated and modernized account of the College of Jesus at Rotherham, about the year 1550-5, and it does, in its degree, seem to have been one of those inestimable foundations which met in every way the wants of the period in which and the place at which it was instituted. Instruction for the notorious ignorance which then and there existed, an appropriate home and high privileges for homeless clergy, and the maintenance and instruction of poor boys in song, whereby their own positions in life might be improved and the divine services of the noble sanctuary in which they officiated, rendered more attractive to what the Archbishop terms the "many rude and mountain men of the neighbourhood who gather to it".

From a MS. translated by Cole and dated about 1591 (about 110 years from the laying of the first stone of this beautiful College) we read—

"Now you shall hear of the fate of a College standing in Rotherham, within three miles where I was born, and now do dwell; for I learned at the School in the said Town, at the Free School founded by the founder of the said College, whose name was Scott, Archbishop then of York, which is a fair house yet standing; but God knoweth how long it shall stand; for certain brick chimneys and other brick walls is decayed and fallen down for lack of use; for there hath been few persons, and sometimes none at all, for a long time dwelling therein...All the lands and possessions are sold from it by the King, saving the Yard, Orchard, and Garden places lying within the Walls thereof; for it is walled in with a brick wall. The foundation whereof was not to make a malt-house, as it is now used, etc.....For by the foundation of Lincoln College, in Oxford, whereof the said Bishop was a founder also, the Scholars that came from this College of Rotherham were to be preferred to a Fellowship of that College, before any other; which was performed very well so long as the House stood."

The writer of this sad recital was Cuthbert Sherbrook, a dignified ecclesiastic of the Roman Church, and is from a curious MS. entitled "The Falle of Religiousse Houses, Colleges, Chauntries, Hospitals, etc."¹ He seems to have been connected with Wickersley, about four miles from Rotherham.

All that now remains of this College, "sumptuously builded of brike", is the College Inn, one side of the original quadrangle, and a detached building with a beautiful door-

¹ Charles Hoole, who was, on the recommendation of Dr. Sanderson, appointed Master of Rotherham Grammar School, in his book, *A New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching School* (1660), says, from a statement of Henry West, nephew to Mr. West, who was agent to the Earl of Shrewsbury, that the revenues of the College at the time they were swept away amounted to £2,000 per annum.

way, and the remains of some very fine brick-work. What I should take to have been the College grounds proper, were in my earlier years surrounded by strong and large brick walls, a small part of which was recently left in several places, and the figure of the Cross appearing at regular distances, built in different coloured brick. The walls to the north, and nearly down to the river on the west, were some 12 feet in height, as also, what was left of it running parallel with Bridgegate. A spacious underground passage to the river, still existing, runs at about the distance of 60 feet from the south frontage of the street, and there can be no doubt but that this subterranean passage would be in the College grounds. The College buildings



College Inn.

formed a quadrangle, the street end of one side being lately Mr. Joseph Badger's offices, now pulled down; the low room beyond what were his offices, was in my early years, the Rotherham preaching room in connection with the Masbro' Independent Chapel; the other side now being the College Inn. A high blank wall extended from side to side at the further end, with one lofty and large doorway in the centre, behind which were some outbuildings, which no doubt once had formed part of the finest or centre portions of the structure. The front of this quadrangle, with a large

open space between the parallel wings, was bounded, next Jesus-gate (as it was properly called and from which it has been improperly altered) by a thick heavy wall, the coping-stones of which measured from three to four feet across. It was surmounted by strong iron palisading, and the entrance was between two square lofty pillars, some sixteen feet high, with bold moulded caps, and finished by large balls.

In a long, long parchment roll of emblazoned pedigrees at Wortley Hall, and which by the courtesy of Lord Wharnccliffe I have seen, speaking of Sir Thomas Wortley, the great services performed by him, and the high offices held by him under four Kings, it is said, "and as for his worthy housekeeping, it was such that Bishop Rotherham, Archbishop of York, whyle he was building the College at Rotherham, did for the most part remain with him at Wortley". In a previous paper, I indulged in a fancy sketch of one of the Archbishop's supervisory progresses to the town, eight miles from Wortley Hall, where his College was being then builded.

A prelate of his rank could never lay down his state, and more or less of the heavy and gorgeous retinue of that day would attend him. The route would be principally through, or along parks, with but little intervention of human habitations or other fenced enclosures. Soft ranges of forests, remnants of the vast Brigantian forests which once covered the district—and long sweeps of green sward, dotted with magnificent oaks and elms, would arrest the gaze. At the starting of the cavalcade, Wharnccliffe Chase with its "pomp of wood sweeping down the dark declivity", would appear on the right, and Tankersley Park, then belonging to Sir John Savile, on the left. A little further on, on the same side, a grand sweep of glade running under the undulating woodland hills, until lost in the far distance, then swelling up again to the woods around Wentworth Woodhouse, past Hooper, and over still rising and wood crowned eminences to High Melton, and beyond—passing on to what the Archbishop, in his Will, calls "my cottage in Thorpe, and my tenement called Scholes", on the left; and what he calls "an inheritance", though small, at Ecclesfield; and his manor of Barnes (Barnes Hall); and also his manor of Howsley's on the right, and in the same direction

Woolley, then the residence of Sir Richard Woodruffe, whose daughter was married to Thomas Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse Hall, under which, through its verdant valley, the Blackburn then wandered in unbroken beauty to the Don, then passing the Grange, where the Monks of Kirkstead had established their primitive iron works three hundred years before, until arriving at the lofty eminence of Kimberworth Park, the walls of his rising College would first meet its founder's eye. And what besides? A burst of woodland and sylvan beauty, claiming on every hand from the eye and from the heart their warmest admiration, and homage, and love.

I believe that the England of that day could hardly boast of a finer tract of country than that spread out from Kimberworth at this period of time. The forest-crowned hills and rich valleys, the magnificent park preserves, and the wild woodland, with here and there a vill or hamlet, or baronial hall; and the then old, but smoke-unsmirched town, lying, with its beautiful church, just on the sloping river bank—this to the immediate front. Away on the right, through the domains of the Lord of Hallamshire, the lofty range of hills, marked by and looking down upon the historic vestiges of Templeborough, the “Roman Rig”, most prominent at “Medda Hall”, and forward to the lofty Roman station on Wincobank Hill. Onward, to where Sheffield was just lifting a slight canopy of smoke over its infant mechanical industries, and beyond, in the dim, purple distance, to the bounding bulwarks of Derbyshire peaks. The broad sweep of low lying, level meadow land, significantly described by its name, “The Holmes”, would then stretch in unbroken greenness to the river's bank. I think it would then have a Hall. Nor on the left was the scene less impressive, less expansive, less beautiful. Just below, distinctly visible, runs north-eastwardly, the “Roman Rig”, through Winfield and Greasbro', with Wentworth Woodhouse woods rising nobly beyond, on to Mexbro', and across the river Street-ford, at Strafford Sands, to Duanum (now Doncaster). More immediately would be seen a rich undulating slope falling down to Carr House, an ancient esquire's seat; and climbing the steep rise to Barbott Hall—one of the old halls of the district—held by Thomas Barbott, in the reign of Edward II, and who for 500 years

had held a moiety of Greasbro', and round the rich woods and along the rich valley, the river Don would roll its wide and unpolluted stream to Aldwarke, the seat of Sir Richard Fitzwilliam, Thrybergh, of the Reresby, and Kilnhurst, the seat of the ancient family of the Montfort; for many then were the high families seated on the Don, and it is said there were five castles between Sheffield and Doncaster.

Such, then, we may conceive to be a feeble sketch of the scenery and circumstances connected with the supervisory visits of the Archbishop of York to Rotherham, during the building of his College: and surely we may be pardonably permitted to surmise that his eye would dilate, and his bosom swell, and his spirit be possessed with devout thankfulness, as he gazed on a scene so fair, and felt that however much of princely power and political rule had been withdrawn from him, the diviner privilege of dedicating his life and his wealth to the encouragement of learning, the advancement of religion, and the attracting to God's noble temple of the "rude mountain men" who surrounded the place of his birth, afforded a satisfaction and compensation which the service of crowned Kings in royal palaces could not give, and which they could not take away.

The Chapel on the Bridge.—A careful search has failed to find any notice of this Bridge Chapel in any of the records touching Ecclesiastical foundations up to Edward VI's time. The *Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*, the charter rolls, and, coming to dissolution times, the particular grants, certificates of colleges, ministers' accounts of 2nd and 3rd Edward VI, the special commissions and index to conceded lands, and all other of the public records, appear to be utterly silent as to anything connected with the Chapel on the Bridge, save as to the exact period of its erection, which appears from the will of John Bokying, one of the provosts of the College of Jesus, who bequeaths to the fabric of the Chapel to be built on Rotherham Bridge, 3s. 4d. The will is dated August 24th, 1483, the period of the erection of the College. Leland, writing in or about 1550, says, "I entered into Rotherham by a fair stone bridge of iiij arches, and on hit is a chapel of stone well wrought".

Camden, or rather Gough, says, "the Chapel on the Bridge is standing, but converted into a dwelling house for

poor people".¹ Its next conversion was a still sadder deterioration, namely, into the Town Gaol, to which purpose it was misappropriated for a great number of years.

Our local records are otherwise quite as silent as to its foundation, but not as to the uses to which it has been appropriated. In one of the earliest accounts of the Feoffees of Common Lands, appears this entry: "1550. Item, paid to John Ankered for mending a lok of y^e queere in y^e Chappell at y^e Brigge, ijd."



Chapel on the Bridge.

How the Feoffees became possessed of a property like this is difficult to conceive, but such possession seems not to have been without its peril and penalty, as the next mention of the Chapel is as follows: Memorandum, August 12th, 1682.

"*Mem^d August 12th, 1682.*—That whereas the great Rideing Bridge over the river Dun, at Rotherham, and also the old Chappell there, which supports the same, both became very ruinous and in extreame decay in the year 1681, whereupon, after a view and certificate from two Justices, application was made to the Sessions held at Pontefract in Aprill 1681, where for some dayes it was disputed whether the said bridge was a Rideing bridge or not; and secondly, whether the said old Chappell was absolutely necessary to be repaired as to the walls and rooffe, in order to the better support of the said bridge; for the cleareing of the first point, Mr. Darwent and Mr. Sorsbie, for the said

¹ Gough's ed., 1789, vol. iii, p. 31.

towne, was at great trouble and charge to search out ancient orders to shewe to the Court to cleare that point, which accordingly they did; the great objection against it was the townes voluntary disburseing moneys to the repaires thereof out of the townes stock, and not requiring the same of the country for about twenty yeares: but in the conclusion the Court was satisfyed in both points by sheweing severall coppies of ancient orders for that purpose, and also by sheweing severall accompts for such summes, registred in this booke in the accompts of severall greaves; and therefore ordered that one hundred forty and eight pounds should be estraited, which was done accordingly; and at Pontefract Sessions, 1682, sixty more, as an adiconall summe; and at Doncaster Sessions, in January 1682, twenty pounds more; which said summes completed the said worke, and also the walles and rooffe of the said old Chappell; and Mr. Darwent and Mr. Sorsbie had five pounds apiece allowed by the country for their paines and care in the premisses; and Mr. Justice Blythman and Mr. Justice Edmunds were surveyors and accomptants; and Sir John Reresby and Justice Yarbrough, by order of court, tooke and allowed the accompts at Pontefract Sessions, 1683; and the work being then finished, the accomptants were discharged. All which new and old orders, and accompts, and discharges, and other proceedings thereupon, are tyed together and put into the townes chest by Mr. Darwent this third day of August 1683, for the better preservation thereof; and this Memorandum here registred that posterity may hereafter easily cleare to any court the former points in dispute, and not be put to the like trouble through the forwardnesse of the towne disburseing money, or remissnesse of officers in keeping their orders and accompts."

In Buckler's *Remarks on Wayside Chapels* it is thus described: "The Chapel at Rotherham approaches nearly, in point of dimensions, to that of Wakefield. Their interior admeasurements are respectively 32 feet by 14 feet, and 40 feet by 16 feet 8 inches. The design of the Chapel at Rotherham is plain: there have been two windows on each side, one at the east end, and one high up, and of small size, at the west end, over the entrance. The pediments and side parapets are embattled, and terminated with numerous crocketed pinnacles. The mullions and tracery of all the windows have been destroyed; and whatever ornamental features may have graced the interior, there is nothing of the kind now visible." The exact measurement differs from the above, being 32 feet 9 inches in length by 15 feet 5 inches in width.

THE TERRA-COTTA TABLETS OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

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(*Read February 18, 1880.*)

It has been already remarked by Dr. Oppert, that the want of a special ideograph in the Akkadian system of writing to represent the palm-tree, implies that the system had been perfected before the Akkadians descended into the plains of Babylonia; and it is probably owing to the same cause that there is not also a special sign representing a clay-tablet. Stone, wood, and the bark of trees, seem to have been the materials used by them for writing upon while still in the high-lands. When, however, they descended, and settled in the Plain of Shinar, they found themselves in a country where clay could be obtained in abundance; and they were not long in finding out that, amongst other things, it was especially useful as a writing material. Clay, therefore, became the recognised material for documents of all kinds, and tablets of various shapes and sizes were to be found throughout the country. Like other things, clay had its disadvantages, the principal of which were that it had to be carefully baked after receiving the inscription, and that the tablets, when completed, took up a large space in the library. In later times, however, the Babylonians almost entirely dispensed with the baking process.

On the other hand, clay had several merits of its own. It was both plentiful and easy to get, it required no ink, and (which was not its least important feature) it could not, after being baked, be used again for writing purposes; so that a great temptation to destroy records was taken away.

On one of the tablets lately brought from Babylonia by Mr. Rassam, containing an Akkadian inscription of an early king whose name I provisionally read as Rū-sak, we have the following words as part of the colophon: "A copy of the ancient tablet on silver written." We here get a reason for the non-employment of metal as a writing material. Metals of any kind, and especially silver, were far too valuable to be allowed to lie idle in a library; and it is only too likely

that a copy of this particular inscription was made in clay because the silver was required for other purposes. Before it was copied, this silver tablet must have existed at least eight hundred years, and one can only wonder that it was not melted before. Even stone was not quite safe, for as the Assyrian kings used to clean off the sculptures of their predecessors to make place for their own, so it seems likely, from a tablet in the British Museum, which purports to be a copy of a stone tablet set up by Dungi, King of Babylonia, about 2000 B.C., at Cutha, that this copy was only made previous to the cleaning off the original inscription, to give place, perhaps, to an inscription of Merodach-baladan, Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabonidus.

Nothing, then, as these inhabitants of Shinar soon found, could equal clay for durability. Papyrus and wood decayed, metal and stone were too valuable to be allowed to lie idle, so that clay was the only substance left. It was plentiful ; it could be moulded to any shape ; the characters could be impressed, with a very small amount of labour, in such a way as not to be misunderstood ; and if the tablet were properly baked, the record was, under proper care, everlasting. All these advantages caused clay at once to be selected as the most perfect means of perpetuating a record, and it came, therefore, into universal use in Assyria and Babylonia. Papyrus was, however, used to the latest period ; but principally for letters, messages, despatches, etc.

The earliest tablets known are of the class called "contracts". These documents were written at a time when Assyrian had not yet become the tongue of the legislation, being all, with I believe only one exception, written in the Akkadian or Sumerian tongue. Assyrian, however, was the tongue of the people, as is shewn by the names of the contracting parties and witnesses, nine-tenths of which are in that language. These tablets are all double, or, as they are called, "case-tablets"; that is, after one was written, attested, and sealed, another coating of clay was moulded round it, and a copy of the transaction was written, attested, and sealed, on this envelope or case, thus making the preservation of the document doubly sure. For all these precautions, however, there are many tablets in the Museum of which both the case and the inner tablet are greatly damaged.

A curious form of document was in use at Zergul (now

represented by the village of Tel-loh), upon which to write dedications. This was in the shape of a cone with a broad rim at the larger end. It was inscribed all round, and very often on the broad end as well. Many have been the conjectures as to the reason of this peculiar shape; but it seems, from the very perfect state of preservation in which most of these cones are, that when a temple was built, holes were drilled in the corner-stones, and several of these cones put point downwards, so that they rested on the under side of the rim, the hole being countersunk to receive it. From these cones we get a record of the piety of Ur-Bagas, Gudea, and Ur-Ninsu¹ his son, who had restored the temple of Istar or Ninsu, as the case may be, and rebuilt the enclosure which had fallen into decay. These cones may be regarded as the originals of the clay cylinders common in later times in both Babylonia and Assyria.

Such are the documents of the earliest ages. Those of a later period, written by the daughter-nation, Assyria, now demand attention. Here we find great diversity of form, and each diversity of form indicates a corresponding difference in the class of the document. The historical texts, the syllabaries, and the bilingual texts and legends, are for the most part written on large, substantial pieces of clay. These are library books, made of a convenient size to suit the shelves. They were kept very carefully, for as one cannot see in any text the least sign of its having been rubbed or damaged in ancient times, one would imagine that the Assyrians lined the shelves of their library with soft cushions to protect their treasures. The bilingual lists and syllabaries seem to be the most carefully written; next in order of excellence come the bilingual magical texts, the legends, and those texts dealing with omens; while the historical texts are written more carelessly than any of the above mentioned. In no case, however, is the writing so bad as to make its decipherment a matter of any great difficulty.

We now come to the correspondence, which is contained on small, neatly shaped-up tablets, and for the most part neatly written. The sizes of these documents vary from about five inches by two and a half, to an inch and a half

¹ Also read Lig-Bagas, Lig-Ninsu, Tas-Bagas, Tas-Ninsu. Ur-Bagas (servant of Bagas), Ur-Ninsu (servant of Ninsu), however, give better sense than any of the above. The true reading of the name read as Gudea is most likely Nabû (Nebo).

by three-quarters. These tablets form, perhaps, a more interesting class of documents than even the historical texts. They give us an excellent insight into the language, manners, and customs, and the civil and religious life, of the middle and lower classes of ancient Assyria. Not a few, too, express the thoughts of royal and princely personages. Unfortunately we seldom know the name of the king who addresses, for example, letters to his general; but we are often shewn that these to the outside world cruel and relentless conquerors were in reality the most affable of men; and Assur-bani-abla, who is said to have been so effeminate, was a hardy warrior and hunter, and keen intriguer. To this class also may be referred those tablets which give reports of astronomical observations and accounts of work done. A translation of a tablet of the latter class, as it directly refers to the subject in hand, I shall give at the end of this paper.

The Assyrian "contract" tablets are also an important class, for they, too, give some insight into private Assyrian life. The Assyrian is here presented as a keen man of business, looking well after his own interests. Many a hard bargain, doubtless, did he drive in buying, selling, and exchanging, either houses, or lands, or slaves.

During the time of the literary activity of Assyria (from about 885-626 B.C.) the literature of Babylonia seems to have entirely died out; that is to say, we have as yet found no records whatever of that period. There are many reasons for this, however; for it does not follow that because we find no records, none existed. Babylonia was during this period in a very troubled state; and when there were no dissensions within, the Assyrians lost no opportunity of harassing the unfortunate country from without. Whenever the Assyrians took a city, they carried away all the records, of whatever nature; so that if the Babylonians had had to depend on a single copy of their standard works, they would soon have had no literature at all. But the Assyrian invasions must have had a great effect on Babylonian literature, in preventing the writing of fresh records. The Babylonians also were not so careful of their books as the Assyrians, for having found that unbaked clay would become exceedingly hard, and resist the effects of time for many hundreds of years, only a few tablets (most likely for the king's use) were baked. This is, perhaps, the true reason

for the extreme dearth of records at this time ; and it is confirmed by the fact that the Assyrians had to copy from damaged texts, for we often find in the Assyrian bilingual tablets the word *khîbi* (wanting) or *khîbi essu* (a new lacuna). It is likely enough that when this occurs, the scribe had an unbaked Babylonian text to copy from. The British Museum has, perhaps, two thousand fragments of unbaked tablets, the greater part of them still legible.

These unbaked tablets are of all sizes and shapes ; indeed, they vary so much that I am afraid of giving a list of them. Their favourite subjects are arithmetic and its kindred sciences ; but as no one has yet made out the meaning of the long lists of figures with which the tablets are covered, we do not know the precise nature of their contents. Some, however, certainly refer to astronomical calculations, others to measurements of sites and so forth, and others to omens. There are a few bilingual hymns and legends ; but of history hardly anything, the "Nebuchadnezzar" fragment and the new "Cyrus" text being the only examples. Lately, unfortunately, the Arabs have taken to baking these unbaked tablets,—and, indeed, any tablet already baked before ; and I am afraid they do them more harm than good.

What has been remarked regarding Assyrian "contract" tablets will apply also to those of Babylonia. Their contents are of much the same nature, but more diversified. Many of them have, like Assyrian tablets, the seals or nail-marks of the contracting parties impressed round the edge.¹

Many have discussed the manner of writing these documents, and the instrument with which they were written. But before saying anything about the writing I shall describe the probable manner of preparing the tablet for receiving the writing, and put archæologists on their guard against the skilful forgeries which are now made.

The clay, after having been beaten together to make it close and compact, a lump was broken off of the required size, and moulded on a very smooth surface, probably wood, for there is sometimes a grain on the face of the tablet crossing all the characters. The edge of the tablet seems to have been straightened and rounded at the same time on this smooth surface. The smoothness of the edge is one of the tests of a genuine tablet ; for if the edge have a grain run-

¹ As a specimen of the contents I shall give a translation of a small, unsealed tablet of this class at the end of the paper.

ning from end to end, it has probably been caused by the finger of a forger. If also a mark run all round the edge of the tablet, making it look as if it had been joined together, this also is a sign that it is a forgery. Sometimes tablets have not a smooth edge, but one that looks rough, uneven, and undercut. This is caused by the writing being too close to the edge, making the clay burr over. Such a tablet is most likely genuine.

The clay having been shaped up in this way, with the edge round or flat, as the scribe thought best, and with both surfaces slightly convex, he began to write upon it. How it was held so as to preserve its form while in the soft state is impossible to say; but from the appearance of some of the texts it seems as if the plain tablet had been allowed to get quite hard, and then moistened on the surface for writing upon. A tablet managed in this way would keep its shape better than one soft all through. The writing, as is well known, consists of little wedges in various positions, a number of which go to make up a single character. These wedges seem to have been all made with the rectangular end of, perhaps, a piece of wood (for no styles suitable for making a wedge have yet been found), the other end of which must have been rounded off somewhat like a moderately broad and flat modeling-stick, and was used to erase the characters when the scribe made a mistake. I have found that by holding such a *stylus* in a particular way the wedges may be made in all their various shapes and positions with a very slight movement of the wrist in writing. When the tablet was finished, holes were pricked in it in all the blank spaces at the ends of paragraphs, or wherever there was room, to allow air or steam to escape during the baking, and it was laid aside to dry. In the drying, the convex side on which it lay became flat; and as the reverse was the side which was uppermost when the scribe had finished writing, it was laid down on the obverse; for by this time the raised edges of the characters were dry, and could not be greatly injured. Thus, in many cases we can tell, even when there is no colophon, where the text begins and ends; for the obverse is flat, and the reverse curved.

This, then, is the history of an Assyrian or Babylonian tablet. How it was baked I cannot say, for we have no inscription describing the process, nor have any remains of furnaces come down to us.

1. *Tablet of the Egibi Series.*—A “Dower Contract.”

Zirî-a, son of Nabu-ibni, son of Nabâ'a,
 to Iddina-Marduk, son of Basâ, son of Nur-Sin,
 thus said that “Seven mana of silver,
 three slaves and children of Bit-elat (and)
 three mana of silver, according to promise, with
 Ina-E-sagili-ramat my daughter,
 for a gift thus I offer. The trustees [prove” (?).
 whom unto Basâ I have proposed (?) the amount in their heart ap-
 Iddina-Marduk to Zirî-a
 thus said that “Instead of his gift,
 which I have surrendered,¹ Ubartu and her three children,
 Nanâ-kisirat and her two children,
 and his property which (is in) the city Usir, all there is
 he has sealed, and instead of the seven mana of silver,
 the gift of Ina-E-sagili-ramat,
 unto Ina-E-sagili-ramat, to his wife,
 he has caused (it) to be delivered.”¹

Witnesses: Itti-baladhi-Marduk, son of Marduk-edir,
 son of Rammanu-umê. Marduk-rimanni,
 son of Beli-sunu, son of Adnuzn.
 Nabu-baladh-s'u-iqbi, son of Iddin-Marduk,
 son of Egibi. Nabu-alpi-esir the scribe,
 son of Marduk-suma-usur, son of Bel-napsâti.
 Babylon, month Tebet, 13th day,
 34th year of Nebuchadnezzar
 King of Babylon.

2. *Report-Tablet referring, among other things, to the Copying of Works for the Royal Library.*

Bel-akha-iddin (and) Zallâ'i, these two, tell me the things we have accomplished (as follows) :

Sa-Nabi-sû has seen the earthwork before (the house of) Ukumê.

Ninip-sudhur, the Guennakhu,² has finished the record. The scribe of Ninip, dwelling in Bit-ridutê, we have appointed (to be) in the presence of Bânu. The earthwork I have not given into his hands.

Kudurru (and) Kunâ'a have finished (the record of) the Evil Spirits. Command them (to go) into the presence of S'as'i.

Marduk-sarrani, S'ulâ'a, Baladhu, Nasiru, Sin-akha-iddina, Rimutu, Nadin-akhi, Belu-usêzib (and) Nabu-sar-akhi-su. These (are) the nine who out of the army have been fixed upon, (and) the defences of the house of the sick man will make.

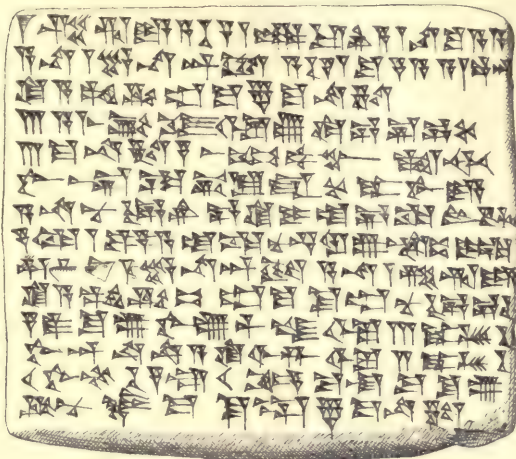
Samas-iddina, Pirah, (and) Bel-epus. These (are) the three who for this tablet the record have completed.

¹ This tablet is interesting as shewing that a son-in-law had power to determine what shape the dower which he was to receive with his wife should take, and also the rights of the wife in such a matter. She had evidently more power over the property than the husband, and, as many documents in the British Museum shew, could sell or exchange the slaves. As usual in these texts, the scribe has not paid sufficient attention to his pronouns, and has changed, in line 17, from direct to oblique narration by writing “his” for “my”. The pronoun “his” in line 11 refers to Zirî-a.

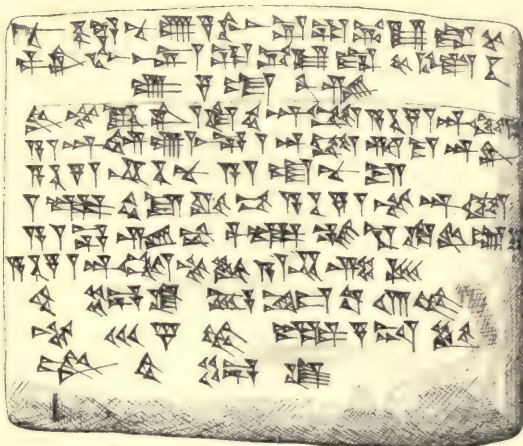
² The precise rank of this official is not known. The word is borrowed from the Akkadian, and means simply “the man of high position”.

BABYLONIAN WEDDING CONTRACT

Obverse



Reverse



Line 9, obr., shows a rough erasure by the scribe. In lines 8 and 9, rev., one of the characters has a wedge too many; and in line 9 the scribe has inserted a character, (which he had forgotten,) at the beginning.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, NORWICH.

BY F. R. BEECHENO.

(Read August 18, 1879.)

BLOMEFIELD informs us that the ancient church that stood here was founded before the Conquest. The living was anciently a rectory, and in 1267 John le Brun, then patron, granted the patronage to the College of St. Mary in the Fields, with the consent of his brother Geoffrey, the rector. In 1350 the Dean and Canons of that College obtained a bull from Pope Clement VI to allow them to appoint chaplains who need not take institution, but dwell in the College. This was done till the Reformation, when the patronage came into secular hands by a grant from Edward VI. I find, from the parish books, that in 1561 the patrons sold it to the parishioners for £13 : 6 : 8, and it was vested in feoffees in trust for the parish. In 1716 the feoffees relinquished their right to appoint a minister, and he has ever since been chosen by popular election.

Amongst the curates of this church (the living having been, since the Reformation, a perpetual curacy), were Dr. George Gardiner, Dean of Norwich and Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Elizabeth ; and Dr. Jacob Mountain, the first Protestant Bishop in Canada.

From some doggerel verses formerly over the south aisle door, still preserved in one of the porch chambers, and dated December 1547, we learn that the present church was erected in 1506, as they commence—

“This Church was builded of Timber, Stone, & Bricks,
In the Year of our Lord God xv hundred and six.”

The 17th Henry VII the King licensed the parishioners to rebuild and enlarge the chancel a foot longer than before, upon the street at the east end.

The church consists of nave, chancel, a tower at the west end, 96 feet in height, north and south aisles, with porches with chambers over them, and a vestry at the east end of the south aisle. The entire length of the church is 120 ft., and the breadth 55, it being next in size to St. Peter Man-

croft. The architecture is late Perpendicular, and the beautiful roof has been fully described and illustrated by Brandon. The rood-stair turret remains.

It may be interesting to remember that the parish was not without a martyr at the Reformation. Elizabeth Cooper, a pewterer's wife, who recanted openly in this church, afterwards came here during divine service, and called upon the congregation not to follow her example. Upon this she was apprehended, and suffered death in the Lollards' Pit in 1557.

An account of the goods, vestments, and ornaments, of the church in the fourteenth century has been published in the *Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society's Papers*, in which is also to be found an inventory of the goods, vestments, ornaments, etc., of the church at the Reformation; the value placed upon them, for how much they were sold, and how the proceeds were expended. The total value was estimated at £220 19s.

Within the altar-rails are the brass effigies of a man and woman, supposed by Blomefield to be William Layer, Mayor in 1537, and his wife; but I found from Mackerell's MS. in the British Museum, that in his time an escutcheon remained with the mark of Robert Gardiner, Mayor, who died in 1508, and whose effigy remains in a window in the north aisle, with the same mark, and this inscription, "Roberto Gardener quōdā maiore huius Ciuitatis comodissime." The crimson colour of his robe, and the blue of the tapestry, are much admired. In the two easternmost clerestory windows is the ancient stained glass formerly in the east window. In that on the north side are the arms of the see of Canterbury, the Grocers', St. Catherine's emblem, and *gules*, a cross bottonny *argent*. Also the mark of Nicholas Colich, Mayor in 1497. In that on the south are, in first light, the brazen serpent coloured blue; in second, according to Blomefield, the stoning of the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath Day; but with greater probability, Abraham and Isaac ascending Mount Moriah; in third, Death and the Bishop. The sedilia were discovered in 1849, and restored by private subscription. Three of the stalls have misereres.

In the vestry are the scanty remains of a minister's library, and I found that in 1628 there was some New Testament English MS. remaining. The east end of the north aisle was anciently the chapel of our Lady. Here

John Clark, Mayor, who died in 1527, was buried. Only his inscription remains, and it is placed on the floor in front of the organ. The remains of the brasses on his gravestone were engraved by Cotman in 1818. There were then his effigy, mark, and the Mercers', and Merchant Adventurers' Arms. His effigy is described by Cotman as a very singular example of a mayor in his robes.

Here is a large monument in memory of Lady Suckling, the mother of Sir John Suckling the poet, who died in 1613. At top are the arms of Suckling impaling quarterly 1 and 4, Cranfield 2 and 3. *Or on a bend azure three martlets argent.* Also Suckling's ancient crest—A roebuck tripping *azure attired or.*

The other monuments here are to Robert Garssett, Francis Rugg, and Robert Suckling, the grandfather of Sir John Suckling. In the window over Lady Suckling's monument is, quarterly, 1 and 4, Layer; 2 and 3, Bvtivant. In this aisle are the remains of two of the consecration crosses of the Church. In the north porch is a stone, 13 feet by 4 feet 11 inches, with the remains of very fine brasses. They consisted of two effigies with labels, an escutcheon between them, and an elaborate canopy over them, and at foot the effigies of seventeen children. The inscription is nearly perfect, and shows it to be the stone of William Gilbert, Grocer, and Annor his wife, who both died in 1467. His mark occurs in the canopy.

The east end of the south aisle was anciently the chapel of S. Anne, and here was kept the guild of S. Andrew. A mural monument in this aisle records the fact that the parish of S. Andrew had the honour of giving to the city the first and last mayor under the old charter, viz., William Appleyard in 1403, and William Moore in 1834. Here is also a mural monument to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, probably an ancestor of the late President of the United States. On the floor of the nave is a stone to John Underwood, suffragan to Bishop Nix. He was a zealous persecutor of the Reformers, and died in 1541. On the stone are the indents of a cross with the five wounds. On a scroll is

"Vulnera q^uque dei
Sint medicina mei."

The effigy with label and inscription are gone, but the

supposed arms of the titular See of Chalcedon remain impaling Underwood. Here was a stone to Francis Burgess, erroneously said upon it to have been the first printer in Norwich. He died in 1706.

The old font stood upon a stone now lying in the south porch, to the memory of Robert Aylmer, mayor, who died in 1493. Part of the circumscription remains. His mark also remains in several south clerestory windows. The tower was rebuilt in 1478, and contains ten bells. On tenth bell is—

“Let vs tewne, and sovnd together
England's swete peace for ever. 1621.”

The elegant screen in the tower arch was discovered upon the removal of the gallery in 1863. In the tower, where was formerly the chapel of our Lady of Grace, is a stone which Blomefield erroneously assigns to John Cambridge, Alderman, who died in 1442. It is the stone of John Holly, Brewer, who died in 1527, and Elizabeth his wife, as his mark and their initials now remaining on an escutcheon show. On the exterior of the tower are cut the city arms, saltires, the arms of East Anglia, and the monogram “Maria.” The escutcheons at the east end of the church on the exterior are old work built into the new church, and deserve notice. At top are the arms of Bishop Goldwell, who died in 1498. *Azure*, a chief *or*, over all a lion rampant *ermine*, and Goldwell as before impaling his devices per fess *gules* and *argent*—in chief three wells *or* (goldwells), in base six columbines 3, 2 and 1 *azure*. Beneath these are thirteen escutcheons charged as follows:—

1. Sacred Roman Empire—an eagle with two heads displayed; 2. England; 3. East Anglia; 4. Norwich City;
5. Quarterly 1 and 4 England, 2 and 3 France (ancient);
6. A Saltire; 7. The Instruments of the Passion (defaced);
8. Emblem of the Blessed Sacrament (defaced); 9. S. George; 10. Bishop Spencer (*obit* 1406); 11. Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury, Quarterly 1 and 4 Arundel, 2 and 3 Warren; 12. Percy? *Or* a lion rampant *azure*; 13. A saltire raguly. These escutcheons are continued round the north side of the chancel and are: 1 and 6. Quarterly, 1 and 4 England, 2 and 3 France (ancient); 2. A saltire; 3. Norwich City; 4. Percy? 5 and 7. A saltire raguly.

THE TRINITARIAN ARRANGEMENT OF PART OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL

BUILT BY BISHOP HERBERT,

AND THE EVIDENCE AFFORDED THEREBY OF ITS ORIGINAL EXTENT
WESTWARD.

BY REV. J. GUNN.

(*Read August 19, 1880.*)

THE extent of the Cathedral westward has long been a subject of difference of opinion among archæologists, and, since the Meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1847, of keen discussion between Professor Willis and Mr. Henry Harrod. It has recently occurred to me that an evident Trinitarian arrangement of the sacrarium, the presbytery, the transepts, and eastern part of the nave, affords a strong argument in favour of the termination of the original building, short of the cylindrical spiral columns, at which point the continuation of the nave westward by Bishop Eborard, Herbert's successor, appears to be indicated ; or else, should possibly Mr. Harrod's opinion prove correct, that the entire fabric was completed by Herbert from east to west, those beautiful columns may serve to shew, as a X upon a coin, where the emblematic reading which unfolds the sacred doctrine of the Trinity commences.

Thus, to begin with the sacrarium, there is a triple row of windows on the east ; in the presbytery there are three piers on the south side, and the same on the north side ; in the south transept there are three piers or jambs on the east side, and three on the west side ; and three windows at the south end, both vertical and longitudinal. The same triple arrangement prevails in the north transept. If we turn to the choir and ante-choir, west of the central tower, there are presented to us three piers of the primitive Norman character, with intervening arches corresponding, except that the zigzag moulding, which Professor Willis asserts to be of later date, surmounts them. This must have been fatal to the idea that the choir and ante-choir arches were

older than those of the nave westward ; but the Professor stated in his *vivâ voce* description given in the Cathedral, that he succeeded in finding in the treasury an account of the expense incurred in placing those zigzag mouldings over the arches in question ; thus turning what threatened to be a fatal objection into a confirmation of his views ; and the triplex arrangement is complete on the west as well as on the other sides of the tower.

Some particulars may be added which accord with this opinion of Professor Willis, namely, the commencement of the new work by Bishop Eborard with the beautifully adorned cylindrical piers, which may be fairly interpreted to mark that commencement ; again, it is agreed on all hands that Bishop Herbert's palace was erected by him on the north side of the Cathedral. The abuttal of it proves the extent so far of the nave and aisles. Probably the Saxon wall surmounted by Norman work on the west side of the cloisters, and still abutting upon the aisle of the nave, may have stood in the way of the extension of the Cathedral westward, and full possession of the land may not have been obtained when the plan of the building was laid down. As the existence of a Saxon Church prior to the erection of the Cathedral has been regarded by some learned men as a myth, I may remind them that Bishop Herbert was consecrated in the Church of St. Michael, near Tombland, and the boundary wall of that Church, or of Christ Church, may be that identical wall.

Lastly, it may be observed that the addition of two rows, or tiers, of arches to the tower of later Norman work has greatly altered the relative proportions of the central tower with the beautifully emblematic designs on all sides of the Church of the Holy Trinity, and that, if the tower and pitch of the roofs adjoining were reduced to their original height, a building of a graceful form would be the result, although eclipsed by the present noble edifice. On the whole, looking to this triplex arrangement, which can scarcely be regarded as accidental, I am inclined to coincide with the views of Professor Willis, and I do so with all respect to the extraordinary sagacity and research of my old friend, Mr. Harrod, of whom we may justly say, coupled even with such an antagonist as the Jacksonian Professor,

“ Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.”

Since writing the above, Dr. Bensley, after having perused the notices of Professor Willis' remarks on Norwich Cathedral in the *Proceedings* of the Archæological Institute, 1847, the newspaper report thereof, and Mr. Stewart's notes on the Cathedral, from the Professor's memoranda, says that he is unable to find any documentary evidence to prove that the zigzag ornament about the two arches on each side of the triforium, near the organ, was added some years after the arches were built.

These several particulars call for some observations.

First, with respect to Professor Willis' remarks on the Norwich Cathedral, the silence on the subject in the *Proceedings* of the Archæological Institute cannot be a matter of surprise, as it was left to him to give a full account of the Cathedral, which undertaking, to the regret of the members, he never carried out.

Secondly, with respect to the newspaper report, I have to thank Mr. Fitch, such is his marvellous power of arranging his varied and voluminous collection, for furnishing me at once with the following notice in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, September 11th, 1847, of the Professor's address delivered at the Old Library before visiting the Cathedral. "Though this Cathedral was throughout of Norman work, still it was of different dates, as he shewed by the zigzag ornaments in the western parts, while at the eastern, which were the older parts, there was no trace of these ornaments."

I may remark here that it was obviously necessary that these zigzag ornaments should be disposed of before the Professor could maintain, according to his architectural opinions, that the choir and ante-choir arches, which were surmounted with that ornament, formed part of Herbert's building. That he did so consider them is shewn by the ground-plan prefixed to Mr. Stewart's notes, p. 16, vol. xxiii, of the *Archæological Journal*.

In that ground-plan the piers up to Bishop Lyart's screen are dark coloured "as Herbert's work", and those westward have a lighter colour "as Bishop Eborard's work", but no allusion is made by Professor Willis, or by Mr. Stewart, to any documentary evidence in support of that view. This is a matter of surprise to me, seeing that without such evidence, the zigzag ornament must be considered to remain intact, beneath which Herbert's work

could have no place, at least if what the Professor says respecting it be correct.

Now I beg to submit it to, and to crave the opinion of, the members of this Association whether the zigzag moulding does really form a valid ground to decide the date of a building within the short space of time that intervened between the death of Bishop Herbert in 1120, and that of Eborard, about 1150?

On referring to Cotman's splendid and faithful views of the Church of the Holy Trinity at Caen, which is supposed to be a model on which Herbert, in part at least, built the Norwich Cathedral, the zigzag moulding appears in the western doorway; and in the *Glossary of Architecture* it is placed in a page before the billet-moulding, which we all know is among the earliest Norman ornaments; it does not, therefore, appear to me to be conclusive against the early date of the choir and ante-choir arches in this Cathedral, even supposing the documentary evidence alluded to not to be forthcoming.

On considering all the circumstances which attended the building, especially the support, both moral and intellectual, which Herbert received on laying the first stone from the great and the wealthy, and that it was laid among the "flare of trumpets", as the Dean so eloquently described, I am inclined to believe that some other than a pecuniary consideration induced him to stay the work at a given point, which, if he had desired, he could easily have carried further, and that consideration, I humbly submit, might be a design to do honour to the Holy Trinity by offering the homage of beautifully emblematic Trinitarian arrangement of the original building.



— CUP-MARKINGS ON A STONE —
BURLEY MOOR, YORKSHIRE.



ENLARGED PLAN OF GROUP OF CUPS.



SKETCH-PLAN OF STONE.



CUP-MARKINGS ON BURLEY MOOR.

BY C. W. DYMOND, ESQ.

(Read June 2, 1880.)

RAMBLING last summer over Rombalds Moor, in Yorkshire, in quest of objects of antiquarian interest, I found, on that part of it called Burley Moor, a stone marked with a striking group of cups, which I fancy must hitherto have escaped observation. It lies alone, on and near the foot of a steep slope, about a furlong, or less than five minutes' walk, north from the ruins of a small stone-circle which crowns the crest of the pass leading south-south-east from Ilkley to Eldwick, and just one mile and three-quarters from the former place. If approached therefrom, it will be easily found about two hundred yards to the east of the point where the road surmounts the steep, to enter upon the upper plain. The stone is 9 ft. 6 ins. in length, 6 ft. 3 ins. in breadth, and about 2 ft. in thickness; its upper surface dipping a little, with the ground, toward the north. Upon it may be seen a group of small cups, for the most part about half an inch in diameter, which I observed could most easily be executed by one sitting on that part of the stone which is to the north-west of them. Perhaps, therefore, they may be most successfully studied from this side. These are the only artificial marks on the stone.

The accompanying drawings give an outlined sketch-plan of it, which shews the position of the group of cups, and also, on a much larger scale, a separate plan of these, plotted from careful measurements, as such drawings should generally be, but seldom are.

It will be noticed that, while much smaller than most of those found on this moor, they assume the form of a band of coupled cups crossing an irregular and incomplete ring of the same, outside which are two small detached groups of four. The whole design seems to belong to that order of cup-markings (not the most numerous) which appear to be arranged with some regard to regularity; but I have seen no drawings of any which resemble this. In one of the

plates of the late Prof. Sir J. Y. Simpson's treatise on cup and ring marking,¹ there is an illustration of a cluster on one of the Calder Stones, near Liverpool; but there they are equally sprinkled over the whole of an irregularly circular area, and there is no trace of the hollow ring or of the band.

The first impression conveyed to my mind was, that here we may have a rude attempt to pourtray the starry heavens spanned by the galaxy; and that the outlying groups may have been intended to represent two of the constellations—perhaps Orion, and another not so easily identified. Nor have farther reflexion and inquiry yet suggested a better hypothesis. The relative positions of the cups do not appear generally to correspond with those of chief stars in the visible firmament: nor is it likely that these would be thus mapped with any approach to correctness, when observations, unless retained in the memory, must needs be recorded on the stone in the darkness of night. The key to the meaning of this, as well as of all other rock-engravings in the same district, is the more likely to be found as they are studied together; and thus the discovery of one with new characteristics may possibly throw additional light on this obscure subject. Many parallel instances of the widespread use of such devices, particularly in ancient times, have been referred to by Mr. J. R. Allen in his compact and valuable paper on the Ilkley rock-sculptures, published in a recent volume of this *Journal*:² and, indeed, one can hardly open an illustrated book descriptive of the art of a remote past without finding examples of ornament having much resemblance to, if not identity with these, and strongly suggesting that they had a common origin. It may be well to append a list of some which I have incidentally noted, premising that it would be going too far to assert that all these cited examples are certainly to the point. Several of them may be instances of pure unmeaning decoration; and yet some which, regarded separately, might be placed in that category, are associated with others which are not merely, nor even chiefly ornamental. It is therefore well to note anything which looks suggestive, as it is often difficult, and sometimes not yet possible, to distinguish purely decorative art from that which is symbolic or pictorial.

¹ *Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. vi, Appendix.

² Vol. xxxv.

The Suastica.—Dr. Schliemann writes,—“I find in Emile Burnouf’s Sanscrit lexicon, under the name of *suastica*, the meaning εὖ ἐστί, or as the sign of good wishes. This was already regarded, thousands of years before Christ, as a religious symbol of the very greatest importance among the early progenitors of the Aryan races in Bactria, and in the villages of the Oxus.”¹ M. Burnouf farther says that it represents two pieces of wood laid cross-wise one upon another, bent round at the ends, and fastened with four nails, with a hole in the centre through which a wooden lance was put, and on which the frame was rotated in order to produce the holy fire (Agni) before the sacrificial altars.² Dr. Schliemann also records that the *suastica* has been found on a pot-bottom discovered near Königswalde, on the Oder; around the pulpit of St. Ambrose at Milan, and in the catacombs at Rome;³ on a Celtic funereal urn discovered at Shropham, in Norfolk;⁴ and on Corinthian and Attic early vases.⁵ *Suasticas* of simple forms ornament many objects found by the same explorer at Mycenæ; e.g., vases having also geometric patterns:⁶ they assume spiral, and sometimes complex forms, on a great variety of buttons.⁷

Cup-and-ring marks, Concentric rings, Spirals, and Ladder-like appendages.—Spirals with issuing serpents, having some resemblance to the concentric rings with attached ladders, are among the decorations of objects found at Mycenæ:⁸ also concentric rings.⁹ Ornaments similar to the cups and rings are seen on vases from Dali, Cyprus;¹⁰ and with ladder-like bands on others.¹¹ Ladder-patterns may be detected on whorls from Hissarlik.¹² Cup-and-ring-like ornaments are almost the only ones used in the decoration of glass and stone whorl-shaped beads found at Cyprus. They are often scattered irregularly over the accompanying balls. (See antiquities from Dali, in the British Museum.) A *scarabæus*, in the case of engraved stones from Assyria and Baby-

¹ *Troy*, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, p. 104.

³ See also *Roma sotterranea*, fig. 27, p. 230.

⁴ See also A. W. Franks’ *Horæ feræles*, Pl. xxx, fig. 19.

⁵ *Troy*, pp. 102, 103.

⁶ *Mycenæ*, pp. 66, 67, 77, 159.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 422, p. 265; Nos. 507, 509, 511, 512, p. 326; Nos. 383, 385, p. 259.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. viii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. xi.

¹⁰ M. di Cesnola’s *Cyprus*, Pl. II, and figs. 10 and 11, p. 402.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 28, p. 408. See, too, *Archæologia*, vol. 45, Part 1, Plate x, p. 130; Plate xi, fig. 2, p. 132; Plate xii, fig. 4, p. 133.

¹² *Troy*, Plate xxxiii, No. 400; Plate xlii, No. 453.

lonia, in the British Museum, is covered with similar ornaments, called *annulets*: likewise many other relics from Assyria and Egypt. On the staircase of Ruanwelli dagoba, India (161-137 B.C.), are two courses ornamented with concentric rings (called by Mr. Fergusson *pateræ*) alternating with elephants' heads: and a *suastica* is cut on one of the *stela*.¹ Worsaae says that concentric-ring-ornaments are among those used in the bronze period, especially on trumpets, shields, etc.; also on gold articles discovered in Ireland.² Dr. Keller gives drawings of pins found in the Swiss lake-dwellings, the large heads of which are similarly covered with repeated patterns of the same kind, connected by bands of parallel lines:³ also spindle-whorls solely ornamented with the same ring-pattern;⁴ and a dish highly decorated with groups of concentric rings.⁵ A Roman sepulchral tablet found at Birrens, Annandale, Scotland, has a cup surrounded by two concentric rings cut in each of the two lower corners.⁶ And, finally, a small central ring in two larger concentric ones is placed at the intersection of the arms of a cross on a sepulchral slab found at St. Peter's, Jersey.⁷ Dr. Schliemann understands the circle-surrounded dots or cups to represent suns: when only semicircular, as at the rim of a flat whorl, or other convex surface, he calls them rising suns.

Cup-marks.—Among the relics found at Hissarlik by Dr. Schliemann was a pot-lid ornamented, as it were, with cup-like indentations; and two vases covered with dots.⁸ There were likewise found a whorl with dotted rings, which M. Burnouf attempts to explain as relating to the astronomical calendar;⁹ two terra-cotta balls ornamented with indented dots which Dr. Schliemann thinks are intended for stars;¹⁰ and another ball similarly marked "representing the starry heavens."¹¹ For other whorls thus characterised, see references below.¹² But, most curious of all is a terra-cotta ball representing, as Dr. S. thinks, the celestial sphere

¹ *Hist of Ind. and Eastern Arch.*, p. 190. ² *Primeval Antiquities*, p. 40.

³ *Lake-dwellings*, Pl. xxxiv. ⁴ *Ibid.*, Plate xxxvii. ⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. xcv.

⁶ *Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 400.

⁷ *Cutts' Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, Pl. viii.

⁸ *Troy*, pp. 310, 311.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. xxxii, No. 391.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. lii, No. 498.

¹² *Ibid.*, Pl. xxxviii, No. 429; Pl. xlii, No. 454; Pl. xliii, No. 456; Pl. l, No. 491.

marked with zones, the ecliptic, etc., and dotted with stars.¹ Among the objects found by Dr. Keller in lake-dwellings were three stones, with cups cut in their surfaces, some of them connected by grooves.²

I notice a slight error in one of Mr. Allen's otherwise generally accurate drawings, to which attention should perhaps be pointed, on the ground that, in archæology, as in other matters, apparent trifles are sometimes pregnant with important results. The *suastica* on the Addingham Crag stone, looking N., is reversed, the attendant cup-and-ring, with ligature, being shewn on the hither side of the left arm, instead of on the farther side of the right arm, as they should be.

¹ *Troy*, Pl. xlix, No. 486.

² *Lake-dwellings*, Pl. xxxix.

THE ANCIENT COINS OF NORWICH.

BY HENRY W. HENFREY, ESQ., MEMB. NUMISMATIC SOC. LONDON,
HON. MEMB. OF THE ROYAL BELGIAN AND THE
AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETIES.

(Read August 1879.)

(Continued from p. 315.)

WILLIAM I (14th October 1066 to 9th September 1087), and WILLIAM II (1087 to 1100).—These Norman kings continued the coinage upon exactly the same principles as their Anglo-Saxon predecessors, striking silver pennies of the same weight and fineness, which were also very similar in type and execution. The pennies of William I and II have been divided by Mr. Hawkins into eighteen different types; but, from the absence of numerals after the king's name, or any other distinguishing mark, no one has hitherto been able to decide with certainty which types belong to the first William, and which to the second king of that name. These eighteen types, however, fall into three classes:—*first*, the *earliest* types (Nos. 1 to 5), which are generally ascribed to William I; *second*, the *intermediate* types (Nos. 6 to 11), which may belong to either William I or II; *third*, the *latest* types (Nos. 12 to 18), which were probably all coined by William II. Coins of all three classes were struck at the Norwich mint. The pennies of the two Williams ought to weigh $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains each, but they are generally only found to weigh 21 grains, even those which are not worn in the least. The fineness of the silver is what is called the "old standard", viz. : 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine to 18 dwts. of alloy; similar to that which was used for the Anglo-Saxon coins, as also for all the subsequent coinages down to and including that of Edward IV, when the Norwich mint ceased to work.

Earliest Types.—Type 1, like *Hawkins*, fig. 233 : *Obverse*, King's bust in profile to the left, crowned, and with sceptre before the face; no inner circle. Legend, + PILLEMVS (for WILLELMVS¹) REX. *Reverse*, a cross fleurée

¹ The Saxon P for W is used throughout on the coins of William I and II, also the Saxon D for th.

within a beaded inner circle. Legend, + EADPINE ON NOR. British Museum. See Plate II, No. 1.

Type 2, like *Hawkins*, fig. 234: *Obv.*, full-face bust wearing a large two-arched crown, from which hang two tassels at each side of the head (from the form of this crown the type has acquired the name of the "bonnet type"); no inner circle. Legend, + PILLEMV REX. *Rev.*, a double cross with crescents at the ends of the limbs, an annulet in the centre, and four pyramids with pellets at the ends in the angles; all within a beaded inner circle. Legends as follow: + ÆDPINE ON NORÐ, B. M.; EADPINE ON NORÐ, B. M.; and one similar was found at York in 1844;¹ LIOFOLD ON NOR, found at York in 1844.

Type 5, like *Hawkins*, fig. 237: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned, with a sceptre at each side; all within an inner circle. Legend, + PILLEM REX ANGLII. *Rev.*, a cross fleurée with four sceptres saltirewise in the angles; all within beaded inner circle. Legend, + GODRIC ON NORÐP, B. M.

Intermediate Types.—Type 6, like *Hawkins*, fig. 238: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned, with a pierced mullet, or five-pointed star, each side; all within inner circle. Legend, + PILLEM REX ANI OR ANII. *Rev.*, a nearly square compartment placed over a cross, with pellets at the ends of the cross and at the corners of the square; all within an inner circle. Legends: + IEGLRIC (for ÆGLRIC) O NORPI, EDPOLD O NORÐI, GODRVCI O NOÐRI, GODRVCI O NORÐPI, all four in the B. M.

Type 7, like *Hawkins*, fig. 239: *Obv.*, bust in profile to the right, crowned, and holding sceptre in front of face; inner circle three parts round. Legend, + PILLELM REX. *Rev.*, a plain cross with a trefoil in each angle; all within inner circle. Legend, + GODRIC O NORÐP, B. M., from the great find of coins at Beaworth in Hampshire, 1833, described by Mr. Hawkins in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi.

Type 9, like *Hawkins*, fig. 241: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned, a single row of pearls in the crown; with his right arm, which is shewn in front of him, the King holds a sceptre; inner circle three-quarters of the way round. Legend, + PILLELM REX. *Rev.*, a plain cross with the four letters P, A, X, S, in the angles, each within a ring; inner circle around all. Legends, each with a small cross patée at the commencement, as follow: EDPOLD O NORÐP,² B. M. and E. A. Tillett, Esq., Norwich; EDPOLD O NORÐPI, B. M.; EDPOLD O NORÐP, B. M.; GODRIC O NORÐPIC, B. M. and E. A. Tillett; GODRIC BR... O NOÐP, B. M.; GODRID O NORÐP, B. M.; GODPINE O NORÐ, B. M.; GODPINE O NORÐI, B. M.; GODPINE O NORÐP, B. M.; GODPINE O NORÐPI, B. M.; HOPORD O NORÐP, B. M.; HOPORD O NORÐPI, B. M.; HOPORD O NOÐPI, B. M.; VLFCITEL O NORÐ, B. M. and E. A. Tillett; VLFCITEL O NORÐP, B. M.; VLFCITL O NORÐPI, B. M.; VLCITEL O NORÐPI, B. M. All those marked B. M. came to the Museum from the Beaworth find.

Type 10, like *Hawkins*, fig. 242. This type only differs from type 9 in the shape of the crown on the obverse. It is here formed of double straight lines without any row of pearls. Moneyers' names: EDPOLD O NORÐP, found at Tamworth, 1877;³ GODPINE O NORÐP, B. M., from Beaworth find; INHVHE O NOÐPIC, B. M., from Beaworth find. See Plate II, No. 2.

¹ Vide *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. viii, p. 123.

² On these and many other coins the N is not doubled, the same N serving for the last letter of ON and the first of NORTHWIC.

³ Vide *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. xvii, p. 344.

Latest Types.—Type 12, like *Hawkins*, fig. 244: *Obv.*, bust of the King in profile to the right, crowned, and holding up a sword in front of his face; inner circle three-quarters round. Legend, + PILLELM REX I (this is the first stroke of A, not the numeral 1). *Rev.*, a plain cross over a cross saltire fleuree, within inner circle. Legend, + ÆGL[R]IC O NORÐPI. This coin is from the Tamworth find, 1877, now in the British Museum.

Type 14, like *Hawkins*, fig. 246: *Obv.*, full-face bust, crowned, holding sword in right hand; inner circle three-quarters round. Legend, + PILLELM REX. *Rev.*, a plain cross inside a tressure or compartment shaped like a quatrefoil; all within inner circle. Legends: + ÆGLRIC O NORÐP, B. M., from Tamworth find; ÆGLRIC ON NORÐP, J. Evans, Esq., from the find at Shillington, Beds., April 1871; EDPOLD O NOR, Tamworth find; GODPINE ON NORÐP, Tamworth find. In the collection of coins at the Royal Mint, London, is another penny of this type, from the Tamworth find, reading on the reverse, + . . . TER O NOR; but the first two or three letters of the moneyer's name are illegible.

Type 17, like *Hawkins*, fig. 249: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned, but no sword or sceptre; inner circle three-quarters round. Legend, + PILLELM REL. *Rev.*, a cross saltire, with rings at the ends, over a plain double cross; all within inner circle. Legend, + IICERI O NOCÐPIC. In the British Museum. (See Plate II, No. 3.) The moneyer's name is blundered. What it really stands for I do not know; perhaps ÆGLRIC. Another penny of this type, reading on reverse, IILFRI O NORÐPIC, is engraved in Ruding (*Silver Coins*, Plate I, No. 8), but I do not know where the original coin is preserved.

Type 18, like *Hawkins*, fig. 250: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned, with a star inside a circle each side of the King's face; an inner circle three-quarters round. Legend, + PILLELM RE. *Rev.*, crosses, etc., similar to type 17. Legend, + . . . FORD (probably for HOPORD) O NORÐI, B. M.

The following is a list of the Norwich moneyers of William I and II. All of them are new names except two, *Eadwine* and *Godwine*, which are both found on a late type of Edward the Confessor (type I), so it is probable that at least these two moneyers continued to work at the Norwich mint after the change of dynasty. It is curious to observe that this mint, although clearly a most important one, is not mentioned at all in the celebrated Domesday survey.

Æglric
Eadwine or *Ædwine*

Edwold

Godric

Godric Br... This apparently double name occurs on one coin; but the last letter is imperfectly struck, and illegible

Godrid

Godruici; perhaps only another form of *Godric*

Godwine

Howord

Inkuhe

Liofold; probably for *Liofwold*

Ulfceitl; also spelled on a few coins

Ulfceitl and *Ulfceitl*

HENRY I, 1100-1135.—The coins of this king were also silver pennies only, which should be of the same standard

weight and fineness as those of William I and II, but they do not actually always conform to these conditions. The Norwich pennies, although rare, are very various in type, as will be seen from the following list.

Type 2, fig. 252, of *Hawkins*: *Obv.*, full-face bust, crowned and mantled, with brooch on right shoulder; no inner circle. Legend, + HENRI REX. *Rev.*, a tressure, of four curved and four angular sides, enclosing an annulet; all within beaded inner circle. Legend, + ALDENA ON NO... B. M.

Type 3, fig. 253, of *Hawkins*: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned and mantled; no inner circle. Legend, + HENRI REX EL. *Rev.*, the word PAX across the centre, between beaded lines; two annulets above and two below; all within beaded inner circle. Legend, +.... CR O NORPIC, B. M. Hawkins' figure is engraved from this same coin, but not quite accurately in the reverse legend.

Type 6, fig. 255, of *Hawkins*: *Obv.*, King's bust either full-face or slightly turned to the left, crowned, and holding sceptre in right hand; inner circle three-quarters round. Legend, HENRICVS (sometimes followed by R for REX). *Rev.*, a nearly square tressure of four sides, fleurée at the corners, upon a cross fleurée, a pellet in each compartment; all within beaded inner circle. Legends various, but each beginning with a small cross: AILPI: (for AILWI) ON: NORP, B. M. (five coins of this moneyer were in the hoard found near Watford, Herts., in 1818);¹ another with A..... ON NORP, B. M., probably the same moneyer; BALD.... ON NOR, one in Watford find; COL: ON: [NO]RWIC, B. M. (see Plate II, No. 4; also engraved, but not quite correctly, in Ruding, *Silver Coins*, Plate II, No. 6); EDWIN..... NOR..., poor specimen, in B. M.; EDWINEIC: (for EDWINE ON NORWIC), fair specimen, in B. M.; two coins reading EDWINE... NOR... IC were in the Watford find, 1818; OTER: ONRPIC, two in Watford find; SVS . MAN ON NORP, three in Watford find; s..... NORP (probably the same as the preceding), Mr. Evans, from Watford find; ...VNSMAN ON NOR (the first letter illegible, but I have no doubt the name was SVNSMAN), one coin in Watford find. This is, as will be seen, the commonest type of Henry's pennies.

Type 8. Hawkins engraves (fig. 257) a coin of this type in the British Museum, which at first sight appears to be a penny of Norwich; but as the reverse reads WVLFRIC ON SNOR, with apparently an s before NOR, I am inclined to consider it as a coin of Nottingham; in those days named *Snotingham*.

Type 15, fig. 262, of *Hawkins*: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned, holding sceptre in right hand; on the other side of the neck a cross formed of four pellets; beaded inner circle partly round. Legend, +HENRICVS R: *Rev.*, large quatrefoil enclosing a cross formed of pellets, with a star in the centre, four fleurs-de-lis outside in the angles; all within beaded inner circle. Legend, +.... IFNE: (perhaps STIFNE) ON: NOR.... This penny was in the hoard found at Watford, 1818.²

It is very difficult to give a list of the Norwich moneyers in this reign, as most of the coins are badly and imperfectly

¹ See *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii, p. 147.

² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

struck. Only one name (*Edwine*) occurs which is apparently the same as any on William I or II's pennies. Henry I's moneyers are:—*Ailwi*; *Aldena*; *Bald...* (only part of the name legible); *Col*; *Edwine*; *Oter*; *Sunsman* (also spelled *Sus...man*); *Stifne* (probably, but only the last four letters, *...ifne*, are legible on the coin). There is also another imperfect name, ending in *...er*, which I am unable to complete.

STEPHEN, 1135-1154.—Stephen's pennies are nearly always of good silver, but generally below the standard weight of $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains. They are rudely engraved and imperfectly struck, but the various types are numerous. Those of Norwich are as follows:—

Type 1, fig. 268, of *Hawkins*: *Obv.*, King's bust, full-face, or nearly so, crowned, with sceptre in right hand; no inner circle. Legend, +STIEFN RE. *Rev.*, a double cross with pellets on the ends, and one on the centre, enclosed in a tressure ornamented with four fleurs-de-lis in the angles of the cross; all within a beaded inner circle. Legends: +ALFRI... ON: NOR; +HILD... ON NOR; +THOR... ON: NORV... All three pennies are in the British Museum.

Type 2, fig. 269, of *Hawkins*: *Obv.*, full-face bust and sceptre, as on type 1. Legend, +STEFNE. *Rev.*, a double cross with rows of three pellets at the ends, a pierced mullet or star in each angle; all within inner circle. Legends: +ETSTA[N: O]N: NOR; +HERMER: ON: NOR: Both these coins are in the British Museum. The latter is engraved in Ruding, *Silver Coins*, Plate I, No. 18.

Type 3, fig. 270, of *Hawkins*: *Obv.*, bust, crowned, in profile to the right, holding sceptre in right hand, and before face; inner circle partly round. Legend, +STIEFNE or STIFNE R, RE, or REX. *Rev.*, a cross within a tressure of eight curves, with fleurs-de-lis in the angles of the cross; all within beaded inner circle. Legends, each with a small cross at commencement, as follows: ÆDSTAN: ON NOR... Watford find, 1818;¹ ÆLSTAN O NORP: (obverse legend, STIER...), B. M.; AILWI ON NO... IC, Watford find; AL... N NORP, Watford find; ER... NOR... (moneys name, perhaps, ERMER), B. M.; ETSTAN: ON: NORP: Watford find; ETREI ON: [NO]RPIC: Watford find; OTERCHE ON: NORPI: Watford find; .PE. MAS: ON: NOR, in a hoard found near Dartford, Kent, in 1826;² S... N... A... NOR (probably for SVNFMAN ON NOR), Watford find; SVNFMAN [ON NOR], only the first word legible, Watford find; ...ILMV... N NO... Watford find (the first letter of the moneyer's name wanting, but it was probably PILMVS for WILLELMVS). This is the commonest type of Stephen's coins.

Type 15, fig. 276, of *Hawkins*: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned, but without sceptre; a beaded inner circle three quarters round. Legend, +SIEFN... *Rev.*, a cross with four fleurs-de-lis in the angles; all within inner circle. Legend, +PILLEMI: ON: NOR: B. M. See Plate II, No. 5.

¹ See *Numismatic Chronicle*, xii, p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, xiii, p. 187.

During this reign the Saxon *p* was still used for the more modern form *w*, as will be seen above in the words *NORPIC* for *NORWIC*, and *PILLEM* for *WILLELMVS*, William. The names of the Norwich moneyers under Stephen were:—

Ædstan, *Etstan*, and *Ælstan*; probably different forms of one name,
Æthelstan
Ailwi or *Alwi*, who also coined for
 Henry I
Alfri(c)
Elrei
Hermer

Hild...; name imperfect on the coins
Oterche; spelled *Oter* only on a coin
 of Henry I
Pe. Mas., apparently abbreviated words
Sunfman; no doubt the same as
 Henry I's *Sunsman*
Thor...; name imperfect
Willemus, or *Willelm*.

HENRY II, 1154-1189.—In this reign the number of different types was reduced, and only two chief coinages of various design were issued, the first comprising the coins struck about the year 1156 and before 1180, and the second those struck in and after the year 1180. The only denomination issued continued to be the silver penny, and Norwich pennies were made of each coinage.

First issue, before 1180, like *Hawkins*, fig. 285: *Obv.*, full-face bust crowned, holding sceptre in right hand; no inner circle. Legend, *HENRI REX ANGL*, or the same words more abbreviated. *Rev.*, cross potent with four small crosses in the angles; all within beaded inner circle. Legends, each with small cross at commencement: *AGELHAN ON NORW*, Tealby find;¹ *ENGELHAN ON NOR*... B. M.; *GILEBERT: ON: NOR*, Tealby and B. M.; *GILEBERT: ON: NORW*, Tealby and B. M. (Pl. II, No. 6); *HERBERT: ON: NO*... B. M.; *HERBERT ON NORPI*, Tealby, B. M. and Royal Mint; *HERBERT: ON: NORVI*, Tealby; *HEREBER[T]: ON: NOR*: Tealby and B. M.; *HVE: ON: NOREVIC*, B. M.; *HW. [ON]. NORWI*, Tealby and B. M.; *HWE: ON: NOREWIC*, Tealby; *NIC*... *ON: NORW*, Tealby and B. M.; *NIC*... *[ON: NO]REW*, B. M.; *REIN*... (for *REINALD*)... *[ON]. NOR*, Tealby, B. M.; *RICARD [ON] NOREV*, Tealby, B. M.; *RICAR[D]: ON: NOREC*, Tealby; *PICOT* (for *WICOT*) *ON: NOR*: Tealby, B. M., and Ampthill find;² *PICOT. ON. NOREV*, Tealby, B. M., and Ampthill find; *PICOT. ON: NORWI*, Tealby; *W[IL]LELM: ON: NO*, Tealby, B. M.; *[WILLE]M: ON: NO*, Royal Mint, London; *W... LLEL*... *[ON] N*... B. M.; *WILLEL[M. ON] N[OR]W*, Tealby. All the pennies of this coinage are very imperfectly struck, even those pieces which were found put away quite fresh from the mint. I have enclosed in brackets the letters which cannot be seen on many of the coins, but which one is able to supply from other specimens.

Second issue, 1180-89. Class I of the "Short-cross" pennies,³ like *Hawkins*' fig. 636. Before describing this coinage it is necessary to point out

¹ At Tealby in Lincolnshire, in 1807, were found 5,700 pennies of this issue, all fresh as from the mint. They are described in the *Archæologia*, xviii, p. 5.

² Several pennies of this coinage, found in a hollow stone at Ampthill, Beds., in 1839, were presented to the Numismatic Society by General C. R. Fox. See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. ii, p. 234.

³ See Mr. Evans's paper in *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., v, and Plate XI, fig. 1.

that (as has been pretty clearly established by Mr. Evans) in the year 1180 was commenced the issue of a uniform type of coin, called by collectors "short-cross pennies", bearing on the obverse a full-face bust with the name HENRICVS REX, and on the reverse a short double cross within an inner circle. This same type was continued with but very slight variations (still retaining the name of Henry on the obverse, and the short cross on the reverse) through the reigns of Richard I, John, and part of that of Henry III, up to the year 1247 or 1248, when the short-cross type was discontinued, and a long double cross took its place. The short-cross pennies have been arranged by Mr. Evans in five classes, which are chiefly distinguished by slight variations in the delineation of the King's bust. Class I he considers to be the second coinage of Henry II. The Norwich pennies of Class I bear, *obverse*, full-face bust crowned, within inner circle; hand holding sceptre outside of the circle. There are five pearls in the crown, and usually two curls on the right, and five on the left side of the King's face. Legend, HENRICVS REX. *Rev.*, a short double cross pommée (that is, with balls on the ends), with a similar single cross in each angle; all within a beaded inner circle. Legends: +REINALD. ON. NOR, B. M. and Mr. Evans; +WILLELM. ON. NOR, Mr. Evans. The pennies of Class I are large, well spread coins of fair workmanship, though in but slight relief.

The Norwich moneyers of Henry II were as follows:—*Agelhan* or *Engelhan*, *Gilebert*, *Herbert*, *Hue*, *Nic(ol)*, *Reinald*, *Ricard*, *Wicot*, and *Willelm*. All of these names (except Reinald and Willelm. which are found on both issues) occur only on this king's first coinage. Willelm also coined here under Stephen.

RICHARD I, 1189-1199.—To this king are now assigned, on both documentary and numismatic evidence, many of the short-cross pennies, although they still bear the name of "*Henricus*." That the privilege of coinage was carried on at Norwich during the reign of Richard I can scarcely be doubted, for we find the moneyers there mentioned, and special exemptions made concerning them, in the charter which this king granted to the city in his sixth year, 1194.¹ But as there are no English coins extant bearing the name of either Richard I or John, it is now believed that the type of Henry II's second coinage was continued during these reigns without altering the king's name. Therefore, according to Mr. Evans's classification, the following Norwich pennies belong to Richard I:—

Class II of short cross pennies.² Coins rather smaller in size than class I, and the workmanship coarser. *Obv.*, bust full face, as on Class I;

¹ See *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 199, and Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, ii, p. 26.

² *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. v, Plate xi, No. 2, and *Hawkins*, fig. 637.





the eyes sometimes represented by annulets, sometimes by pellets; the beard sometimes by pellets, sometimes by small crescents; there are usually more than five pearls in the crown, or frequently a mere beaded line instead; the number of curls varies from four or five on a side down to one, the number on each side of the face being generally equal. The inner circle and hand with the sceptre are similar to Class I. Legend, HENRICVS REX. *Rev.* exactly similar to Class I. Legends: + IOHAN. ON NORW; + REINAUD. ON. NO; + WILLELM. ON. NOR; all three in the British Museum. Mr. Evans mentions another moneyer of this class, GIFFRI; but I do not know where the coin itself is.

The Norwich moneyers of Richard I were therefore—*Giffri, Johan, Reinaud, and Willelm.* The two latter also coined for Henry II.

JOHN, 1199-1216.—To John are assigned by Mr. Evans both Classes III and IV of the short-cross pennies, with the name HENRICVS, for the reasons alluded to above. It is also evident that there was a mint at Norwich in this reign, for there exists documentary evidence in proof of the fact. By a writ which bore date the ninth year of king John, 1208, the moneyers, examiners of money, and keepers of the dies of this and fifteen other mints, were commanded, immediately upon sight of the writ directed to them, to seal up their dies with their own seals, and to appear with them at Westminster on the quinzies of St. Denys, to receive there the king's commands; and to summon all the workers of money in their city, and those who were skilled in the art of making money, to be there at the same time.¹ Those pennies which were struck at Norwich and are assigned to John are as follows:—

Class III of short-cross pennies. These are smaller coins, of neat workmanship, and in good relief. *Obv.*, full face bust as before, within inner circle. It is a long face with a beard formed by straight strokes; there are two curls on each side enclosing pellets or dots, and usually five pearls in the crown. Hand, sceptre, and legend, as on Classes I and II. *Rev.* exactly similar to Class I. Most of the pennies of this type have the moneyer's name preceded by an ordinary small cross; but a few have a cross pommée instead. The various legends are as follow, with ordinary cross: GIFREI. ON. NOR, B. M. and Mr. Evans' cabinet; GIFREI. ON. NORW, B. M.; GIFREI. ON. NOR, B. M., Mr. Evans, and Mr. E. A. Tillett, Norwich; GIEFREI. ON. NOR, Evans; GIEFEREI. ON. NOR, B. M.; IOHAN. ON. NOR, Mr. Evans and Mr. Tillett; IOHAN. ON. NOR, Evans; REINAUD. ON. NOR, B. M., Evans, Tillett, and H. W. Henfrey (see Plate ii, No. 7). With cross pommée: IOHAN. ON. NORW, B. M. and Evans; RENALD. ON. NOR, B. M. and Evans.

Class IV of short-cross pennies.² The coins of this class are almost

¹ *Ruding*, i, p. 179. ² *Numismatic Chron.*, N. S., v, Plate xi, figs. 3, 5.
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exactly similar to Class III, the only difference being that, instead of two curls only, they have *three* curls on one or both sides of the face. The reverse legends, each commencing with an ordinary cross, are—GIFREI . ON . NOR, Evans ; IOHAN . ON . NOR, Evans ; IOHAN . ON . NOR, B. M. and Evans ; RENAUD . ON . NO, B. M. and Evans.

The Norwich moneyers in the reign of John were—*Gifrei* (also spelled *Giefrei* and *Gieferei*), *Johan*, and *Renaud* or *Renald*. The same three moneyers also coined here under Richard I, but one of Richard's Norwich moneyers, *Willelm*, does not appear again on John's coins. Before leaving this subject it will be advisable to point out that there are many of the short-cross pennies also reading "ON . NOR." which were not coined at Norwich but at *Northampton*. They may, however, be distinguished by the different moneyers' names, the Norwich ones being only those given in the above lists ; while the Northampton moneyers were rather more numerous, and all bore names different from those of Norwich. I may also observe that most of the short-cross pennies described above are from the large hoard of those coins found at Eccles, near Manchester, in 1864, which contained 105 pennies of the Norwich and Northampton mints.

HENRY III, 1216-1272.—There is a fifth Class of the short-cross pennies which is considered to be the first coinage of Henry III, issued during the years previous to 1247 (1216-1247) ; but I have never met with any Norwich coins of this fifth class ; so that I pass at once to the—

Second coinage with *long* cross, probably issued in 1248. This coinage also consisted solely of silver pennies. Those of Norwich bear, *obv.*, King's head, full face, bearded and crowned, within beaded inner circle. No sceptre. A star over the King's head, at the commencement of the legend, which is HENRICVS REX III'. *Rev.*, a *long* double cross extending nearly to the edge of the coin, and dividing the legend, having a pellet in the centre, and one on the end of each of the limbs of the cross ; three balls or pellets in each angle, within beaded inner circle. Legends : HVGE ON NORWIZ, B. M., Mr. Evans, Mr. Tillett, and one was in the hoard found on Tower Hill in March 1868 ;¹ HVE ON NORWIC, Mr. Tillett ; IACOB ON NORW, B. M. (see Plate II, No. 8) ; IACOB ON NORWI, Mr. Evans (two specimens were in the Tower Hill hoard) ; ION ON NORWE, B. M. ; ION ON NORWIZ, B. M., Mr. Evans, Mr. Tillett, Tower Hill hoard ; ION ON NORTHWIZ, B. M. ; PHILIP ON NORR, B. M. ; WILLEM ON NORW, B. M., Tower Hill hoard. In nearly all these reverse inscriptions some of the letters are linked in monograms, so as to get in more letters in the limited space.

¹ Described by Mr. Evans in *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S., vol. ix, p. 255.

The Norwich moneyers of Henry III all bear names different from those in the reign of John (unless we may suppose that ION here is a contracted form of IOHAN). The names found on Henry's second coinage are :—*Huge* and *Huue* (both probably forms of the same name *Hugh*); *Jacob*; *Ion*; *Philip*; and *Willem*. These are the only coins on which the name of the city is spelled with z, thus, NORWIZ.

EDWARD I TO EDWARD IV, 1272-1461.—Between the reigns of Henry III and Edward IV, and for a period of nearly two hundred years, the Norwich mint appears to have been idle. I have not been able to discover any coins, either of gold or silver, which could have been struck at Norwich between these two dates.

EDWARD IV, 1461-70 and 1471-83.—The first (and only) gold coins ever made at the Norwich mint were struck in the fifth year of Edward IV, 1465. They were denominated *nobles* and *half-nobles*, or, sometimes, *rials* and *half-rials*, the name *rial* being only an ancient form of the word *royal*. Both pieces, although thinner than modern coins, are very beautiful examples of medieval coinage; the designs are rich, and they were struck in nearly pure gold, the standard being 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains of fine gold to half a grain of alloy, or in the proportion of 1 part alloy out of 192.

The *noble* weighed 120 grains Troy, and was current in this reign for ten shillings. On the *obverse* is a figure of the King crowned and in armour, standing in a ship, with a sword in his right hand, and on his left arm a shield bearing the quartered arms of France and England. There is a square flag in the stern bearing the letter E (for Edward). On the side of the ship is a full blown rose, and underneath it, on the waves, is the letter \mathfrak{N} (Lombardic N) for Norwich. Legend, EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANG. Z. FRNC. DNS. IB. (for *Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ Dominus Hiberniæ*). Rev., a tressure of eight curves with a beaded interior, and with trefoils in the outward angles, enclosing a large sun of sixteen rays with a rose in its centre,—*rose en soleil*, the King's badge, a rose over a sun. Four floriated ornaments are around, in the position of the four ends of a cross, each with a fleur-de-lis over it. These ornaments alternate with four lions, each under a crown. Legend, + IHC. AVT. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIVM. ILLORVM. IBAT (*Ihesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*, from Luke iv, 30). A mint-mark of a sun before IHC. There are beaded inner circles within the legends on both sides. (See Plate II, No. 9.) This Norwich noble is very rare. The specimen from which the illustration is taken is in the British Museum. Another is in the choice cabinet of Mr. Evans.

The *half-noble* is similar in type to the noble, also having an N on the waves on the obverse. The legends are : *obv.*, EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX.

ANGL. Z. FRANC.; *rev.*, DOMINE. NE. IN. FVRORE. TVO. ARGVAS. ME (from Psalm vi, 1). Mint-mark, a rose before DOMINE (British Museum). The full weight of the half-noble was 60 grains, and it was current for five shillings. Both the noble and half-noble have small trefoils between the words of the legends. The half-noble is, I believe, even rarer than the noble.

With regard to the devices on these gold coins it is worthy of remark that the type of the obverse (the king standing in a ship, fully armed) is obviously intended to typify sovereignty, and also the English supremacy of the sea; or, as an ancient couplet puts it—

“Foure things our Noble sheweth unto me,—
King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea.”

The reverse type of the rose and sun is the well known Yorkist badge of the rose and sun, which is said to have been adopted by Edward IV soon after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, in commemoration of an extraordinary appearance in the heavens which was seen immediately before that battle, 2nd February 1461, when “three suns were seen, which shone for a time, and then were suddenly conjoined in one.” This kind of phenomenon is familiar to astronomers under the name of *parhelia*.

Turning now to the silver coins of Edward we do not find any Norwich pieces of his early or *heavy* coinage, which weighs at the rate of 15 grains to the penny. But of his *light coinage*, commenced in his fourth year, 1464, when the weight of the silver coins was reduced to 12 grains to the penny, there are some groats (or pieces of four pence in value) struck at Norwich. The standard fineness of this coinage was the same as that of William I's coins, and the full weight of the groat was 48 grains troy.

The *light groats* of Norwich bear, *obv.*, bust of the King full face, crowned, within a tressure of nine arches, and a beaded inner circle. The letter **Ɔ** (for Norwich) on the King's breast, and a quatrefoil each side of the neck. Legend, + EDWARD' DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC'. *Rev.*, a large cross with three pellets in each angle. Legend in two circles. In the inner one, CIVITAS NORWIC'; in the outer one, POSVI DEVM ADIVTORE' MEVM (*Posui Deum adiutorem meum*, “I have made God my helper”). This groat has a trefoil after CIVITAS. *Obv.*, mint-mark, a sun; *rev.*, a rose, (British Museum). See Plate II, No. 10. A second variety, also reading NORWIC', but without a trefoil after CIVITAS, has a sun mint-mark on each side (B. M., Norwich Museum, etc.). A third variety reads NORWIC', has no trefoil after CIVITAS, and the mint-mark apparently a sun on each side (B. M.). Mr. E. A. Tillett, of Norwich, has a specimen of

this third variety with the sun mint-mark plainly on both sides. A fourth, also in the British Museum, reading NORVIC, and without trefoil, has *rev.*, mint-mark a sun; and *obv.*, mint mark, a rose (seemingly, but it is not quite clear). All are very rare except the second variety. Norwich half-groats, or any smaller coins of this issue, are at present unknown to collectors, although a half-groat has been engraved by *Snelling*, Plate II, fig. 38, and *Ruding*, Supplement, Plate III, No. 15.

With the conclusion of the reign of Edward IV the king's mint at Norwich ceased to work; and the subject of this paper, the ancient coins of Norwich, properly comes to an end. However, for the sake of completeness, I have added a brief description of the only other royal coins ever struck in this city, viz.: the silver half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences which were made here during the brief revival of the mint in the years 1696, 1697, in the reign of

WILLIAM III.—At the great re-coinage in 1696-7, when all the money made by the old *hammered* process was finally called in, Norwich was chosen as one of the five country mints which were set up, in addition to the chief one at the Tower of London, in order to expedite the re-coinage, and to facilitate the distribution over the kingdom of the new money. A large number of silver half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences were accordingly coined in this city; and may be readily distinguished by the presence of the letter "N" below the king's bust on the obverse.

The half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, are of course of different sizes, but all of the following type: *Obv.*, bust of the King to the right, in Roman armour and drapery, and with a laurel-wreath round his head. The letter N, for Norwich, below the bust. Legend, GVLIELMVS. III. DEI. GRA. *Rev.*, four shields arranged in the form of a cross, and each crowned. The uppermost shield bears the arms of England; the lower one, those of France; on the right is Scotland, with Ireland on the left. The arms of Nassau in the centre of the coin. Legend, MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. 1696 (or 1697). The half-crowns of 1696 have the following inscription on the edge, DECVS. ET. TVTAMEN. ANNO. REGNI. OCTAVO. Some of the half-crowns of 1697 have exactly the same on the edge, but others have the word NONO in place of OCTAVO. There are shillings and sixpences of both dates, 1696 and 1697; but these two smaller coins have their edges milled with oblique lines. See engravings in *Ruding*, Plate xxxvi, Nos. 12, 17, 22. Weights of the half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, 232 $\frac{1}{4}$, 92 $\frac{3}{4}$, and 46 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains respectively; and made of standard silver as at present coined.

With regard to what amount of these new coins was struck at Norwich, I have met with three different statements. Blomefield in his *History of Norfolk*, 1806, vol. iii,

p. 426, says that the amount coined at Norwich in 1696-7 was £259,371. Folkes, in his *Table of English Silver Coins*, p. 124, says that the quantity coined at this mint was 83,040 lbs. weight. But what seems to me by far the most trustworthy account is to be found in a manuscript preserved in the British Museum (*Lansdowne MS.* 801), entitled "Hopton Haynes's Memoirs of the Coinages of 1696-1699"; written in the year 1700. The writer gives a most complete and circumstantial history of the great re-coinage of William III, and from it I extract the following details regarding the Norwich mint. The amount of old hammered money, wrought plate, and bullion coined at this mint was—in weight—66,974 lbs. 3 oz. 19 dwts. 9 grains; in value—£207,963 16s. 2d. The same writer also gives the number of dies (for striking the coins) which were sent down from the London mint to Norwich, for use at the latter mint, viz. : of half-crowns—64 dies of the head side, and 64 of the arms side; of shillings—112 heads, 108 arms; of sixpences—62 heads, 110 arms. The Receiver at the mint at Norwich paid 5s. 8d. in the new coins for every ounce brought to him of old clipped money or wrought silver plate.

This was the last authorised royal coinage at Norwich.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

- No. 1.—Silver penny of Æthelstan. *Obv.*, ÆDELSTAN REX. *Rev.*, BARDEL MO NORP. In the British Museum. See p. 302.
- No. 2.—Penny of Eadmund. *Obv.*, EADMVND RE. *Rev.*, NRODEAR NO NORVC. In the collection of William Brice, Esq. See p. 303.
- No. 3.—Penny of Eadred. *Obv.*, EADRED REX. *Rev.*, MANNE MO NORDP. Brit. Mus. See p. 303.
- No. 4.—Penny of Eadgar. *Obv.*, EADGAR REX ANGLO. *Rev.*, NORDBBERD MO NORB. In the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm. See p. 304.
- No. 5.—Penny of Æthelred II. Type B 1. *Obv.*, ÆDELRED REX ANGLO. *Rev.*, FOLCEARD MO NORB. Brit. Mus. See p. 305.
- No. 6.—Penny of Cnut. Type G. *Obv.*, CNVT REX ANGL. *Rev.*, RICNVLF ON NORBP. Brit. Mus. See p. 308.
- No. 7.—Penny of Cnut. Unique type. *Obv.*, CNVT REX AN. *Rev.*, OBBI ON NORPI. Cabinet of Wm. Brice, Esq. See p. 309.
- No. 8.—Penny of Harold I. Type A. *Obv.*, HAROLD REX. *Rev.*, ÆLFFPAED ON NOR. Brit. Mus. See p. 309.
- No. 9.—Penny of Edward the Confessor. Type D. *Obv.*, blundered legend. *Rev.*, OSMVND ON NOR. Brit. Mus. See p. 312.

- No. 10.—Penny of the same. Type E. *Obv.*, EDPERD REX. *Rev.*, ÐVR-
FYRÐ ON NORÐPI. Cabinet of H. W. Henfrey. See p. 313.
No. 11.—Penny of the same. Type H. *Obv.*, EDPARD REX. *Rev.*, ÐOR-
STAN O NORÐP. Cabinet of H. W. Henfrey. See p. 313.
No. 12.—Penny of Harold II. *Obv.*, HAROLD REX ANGLO. *Rev.*, ÐVRSTAN
ON NOL. Brit. Mus. See p. 315.

PLATE II.

- No. 1.—Penny of William I. Type 2. *Obv.*, PILLEMVS REX. *Rev.*, EAD-
PINE ON NOR. Brit. Mus. See p. 418.
No. 2.—Penny of William I or II. Type 10. *Obv.*, PILLELM REX. *Rev.*,
INHVHE O NOÐPIC. Brit. Mus. See p. 419.
No. 3.—Penny of William II. Type 17. *Obv.*, PILLEEM REI. *Rev.*, IICERI
O NOCÐPIC. Brit. Mus. See p. 420.
No. 4.—Penny of Henry I. Type 6. *Obv.*, HENRICVS R. *Rev.*, COL : ON :
[NO]RWIC. Brit. Mus. See p. 421.
No. 5.—Penny of Stephen. Type 15. *Obv.*, SIEFN. *Rev.*, PILLEMI . ON .
NOR. Brit. Mus. See p. 422.
No. 6.—Penny of Henry II. First coinage. *Obv.*, HENRI REX ANG. *Rev.*,
GILEBERT : ON : NORW. Brit. Mus. See p. 423.
No. 7.—Penny of John. Short cross, class iii. *Obv.*, HENRICVS REX.
Rev., RENAVD . ON . NOR. Cabinet of H. W. Henfrey. See p. 425.
No. 8.—Penny of Henry III. Second coinage, with long cross. *Obv.*,
HENRICVS REX III'. *Rev.*, IACOB ON NORW. Brit. Mus. See
p. 426.
No. 9.—Gold noble of Edward IV, coined at Norwich, 1465. Brit. Mus.
See p. 427.
No. 10.—Silver light groat of Edward IV. *Rev.*, CIVITAS NORWIC. Brit.
Mus. See p. 428.
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ON A PORTRAIT OF HENRY VI IN EYE CHURCH, SUFFOLK.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

(Read Feb. 18, 1880.)

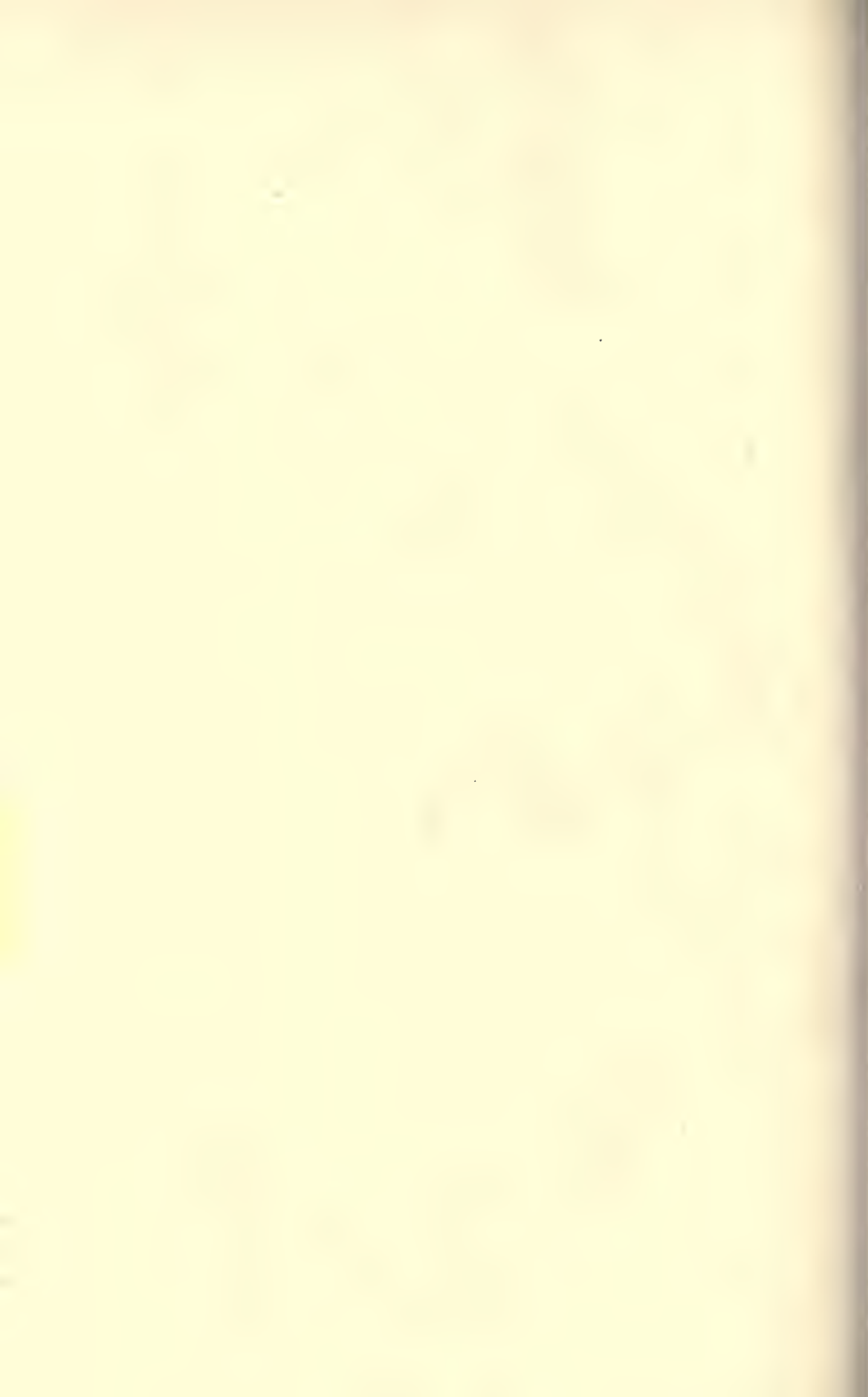
THE murder, burial, and subsequent religious honours paid to the memory of King Henry VI have been treated of in such amplitude in the pages of our *Journal*, that to make further allusion to them would be to repeat a twice told tale; so that the few observations now offered will simply be in illustration of the effigy on the rood-screen at Eye in Suffolk; and to show the interest and importance of this effigy, it may be well to mention a few of the early portraits of the ill-starred monarch.

The money issued from the mints of London, York, and Bristol, during the reign of Henry VI bear on their obverse a full-faced, crowned bust of a king; but there is such a conventional treatment about it that it cannot be accepted as a likeness of the sovereign in question. Nor can much be said in favour of a likeness on the King's great seal, where he appears with a crown of three fleurs-de-lis, and holding a lily-topped sceptre in the right hand, and a *main de justice* in the left.

The only representations of Henry in his childhood are those drawn by John Rouse, the Warwickshire antiquary, in the reign of Richard III, and therefore little dependence can be placed upon them. In King's College, Cambridge, is a youthful portrait of the monarch, with a rather long visage shown in three-quarters, and wearing an arched crown, the bars springing from alternate fleurs-de-lis and crosses. The King has full eyes and thickish lips, and has a furred mantle open in front so as to expose an under garment.

The portrait which is most familiar to us is that engraved by Vertue from a painting on board at Kensington Palace; and the same artist also engraved another likeness of Henry, painted on panel, namely the one presented by Dr. Andrew Gifford to the British Museum, and now removed to the National Portrait Gallery, South Kensington. This singular picture represents the King with his hands clasped as if in





prayer, and round his neck is a chain with an *Agnus Dei* depending from it. Of almost equal interest with the two foregoing effigies is the one in the stained glass window at Battersea.

Strutt, in his *Dresses and Habits*, delineates a figure of the King seated on a throne, royally arrayed, wearing an open crown, and in the act of presenting a sword to John Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury; and the King with the Queen are delineated in one of the Royal MSS. (15 E. 6) receiving a volume of romances from the hand of the aforesaid Earl of Shrewsbury.¹ In a manuscript Life of St. Edmund, by Lydgate,² is a representation of Henry VI presiding in Parliament. He is decked with an open crown and deep ermine tippet.³ Henry VI appears with his Queen, Margaret of Anjou, in the famous piece of tapestry belonging to St. Mary's Hall, Coventry; but this, like most of his other effigies, has no claim to be a contemporary portrait, the costume of the accompanying figures being clearly of the time of Henry VIII. It is almost needless to say that the picture formerly at Strawberry Hill, and the one engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (March 1786, p. 191), both of which have been called "The Marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou", are really intended to represent the espousal of St. Katherine of Sienna with Our Lord.

Engraved portraits of Henry VI are by no means numerous. Mention has just been made of two by George Vertue, and there are others of less account by Ravenet, Grignon, Hicks, etc. A curious and scarce likeness of the poor monarch may be seen in William Martyn's *Historie and Lives of the Kings of England* (London, 1638, p. 168). It is engraved by Renold Elstracke, and exhibits a three-quarter bust with rather longer and older looking visage than we generally see the King delineated with. He wears a low, arched crown, mantle with ermine tippet and cuffs, and a richly jeweled collar with the George. The right hand holds the sceptre; the left, the orb and cross.

Henry VI was interred at Windsor; but his sepulchral, recumbent figure in armour has passed away, and the few sculptured effigies of the King now remaining are of com-

¹ Another portrait of the King receiving a volume is in the Royal MS. 19, c. vi, folio 17. Very fine work.

² Harl. MS. 2278.

³ There are good pictures of Henry VI in Cotton MSS., Julius E. iv; Domitian A. xvii, folios 49, 74; Harley, 318, folio 8b.

paratively modern execution. The best known one is, perhaps, that at Eton College, presented in 1674 by Dr. Godolphin. This statue is of bronze, and represents the royal founder of the College with an open crown of fleurs-de-lis, his person loaded with drapery, and about his waist is a girdle with long cords and a heavy tassel. He rests both hands on the model of an ecclesiastical building placed on a pillar; on the front of the latter hang two little shields.

These general remarks on the portraits of Henry VI lead us on to the motive of this communication. Fifteenth century paintings of the King have been discovered in Warfield Church, Berkshire,¹ and on the west wall of the nave of Witton Church, Norfolk;² and we have now to view him as depicted on the north side of the rood-screen of the church at Eye in Suffolk, and for a tracing of which picture I am indebted to Mr. Watling of Stonham.

Henry looks every inch a king in this fine old piece of work. He stands in a somewhat pensive attitude, with the head slightly inclined to the right, and his large, full eyes directed downwards, the oval face being shown at three-quarters. He wears a golden crown composed of five fleurs-de-lis; an ermine tippet closed at the neck with a golden, rose-shaped morse; a flowing green mantle embellished with large white roses, bordered with gold, and lined with ermine. On the fourth finger of the right hand is a jeweled ring, and both hands grasp a rather stout sceptre with a top which brings to mind the square-bladed war-maces of the middle ages. We must not fail to notice the nimbus which surrounds the head of the King, nor the broad, red, and somewhat crescent-shaped label which passes behind the monarch's shoulders, and on which can still be read the letters HEN. REX.

Henry was murdered in the Tower of London, June 20, 1471, and the painting here described was in all probability executed some fourteen or fifteen years after the sanguinary deed; so that though not an *ad vivam* likeness, it still was limned whilst the features of the royal victim were fresh in the minds of living persons; and we may therefore accept this effigy as an authentic and most interesting portrait, and number it among the earliest now existing of "virtuous Lancaster".

¹ See *Archæologia*, xv, p. 405.

² *Norfolk Archæological Coll.*, vi, p. 40.

GORLESTON CHURCH.

BY JOHN BATELY, L.R.C.P. LOND.

(Read August 1879.)

THIS church is dedicated to St. Andrew. Henry II granted the rectory, with the great tithes, to the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, who obtained an impropriation, and endowed a vicarage, retaining a right of presentation to the same. At the Reformation all the possessions of the Priory of St. Bartholomew were seized into the King's hands; and in 1553 Edward VI granted "the rectory and the parish church of Gorleston", with all its rights and privileges, to Thomas Cecil and John Bell, both of London, "in as ample a manner, to all intents and purposes, as the same had been enjoyed by the then lately dissolved Priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield." The right of presentation to the vicarage, and the impropriate tithes, have ever since remained in private hands.

Gorleston Church comprises a nave with two aisles, divided by octangular pillars sustaining Pointed arches. The south aisle is of the same width as the nave, and the north aisle is 3 feet wider, and both are probably enlargements of those originally attached to the nave. There are no transepts, and the aisles are continued the whole length of the church; the chancel being undistinguishable, externally, by any break in the walls or roof, and the east gables are all in a line. Like most parish churches, it has evidently been altered and enlarged from time to time. Probably the western part of the nave is the most ancient portion now remaining of this church. By removing the south wall and erecting the five western arches of the south arcade, the south aisle was formed, and the nave was extended, and a new chancel added. Next, the Bacon Chapel was erected, and the church was subsequently made uniform by adding the north aisle and the north chancel chapel. The extreme length is 124 feet, and the breadth 66 feet. The capital from which the north arch of the chancel proper springs is well cut in oak-leaves and acorns, being the only one of this kind in the church. A lofty, square, embattled tower, 90 ft.

in height, stands at the west end of the church. It is strongly buttressed at the angles, and is ascended by a projecting spiral staircase containing one hundred and twenty-seven stone steps to the roof, at the external corners of which are evidences of there having been at one time pinnacles or terminal figures. Internally, a very fine and bold arch leads from the nave to the tower, and within the tower is a well proportioned window with an ample splay. A magnificent screen of open woodwork stretched across the church, dividing the nave and aisles from the chancel and side-chapels; and under the chancel-arch was the usual rood-loft, the aperture or doorway leading to which may still be traced.

This church suffered much from the wholesale spoliations of William Dowsing, the Parliamentary Visitor appointed for demolishing superstitious pictures and ornaments of churches within the county of Suffolk, in the years 1643 and 1644. This ignorant fanatic, who greatly exceeded his instructions, kept a diary recording his sad doings, which are painful, not to the antiquary alone, but to all who hold the house of prayer in reverence. He says :

“In the chancel, as it is called, we took up twenty superstitious inscriptions, ‘Ora pro nobis’, etc., and broke in pieces the rails, and broke down twenty-two popish pictures of angels and saints. We did deface the font and a cross on the font; and we took up a brass inscription with ‘Cujus anima’, etc., and ‘Pray ye for the soul’, etc. We took up thirteen superstitious brasses, and ordered Moses with his rod and Aaron with his mitre to be taken down. We ordered eighteen angels off the roof, and cherubims to be taken down, and nineteen pictures on the windows. The organ I broke, and we brake seven popish pictures in the chancel window; one of Christ, another of St. Andrew, another of St. James, etc. We ordered the steps to be levelled by the parson, and brake the popish inscription, ‘My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.’ I gave orders to break in pieces the carved work, which I have seen done. There were six superstitious pictures, one crucifix, and the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus in her arms, and Christ lying in a manger, and the three kings coming to Christ with presents, and three bishops with their mitres and crozier staff, and eighteen Jesuses written in capital letters, which we gave orders to do out.”

These devastations were not aided by the inhabitants, for Dowsing complains that there was a picture of St. George and many others in the windows, which he could not reach. “Neither would they help us to raise ladders; so we left a warrant with the constable to do it within fourteen days.”

Whatever was near at hand he did not spare. "We broke down St. Andrew with his cross and St. Catherine with her wheel. We took down the cover of the font, and the four Evangelists, and a triangle for the Trinity, a superstitious picture of St. Peter and his keys, and eagle and a lion with wings." Evidently this man was ignorant of the emblems of the Evangelists.

On each side of the chancel was a private chapel, formed by extending the aisles the whole length of the chancel. That to the south has a piscina within an arched recess in the south wall, with a sedilia of three steps. This was the Bacon Chapel, and the burial-place of that ancient family. It was thus despoiled says Dowsing: "In Bacon's isle was a friar with a shaven crown, praying to God in these words, 'Miserere mei, Deus', etc., which we brake down, also twelve superstitious pictures of angels, and crosses, a holy water font, and brasses with superstitious inscriptions." No part of the church escaped, for, says he, "in the cross alley we took up brazen figures and inscriptions; and we brake down a cross on the steeple, three stone crosses in the chancel, and a stone cross in the porch."

So late as 1828 four large Purbeck slabs were remaining in the Bacon Chapel, which had formerly been incised with effigies in brass. The effigy of a cross-legged knight had occupied the matrix of one of these slabs. The figure had been torn from the stone, and had for years been considered as destroyed, until it was discovered in Mr. Craven Ord's collection, which was sold in 1830. Mr. John Gage Rokewode was the purchaser, and he with great propriety restored it to Gorleston Church, where, at the expense, and by the care, of Mr. Dawson Turner it was again attached to its stone, which was then placed vertically against the wall of the north chapel to preserve it from further injury, and where it now remains, the Bacon Chapel having been appropriated as a burial-place by Dr. Browne.

In the north chancel chapel a piscina within an arched recess still remains on the south side; and within the thickness of the north wall there is a large recess surmounted by an arch enriched with crockets and elaborately carved finials, used in former times as the Easter sepulchre. The mouldings of this arch are extremely delicate, and yet very telling. On the wall beneath the canopy a rich painting

was discovered a few years ago by removal of thick coatings of whitewash. Unfortunately in this process considerable portions of the subject became defaced. The painting, which was rich in colour, and illuminated with gold, represented the Holy Trinity. Upon a diapered ground, God the Father was represented seated in glory, supporting by his extended arms a Latin cross, upon which hangs Jesus Christ the son; the Holy Ghost descends in the form of a dove. On each side was an angel incensing. Below were figures on a larger scale. But the subject was too much injured to be traced on the surface of the wall below the stringcourse; and on each side of the canopied arch was painted a shield, one bearing the well known Trinity banner, the other the emblems of the Passion. The splays of the adjoining window to the east were painted with the figures of angels. On the south-west side of the south pillar supporting the chancel arch are traces of fresco painting. The uppermost figures appear to be St. Anne and the Virgin; the lower one, St. Catherine or St. Etheldreda.

When a modern gallery which stood at the west end of the church was taken down in 1872, I noticed some remains of painting on the north wall, between the north door and the next window towards the east. On removing the whitewash with which it had been thickly coated, a gigantic figure of St. Christopher was discovered. He is represented, as usual, crossing a stream. On his right shoulder he bears the infant Saviour clad in a rich tunic, with his head surmounted by a nimbus, and holding an orb with cross fleury and a streamer above the head of the saint. With his right hand St. Christopher raises his ample robe above the water, while with his left he grasps a ponderous staff like the trunk of a young tree blossoming at the top. On one side is seen a castle, with the figures of a king and queen seated in an upper chamber; and by the side and at the end of a long table, are two figures standing. On the other side of the stream, in the foreground, is a building probably intended for a hermitage. The benevolent face of the saint is extremely well executed. Behind him may be seen a pelican wading in the water, and in the act of swallowing a fish. On the bank of the stream, in the foreground, is a rabbit peeping from its burrow. A great deal of the lower part of this interesting painting is lost. I found the plaster

so decayed and damp that it crumbled to powder at the slightest touch. Above the painting was an inscription which could not be deciphered, but which probably was the first line of the hymn to St. Christopher. About the centre of the north wall I uncovered another painting representing three figures, life-size, confronted by three skeletons. Of the former, two are bearded men who appear struck with astonishment at the sight. Behind them is the figure of a comely youth with yellow, flowing hair surmounted by a crown. The bodice and skirt of his dress are red. Over his shoulders falls a richly embroidered yellow cloak. His tight-fitting leggings are flesh-coloured, and he wears gauntlet gloves. The men have short black beards, and wear flowing, red cloaks with red stockings, netted socks, and gauntlet gloves. The picture is intended to teach that in the midst of life we are in death.

As the north wall of the church had to be taken down and rebuilt, these paintings were of necessity destroyed, which is much to be regretted ; for these and similar wall-paintings in our churches served to illustrate the manners and customs of our forefathers.

The font, a very ancient and curious one, is formed out of an octagonal block of stone, having seven of its sides charged with sculptures of the Sacraments, while the eighth compartment represents the day of judgment, of which Suckling gives a coloured engraving. The Judge of all mankind is seated on a rainbow, and holds in each hand a scroll with a Latin inscription calling on the dead to arise ; and on the lower part of the panel figures are seen emerging from water, or hiding beside hills, fulfilling the sublime declaration that at the last day "the sea shall give up her dead, and the wicked shall call on the mountains and rocks to cover them." The subjects were all sculptured in high relief ; and the way in which Dowsing "did deface the font" was by chiseling the protruding figures down to an even surface, and then covering the whole with a coat of lime, which remained until a few years ago, when, by the exertions of Mr. Penrice Bell, it was removed ; and he then made very accurate drawings of the sculptures as they now appear, on some of which remains of the original painting and gilding can still be traced.

Of Communion-plate there is a silver-gilt chalice bearing

the date 1567, and also a plate and flagon, both "the gift of James Dawney, late churchwarden of Gorleston, Suffolk", who was buried in the nave.

Within the church was a chapel for the Guild of Andrew, and images of St. Christopher and St. John. Belonging to the church, and still preserved in it, is a very ancient oak chest banded with iron and secured by three locks. Of the four bells in the steeple of Gorleston Church, one bore the inscription, "✠ Sancte : Nycholae : Ora : Pro : Nobis" in the usual place, on the shoulder; above which is this inscription in letters of about five-eighths of an inch deep, of the same style, but less ornate, "✠ I : Am : Mad : In : Ye : Worchepe : Of : Ye : Cros". Two of the old bells were cast in 1619, that date appearing upon them. The largest had the names of John Belton, Christopher Page, and David Chamberlin. The smaller bell bore three shields: the first with a monogram, ^A_W^B; the second bearing the figures of three bells, two and one, with a crown in the midst; and the last, four castles with a lion couchant in base. Another bell was cast in 1763 by Lister and Pack of London, and was suspended when Anthony Taylor and William Cross were churchwardens. All these bells were removed in 1872, when a new peal of six bells, cast by Mears and Stainbank, was presented by Miss Miriam Chevalier Roberts, daughter of the late Henry Roberts, Esq., of The Limes, Weybridge, who died in 1874.

This church was suffered to fall into a most disgraceful state, the impropiators doing nothing towards the maintenance of the chancel, and the parishioners contributing for the repairs of the church the lowest possible rate, which in 1863 was refused altogether. Some years ago Mr. E. W. Bell undertook, at his own expense, to restore and reglaze the three east windows; but nothing further was done until 1872, when, through the exertions of an influential committee and residents of the parish, a complete restoration was commenced, and has, to a great extent, been accomplished. The thatch on the roofs has been removed, and replaced by tiles. The north wall of the north aisle, which was in a dilapidated state in spite of huge and ugly brick buttresses uselessly erected against it, has been entirely rebuilt, as also the south porch; and the roofs of the nave, aisles, and chancel, are all new. The western portion of the church had been walled off, and a large and ugly vestry

erected, in which parish meetings (frequently of a most unseemly character) were held. These monstrosities, together with the organ-gallery, have been entirely removed, restoring the church to its original dimensions, and again bringing into view the noble tower-arch. The high-backed, enclosed pews have been replaced by open benches and chairs. Notwithstanding the devastation already mentioned, some stained glass remained in the windows until 1807, and a few fragments might be seen in the tracery of the windows in the north aisle until a later period. Since the restoration four memorial windows of stained glass have been inserted in the south aisle by the families of Bell, Whaites, and Brown. The floor of the church contained numerous sepulchral slabs, many having floriated crosses upon them. Four of these stones still remain, and are now placed outside the church, at the west end.

The monuments and gravestones both within and without the church afford evidence of the salubrity of Gorleston, and of the remarkable longevity of its inhabitants. The dry soil, the purity of the water, the sea-breeze fresh from the German Ocean, the flux and reflux of the tidal waters, with the absence of mud or anything tending to produce malaria, contribute to this result. In 1851 all funereal inscriptions were copied, and it was found that of those then recorded, there were 328 who had died between the ages of 80 and 100, whilst eight persons are reported to have attained or exceeded the latter age, namely, Mary Alexander, 100; Susan Cheston, 106; Audry Hazall, 100; J. Nelson, 100; Mary Sexton, 107; Joan West, 101; Sarah Waller, 102; and Susan Haltaway, 104. These are of modern date; but we find that in 1631 John Bonney died, aged 104; and in 1575, Thomas Sadler at the great age of 115. There was also a tombstone in the churchyard with this inscription, "Pray for the sowle of Elizabeth Sadler, who died y^e xx daye of Septem. 1592, being of the age of 100 years." All sepulchral slabs prior to the seventeenth century have been removed, the oldest inscription remaining being that to the memory of John Hicks, who died in 1662. Some few have armorial bearings carved upon them. One, in memory of a member of the Worthington family, bears for the crest a castle. Another has for the crest a tiger statant.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1880.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

Thomas B. Bravender, The Firs, Cirencester
 J. R. Bulwer, Q.C., 11 King's Bench Walk, Temple
 W. H. Butcher, *Local Secretary for Devizes Congress*, 26 St. John's
 Street, Devizes
 Martin V. D'Arey, Elm Court, Middle Temple
 Rev. — Hastings, Weston-super-Mare
 Rev. Dr. Hooppell, Byer's Green Rectory, Bishop's Auckland
 Mrs. Houghton, Woodfield, Streatham
 W. E. Jones, 10 Rosslyn Terrace, Redlands, Bristol
 W. J. H. Lush, Fyfield House, Andover
 Richard Mann, Charlotte Street, Bath
 William Newton, Hill Side, Newark on Trent
 Robert Taylor, 3 Apsley Road, Clifton
 Samuel Timbrell Fisher, The Grove, Streatham
 J. Williams, 16 Alma Road, Clifton.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library :

- To Raphael Dura* for "Description des Ivoires de la Ville de Volterra par le Chev. J. Sambon." Florence, 1880.
To Theodoros de Heldreich for "Catalogus Systematicus Herbarii Theod. G. Orphanidis, Professoris Botanici nunc munificentia clar. Theod. P. Rhodocanakis in Museo Botan. Universitatis Athenarum". Fasc. 1. Florence, 1877. 8vo.
To Achilles Postolacca, Keeper of the Public Museum of Coins, Athens, for his "Synopsis Nummorum Veterum, qui in Museo Numismatico Athenarum publico adservantur." Athens, 1878. 4to.
To Prof. Alessandro Prosdocimi for "Le Necropole Euganee ed una Tomba della Villa Benvenuti in Este." 8vo.

- To the Kent Archæological Society* for "*Archæologia Cantiana*", vol. xiii.
To Dr. J. Hurly Pring, of Taunton, for "*The Briton and the Roman in Taunton.*" 8vo. 1880.
To the Powis-land Club, for "*Collections Historical and Archæological*", vol. xiii, Part 2.
To the Royal Archæological Institute, for "*Journals*," vol. 37, Nos. 146 and 147.
To C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., V.P., for "*Collectanea Antiqua*", vol. vii, Part 4. Two copies.
To the Cambrian Archæological Association for "*Archæologia Cambrensis*", Nos. 42 and 43, 4th Series.
To the Society of Antiquaries, for "*Proceedings*", vol. viii, No. III, 2nd Series; and "*List of Fellows.*"
To the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for vol. v, No. 40, 4th Series.
To the Smithsonian Institute, for "*Miscellaneous Collections*", vols. xvi, xvii, 1880; "*Contributions to Knowledge*", vol. xxii, 1880; and "*Report for 1878.*"
To the Commissioner, for "*Compte Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg*", 1877, with an Atlas of Plates (1880).

It was unanimously agreed to exchange publications with the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

The Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, V.P., sent for exhibition a drawing of the stone font in Stanton Church, in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire. This is of Saxon origin, measuring $28\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high, 23 ins. long, 22 ins. broad. There is a narrow band running round it, about one-third from the top, filled with a row of small bosses. Mr. Scarth testifies to its pre-Norman, and possibly ancient British, origin. Saxon fonts are very rare. If we may trust Mr. Paley's reference to Bede, he states that the Saxons did not use fonts.

Mr. R. Blair, of South Shields, sent the following note: "In October last there was picked up by a man, while walking across the site of the Roman *castrum* here, a fragment of an altar, on one side of which are three or four letters, and on the other side an axe, inscribed H.V.C. The 5th cohort of Gauls, which I opine is the cohort named on the stone, is that of which so many tiles stamped COH.V.C. have been found at the station. The letters, though much weatherworn, are well formed. The only other record in Britain, except the tiles found in this station, is on an altar discovered at Cramond some years ago, and now in the Edinburgh Museum. A leaden seal, inscribed PAV, has, since my last letter, also been found."

Mr. T. Greenhalgh reports as follows: "During the year 1871 I forwarded an account of a Druidical or stone circle, situated on Cheet-

ham Close, Turton, South Lancashire. This was read at the Meeting, June 14th, 1871, and is printed in the *Proceedings* of the Association, at p. 524, vol. xvii. I am sorry to have now to report the all but entire destruction of this interesting though rude relic of a bygone age; and what makes it more to be regretted is that, as far as I am aware, it is the only stone circle in the county of Lancashire, or for some distance beyond its borders.

"I was walking over the Moor on the 7th of May last, and turned aside to look at an old acquaintance, when I was surprised to find only three of the stones standing, and one taken out of the ground and lying on the heather. This last, I understand, was broken between the period of my visit and my being able (through the absence of the proprietor from home) to get any one in authority interested in the matter. Upon a careful examination I came to the conclusion that the work had been done systematically. Two of the stones have been broken into small pieces, and then put into the holes. One of these, unfortunately, was the largest stone in the circle, and is marked No. 2 on the plan sent with the account. The outlying stone, 102 feet south-south-east of the circle (the second largest of the group) has also been removed. James Kay, Esq., who was the owner in 1871, has since died; and his son who succeeded to the estate has instructed his agent, Mr. Whitehead, not only to endeavour to discover the perpetrator of this wanton outrage, but to replace any of the stones he can find. This is a practical instance of the insecurity, under the present state of things, of our ancient monuments; and proves that the sooner Sir John Lubbock's Bill becomes law the better."

Rev. C. Collier, F.S.A., of Winchester, sent a sketch of the Roman pavement found in the garden of Canon Warburton, in the Cathedral Close, Winchester. The workmen, who were making alterations in the drainage, found the pavement about 4 or 5 feet below the surface. It had evidently been disturbed before. From the place marked A, the ground had given way, and the pavement had gone with it; and the portion marked B was more than a foot below the other parts. This is not the first Roman pavement, nor the first proof of Roman occupation of the spot, found in or near the Cathedral Close. At the north-west corner was found, last year, a very fine one, which is now in the town Museum. Some few years ago, fragments of buildings, which were supposed to be parts of a temple, were discovered in the Wolvesey gardens; and many Roman tiles may be seen in the foundation of the walls surrounding the garth of the old Palace.

Mr. Collier sent also some sketches of very old cuttings on the outer south wall of the Cathedral. They are on that part of the wall which would be included in the cloisters. These were taken down by Bishop Horne about 1560-70. They seem too well done, and would take too

much time in cutting, to be the work of casual visitors. Were they made by the monks when spending time in the cloisters?

The Rev. J. A. Llwyd, of Broad Hinton Vicarage, Swindon, sent the following communication: "I send a tracing of the highly interesting Saxon window-head discovered in this church during its restoration. I believe it to be one of our earliest examples of carving. Our church is dated about 1220, and replaced an older church, nearly every stone in the present window-quoins shewing signs of previous use. Whenever it has been necessary to re-set them, we have found such to be the case. The diaper-work, which is deeply sunk, is very interesting from its irregularity. The pattern seems to point to the window being one of two or three contiguous. There are, as you will notice, one or two beautifully free curves. This carving is external, the splay sloping away inwards. The opening has been mutilated; hence its irregular outline. The stone extends about 2 inches above the top of the tracing."

Dr. Woodhouse exhibited an ancient knife, or cutting tool, of peculiar form.

Mr. R. P. Walker exhibited two documents of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, sealed with impressions of the early seal of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Wolverhampton; the matrix of the fifteenth century seal; and a probate deed with a late copy of the first seal attached. The text of one of the older documents will be given hereafter, if space permits.

The following paper was then read:

A KITCHEN MIDDEN AT PEVENSEY CASTLE.

BY A. L. LEWIS, M.A.I.

The country round Pevensey, although principally associated with the Norman conquest, is by no means destitute of relics of preceding ages. Worked flints (some of which I exhibit) may be found on Beachy Head, and have been very numerous inside the entrenchment within which stands the Lighthouse, and which is, of course, a British work. It is notoriously unsafe to found speculation on the modern form of place-names, still I cannot help fancying that Bexhill, between Pevensey and St. Leonard's, derives its name from some Teutonic or Scandinavian pirate named Beck,—a name which is still common in the neighbourhood. The rising ground on which the village stands was, no doubt, twelve hundred years ago a sort of island surrounded by marsh, and with the adjacent high ground known as Galley Point (now half washed into the sea) would have formed an admirable place of settlement for a sea-rover.

In the church is a very curiously worked stone, about 3 feet long,

which reminds me much of some in the Isle of Man. Concerning this stone (a rubbing of which I exhibit), the Rector of Bexhill, the Rev. L. S. Clarke, writes to me thus: "The coffin-lid to which you refer as now built into the wall of our tower, was found during the restoration in 1878 in the nave, very near the western Norman pillar on the south side. It was covered by about 6 inches of earth, and had, no doubt, been removed from its original situation, as there was no coffin with it. As it is a very curious coffin-lid I placed it in its present site as most likely to preserve it from injury. From a rough rubbing I made of it, one of the gentlemen of the British Museum considered it to be late Anglo-Saxon.

"I made a curious discovery when the old plaster was stripped from the walls. It is that the Norman arches were inserted in an older Saxon wall; a thin ring of loose work round them proving that the upper wall could not have been built upon them, whilst it shewed some excellent herring-bone work of, I believe, an earlier date. The foundations of the original wall we also came upon, as well as two lines of ashlar-work denoting the limit of the old Norman church eastward, running from the ground to the wall-plate."

Returning, however, to Pevensey, the point which I have specially to draw your attention to is this. Those who are acquainted with the Castle will remember that it consists of a wall bearing marks of Roman workmanship, and enclosing a large area, supposed to be the site of the city of Anderida; and that in the south-west corner there is a Norman keep, the wall of which, for a short distance, ran close to, if it did not absolutely join, the older wall. They will also remember that the gate of the keep, which opened on the area, has been blocked up, and that access to the former is only gained from the point where the two walls approached, as already mentioned; and where a great breach has been made, probably either in attacking or dismantling the fortress. The thousands of visitors who yearly climb the path which here leads between the masses of ruin to the inside of the keep, have worn it down so that there is a bank on each side sufficiently steep not to be covered with grass for some two or three feet; and from these exposed edges I took out some small pieces of pottery, which I thought to be Roman-British. These were mixed with bones and oyster-shells, and evidently formed a veritable kitchen-midden or dust-heap. The last piece which I took out, however, and which was only a few inches higher than the others, was so evidently of a later period that I began to think that the manufacture of the other sorts of pottery might have been continued till mediæval times; but Mr. Brock pronounces them to be, as I first thought, Roman-British. With one exception, I now place them on the table for your inspection. I did not observe any similar deposits in any other part of the ruins, and I do not know whether these or any other such have been previously reported.

I believe some people have doubted whether the walls of Pevensey really were Roman ; if so, these otherwise worthless fragments of pottery may help to settle that question ; and if the spot where I found them were dug into, I doubt not that many interesting articles might be recovered. If this Association could further induce the Duke of Devonshire, to whom the ruins belong, to cause a thorough exploration of them to be made under its skilled supervision, I should also expect that much valuable information would be obtained.

Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a large collection of flint flakes and other ancient relics from Cissbury Camp.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a set of six Hebrew rolls enclosed in a small square leathern case with a strap for attaching to the arm or forehead, in accordance with the Jewish observance. Mr. Brent also exhibited a small spherical pot of terra-cotta with circular foot, and nipple-shaped at the top, without opening, the use of which may be considered as at present very conjectural.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., V.P., exhibited—1. A fine terra-cotta lamp found this year in the Cemetery of St. Callixtus, within the Roman Catacombs. It bears a lion in relief, closely resembling another figured in Kip's Catacombs, carved on the tomb of Pontius Leo ; no doubt in symbolism of the name. Most probably, however, in case of the lamp, the symbol is that of " the lion of the tribe of Judah". 2 A polished bone pin, round-headed ; and a very fine key of late Roman work ; both from London ; together with a Saxon knife, once wood-handled. 3. A very fine pilgrim's badge, 3 inches in length, of the Holy Lamb and cross. Although not from the same mould, yet the subject is identical with another in bronze, found some few years since near St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield. 4. A large jug of green ware, probably of the Plantagenet era, of good form, ornamented with small leaves in relief. Several such fictilia have been found in London, and apparently referable to the same era. May not the leaves have been an intended compliment to the reigning house, the *Planta Genista* ? 5. Another, much smaller, of fine form and texture, referable to the fifteenth century. 6. Also, and from the same locality, a Cologne jug of grey stoneware ; the body of bright blue, thickly studded with white and socketed annulets. Although, from time to time, fragments of mutilated objects of sixteenth century *Gres Flandres* have been exhumed in London, it is seldom so pleasing and perfect a specimen has come to hand. 7. A very singular Chinese carving in striped jasper, representing the rather favourite subject with Chinese artists,—a blind beggar,—recently dug out in Bishopsgate. It is about 10 inches in height, and depicts the mendicant clad in fringed garments, making a slow and cautious progress with a long crooked stick. He bears a

gourd-shaped water-bottle suspended by a cord ; and similarly, on the other side, his chopsticks in their case, his wallet, and vessel for receiving alms. It may be referred to the seventeenth century or earlier, and is a singular addition to objects of Chinese art found in London.

Mr. T. Morgan, *Hon. Treasurer*, V.P., F.S.A., then read the following

REVIEW OF THE DEVIZES CONGRESS.

Some recollections of the late Congress will stimulate the industry of our "working bees" who have gathered a store of knowledge during our sojourn in Wiltshire,—"*Grata carpentes thyma per laborem plurimum*"; and though each will have found subject-matter for his own taste, yet I may venture broadly to sketch the general hue of the Congress both in the bright colours of the Plantagenet period, with which at Devizes we shall begin, and in the more dusky shades of the preceding and prehistoric periods which recede and vanish into distance.

Devizes (the *Devisio* of Flor. Wig., and *Divisæ* of Will. Neubrigensis) seems to imply a division of territory or parishes, and offers also a convenient division of history from which to commence the three centuries of Plantagenet rule.

The strength of the Castle, which is close to and overlooks the town, was due not only to its massive walls and the lofty hill on which it was partly built, but also to the dykes of the Yare river, by which the approaches were rendered impregnable. A British earthwork would first have secured this strong natural position; and it is not unlikely that a Roman castle would in succession pave the way for the twelfth century castle with its inner and outer ballium, towers and keep. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, has the credit of building this castle; and another at Sherborne, which scarcely yielded to it in strength and beauty; as well as one at Malmesbury, which served to defend the Monastery; and well may Leland exclaim of Devizes Castle, that "such a piece of work, so costly and strong, was never afore nor since set up by any Bishop of England." Henry of Huntingdon gives the names of several barons in the West country who were fortified in strong castles at this period, as Talbot at Hereford, Rudolph Lovel at Castle Cary, Pagnell at Ludlow, William de Mohun at Dunster, Robert de Nicole at Wareham, Eustace, son of John, at Merton or Melton; all watching the movements of Earl Robert, natural son of Henry I, who held the very strong castle of Bristol, and another called Slade. Henry of Huntingdon expresses his opinion in reference to this war, "*O dira mortalium rabies! O nefanda perversitas!*"

Maud or Mathilda, daughter of Henry I, ex-Empress, and wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou, represented the Neustrian or western division of France in opposition to the house of Blois, a member of

which had married a daughter of William the Conqueror. These rival factions had to be fought out on this island by legate and churchman, baron and burgher; and when the victory of the western branch was assured, the whole western part of France, down to the Pyrenees, together with England, fell under the rule of one monarch. Maud of Anjou, at the conference of Winchester, after the capture of King Stephen, was saluted Lady of England, in the early part of 1141,¹ by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, Papal Legate in England, and brother of her opposing cousin, King Stephen. His synods of the clergy, and the influence of Maud's brother, the Earl of Gloucester, prevailed more than even the strength of the barons and the forces of the city of London, who had taken up the cause of King Stephen; yet the fortune of war at Winchester terminated Maud's short reign, though without bringing to a close the troubles of the kingdom, which continued up to the treaty of Wallingford in 1153, and even afterwards, till the death of Stephen at the Abbey of Faversham, eight days before the Feast of All Saints; an event which left the young King Henry II to take possession of his vast territories without a competitor.

Among the later governors of the Castle we find the names of Hugh le Despenser, 1 Edward II (1307); and none later than Oliver de Ingham, 15 Edward III (1321). It was probably, therefore, then dismantled. The Castle now standing upon the site of the old one is a modern castellated building of solid construction, erected by the present proprietor, Robert V. Leach, Esq.

The mouldering foundations of old walls and outworks were thrown open to us as well as the interior of the modern Castle, well lined with objects of art brought by Mr. Leach from Italy and elsewhere, as well as a good collection of relics of Roman, Saxon, and mediæval manufacture, in pottery, coins, locks, and warlike implements, found on the premises. It would be interesting to know if similar antiquities had been found on the sites of other old castles besides those I have named in this county, as Castle Combe, Mere, Marlborough, Wardour, Farley, and Ludgershall; to trace if all or any of these had been built upon the sites or foundations of Roman forts.

It will now be my endeavour to separate and arrange in some kind of order a few of the ancient scenes and works we have visited; and first let us discuss the earthworks, megaliths, and tumuli.

By way of introduction we cannot do better than take a survey of the Museum of Devizes, and study the flint and prehistoric implements, and then the ceramic and metallic works, and personal ornaments in gold and amber, of more civilised times. The collection includes many of the objects brought together by the late Sir R. Colt Hoare

¹ See paper on the charters of Mathildis, by W. de Gray Birch, in *Journal*, xxxi, p. 376.

and Mr. Carrington of Heytesbury. There is the famous urn, the largest known at the time of its discovery in the King's Barrows near Stonehenge; many important antiquities from Westbury; and the large bronze bucket found in pieces, with burnt human bones, in the gravel near *Cunetio*, which has excited so much attention. A skeleton in a glass case is seen in the same position as when found in the tomb at Rockley, near Warminster. Excellent models are there of Stonehenge, shewing both its present appearance and the same when restored. We are indebted for the classification and arrangement of the various objects to the patient labours of the Honorary Curators, the Rev. Mr. Olivier and Mr. W. Cunnington. The latter has taken a special interest in working at the collection brought together by his ancestor and Sir R. Colt Hoare. A cabinet there, painted on the panels with designs of the various prehistoric monuments of Wiltshire, should not be forgotten, because it belonged to John Britton, born at Kingston St. Michael in this county. His thirty-eight original works, besides the many he revised and corrected, furnish an example to all time of how a man of talent may become illustrious by indomitable energy and self-denial, in spite of the *res angusta domi*.

Leaving Devizes, we will travel north-east till stopped at Shepherd's Shore by the great Wansdyke, which here crosses the path. This stupendous embankment runs from west to east. Its course may be traced with certainty from Maes Knoll Camp in Somersetshire; but after Bathampton its course eastward is doubtfully marked, unless it is taken as following the Roman road to Colston or Morgan's Hill. Here the Wansdyke reappears in its original character and grandeur, separating itself from the Roman road to take a bend in a southeasterly direction, and over the tops of the chalky hills. It afterwards continues its course, and forms a boundary between Great and Little Bedwyn parishes, proceeding onward to Cheesebury Castle, the fourth earthwork along the line, which is said to be the work of Cissa, one of the sons of Ælla, who landed with his father on the coast of Sussex, A.D. 477. The high vallum being south of the fosse shews the object of this bulwark to have been the defence of the southern counties against enemies from the north; and this could not fail to call to mind the struggles between the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia, particularly when the latter still followed its heathen customs under such a king as Penda. Whether the Wansdyke, or Woden's Dyke, was only a more ancient work utilised by the later Britons and Angles, or constructed altogether by the later inhabitants, there is no evidence to shew; and the same may be said of those other dykes in Dorset and Wilts, which Dr. Stukely considered successive boundary-ditches from the southern shore, and of which he calls Wansdyke the fourth.

Soon after crossing the Dyke we came upon the Roman road corre-

sponding with the fourteenth *iter* of Antoninus, from South Wales, by Bath, to Henley on Thames, through *Verlucio* and *Cunetio* in Wiltshire; and this being crossed, the mighty cone of Silbury Hill hove in sight. Leaving this at some distance on our right, we reached Abury Church, where the Rev. Bryan King pointed out the old walls and ancient windows in the building, which had been discovered during the repairs now going on. The megalithic Abury is not far distant; and how few there are who survey this stupendous monument of past ages otherwise than as a ruin of an imperfect stone-circle, such as we have many in Orkney, Cornwall, Wales, and elsewhere, with a bank and ditch. But let them scrutinise it even in its present condition, with so many of its stones abstracted, and made use of to build up the modern village which now blocks up and conceals the great original plan, and they will be amazed at this monument of our ancient history, the earthworks of which are still very perfect; yet not sufficient interest seems to have been excited to preserve the stones from continual destruction and diminution until Sir John Lubbock has come to the rescue in our time.

The enclosure is of nearly a circular form, comprising within the ditch $28\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The ditch is inside the great earthen rampart which slopes down in a line to the bottom of the fosse, looking like the inclined plane of an amphitheatre. If spectators were seated as we were, or standing upon this bank at its northern circumference, they would face the interior of the circle, and look towards Silbury Hill, due south of them. The two entrances to the circle, or two avenues formed by double rows of stones, issue from it; the one at the south-east, towards Overton or Kennet Hill; and the other at the south-west, towards Beckhampton. The circle of stones around the central enclosure would greatly obstruct the view of what was going on within, and to some of the spectators conceal it altogether. Inside this great circle of stones are two smaller circles, not concentric, and having each a diameter of about 466 feet, called the northern and southern circles. The northernmost of these two has in the centre a group, formerly of three stones, called "The Cove", now reduced to two; while the southernmost has in the centre only one stone obelisk, as it has been called, which now is no longer in its place, any more than the ringed or holed stone which once stood between the two circles.¹ The diameter of the great enclosure within the ditch was, at its widest part, 1,260 feet, or nearly a quarter of a mile across; and exterior circumference of the whole, measured on the summit of the rampart, 4,442 feet. We have here a much larger circle than at Stonehenge; and the two have been compared to a cathedral and a parish church. As regards burying in

¹ For dimensions and numbers of stones, see "Abury" in *Wilt. Arch. Mag.*, vol. iv, by W. Long.

the cathedral (that is Abury Circle), this has been proved not to have been the practice here, from the excavations made in 1864 by the Rev. Alfred C. Smith, assisted by Mr. Cunningham and the Rev. Bryan King, when nothing was found of a sepulchral character. Nor is this surprising, for funereal circular mounds seldom extend beyond 60 to 100 feet in diameter. It has, then, the appearance of a great place of assembly; and it would not be too much to infer that this was the *Witenagemote* of the whole Mercian kingdom, and not merely the *ting* or court of the shire or of the hundred.

This great monument of Abury does not appear to have been brought forward in the work lately published on *Primitive Folk Moots*, by George Laurence Gomme, F.S.A. (London, 1880); nor has that earthwork of Loughton-en-le-Morthen, visited by the Association at the Sheffield Congress in 1873; but he has referred to many which admirably illustrate the subject, as his account (p. 29) of the local "*things*" in Iceland, which were gradually merged into the *Althing*, and from a local jurisdiction became the assembly of the commonwealth. He shews that the states of Friesland, even so late as the thirteenth century, were assembled under three large oaks which grew near *Aurich*. The examples he gives in this country are very numerous. He mentions the words of Edgar's charter to Ely Abbey, proclaimed "in villa regali quæ famoso vocabulo a solicolis Wilmere nominatur, non clam in angulo sed sub divo palam, evidentissime, scientibus totius regni primatibus."¹ He refers also to the proceedings at Cuckhamsley, which preserves the name of Cwichelm, where the people of Berkshire held their local assemblies.² He has referred to the great folk-mote on Pennenden Heath, Kent, in 1072.³

Further examples of out-door moots are unnecessary; but the constitution of the Witenagemot at different periods should be studied. the popular assemblies of the rudest times became gradually centralised as civilisation was extended. The formation of this circular amphitheatre seems peculiarly adapted to such an assembly. The people would be outside on the sloping bank; and if they could not exactly see what was going on within, they might take this for granted, and shew confidence in their rulers by applause and the clanking of their arms, by which the proceedings were ratified. The two circles inside might represent the two classes of debaters, the upper and lower thegns, and corresponding representatives of the clergy, or the greater and dependent kingdoms. The central stones would be the thrones

¹ *Liber Eliensis*, p. 112.

² Hoare's *Ancient Wills*, p. 51, and Kemble's *Cod. Dip.*, 693, vol. iii, p. 292.

³ Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i, p. 323, and the *Chron. of Eadmer*, by Gervase, *Act. Pont. Cant.*

for the judge, or president, or king, as the case might be. Stanton Drew had a similar "Cove" in the centre of one of the circles.¹

The conical mount of Silbury Hill is the largest artificial work of the kind in Great Britain, the diameter at the top (on which a large party were marshalled by our Noble President) being 120 feet, while the circumference at the base measures 2,027 feet, and the perpendicular height of the mount is 170 feet. It seems to have been one of those citadels to serve as a last place of refuge for a beleaguered garrison; and here may have served as a barrack to contain soldiers, whilst it might be used at all times as a beacon-tower or tower of observation. Its position, half way between the two roads of approach to Abury Circle, and its similar position, relatively, to another circle of stones lately discovered on a down due south of Abury Hill, seems to imply a use such as this. That this mound was not sepulchral has been proved by a shaft sunk from the top, and a tunnel driven through to the centre,—the first in 1777, the latter in 1849, no sepulchral remains having been found.

Travelling in a southerly direction down the beautiful valley watered by the Avon, many picturesque churches and villages are seen; and we visited two of these, Enford and Netheravon, in which the circular arches and Romanesque capitals bespeak an early origin.

We visited Amesbury,—a name illustrious from the many royal and noble ladies who took refuge from the world in the secluded cloister and church of the convent. The church has recently been restored to its pristine beauty and proportions.

Between this building and Stonehenge, the fortified earthwork is passed, to the right of the road, known as Vespasian's Camp. It is a triangular fort, so shaped from the nature of the ground, which on two sides is defended by the river. Its scientific escarpments can still be traced, and shew that its latest occupants at least were not barbarians. The area covers no less than 39 acres, now overgrown with timber. It may well have served as a place of refuge for the inhabitants and their cattle, both before Roman times and afterwards. The fortifications shew engineering skill, whether they derive their origin from Vespasian and the early Romans, or from the later times of an Ina or an Alfred, and would be useful as a defence to Stonehenge and its surrounding necropolis.

Assembled within the circle of Stonehenge, we had the benefit of Mr. W. Cunnington's experience of every member of this vast *congeries*, labelled and numbered by him to enable us to realise the structure when each stone stood in its place, looking like gates heaped upon gates (to use the language of Henry of Huntingdon); and viewed on entering from below, the stones have this appearance. Its name,

¹ *Journal*, xxxiii, p. 297.

whether derived from hanging stones, or the stones for hanging,—that is a gibbet,—throws no light upon the names of its builders; and perhaps the derivation “Staneing”, or the field of stones, suggested by Sir John Lubbock, is the most plausible. The group has, indeed, the appearance of a field of stones, and stands in the midst of a plain covered with stone cists and barrows, of which Sir R. C. Hoare has laid down some three hundred, in his map of the environs, within an area of twelve square miles. The labours of this great antiquary, assisted by Mr. Cunnington of Heytesbury (an ancestor of the gentleman who was now directing our researches), have sufficiently made us acquainted with the contents of these barrows. The classification of them by Dr. Thurnam enables us to draw some interesting deductions to which, with your sanction, I hope to advert on a future occasion. As regards the long barrows, I ventured to state an opinion as to them in an article on Odinism, in *Journal*, vol. xxix, p. 68, to the effect that they might be equivalent to what in Norway are called “ship-barrows”, and covering the slain in battle, buried in a confused manner, and in a heap at one end of the mound; and certainly Dr. Thurnam’s analysis of the contents of these barrows goes far to confirm this opinion.¹ As to the round barrows, the plain objects of bronze contained in them very much exceed in number those of stone; the bronze found by Hoare being twice as numerous as the others.

Amber ornaments, such as necklaces, rings, and studs, are not infrequent here, though uncommon in other parts of England. Ornaments of gold were found in seven of the Wilts tumuli; in four with unburnt, and in three with burnt bodies. We have thus evidence of a high state of civilisation, and a presumption of intercourse with the Baltic, the great source of amber, as well as proofs of severe and frequent battles.

Let us now look at the monument of Stonehenge more closely. It is quite singular in its construction; not much like a cromlech or sepulchral chamber, nor like a place of assembly, nor quite like a temple, yet it has some features of all these. The form of the monument was simple enough when the stones were all erect, though now only a confused heap. A circular set of pillars, with continuous architrave over, formed the outer circle, having a diameter of 105 feet. Inside this was a row set, also in a circle, of small, detached, upright stones; then the five groups of trilithons in horseshoe form; and inside this another row of small, detached, upright stones set in horseshoe form also. The large stones which have been called trilithons or triplets, and form a hexagon or a heptagon, or an ellipse, are so much larger than the others,—either than the small stones of the innermost

¹ Mr. Brock’s account and photographs of the buried ship lately found in Sweden came in very appropriately to this discussion.

ellipse, or than those of the outer circle of the building,—that they would seem to be the work of different hands, and may, perhaps, have once been the buttresses or supports of an elliptic chamber within a mound of earth, and forming entrances to recessed cells like those in the so-called Treasury of Atreus, the burial-place of the kings of Mycenæ. This theory has been ridiculed because the stones are high, and because the mound of earth has disappeared. The stones certainly stand nearly 20 feet from the ground, measured to the top of the lintel; but a mound such as that conjectured might extend to the limit of the outer circle of stones, having a diameter at the base of 105 feet, and rise to the height of 36 feet for the summit, and yet not be larger than the tumulus at Maes-Howe in the Orkneys, used both as a treasury and a royal burying-place. The space there between the buttresses is filled in with stones to form the walling, and with a beehive roof to cover in the whole. The filling-in stones at Maes-Howe are horizontal slabs resembling somewhat the planking which covers the ribs of a ship's hull.¹ The smaller internal ellipse might in such a case have been in use at Stonehenge for the primary interment; and when a large mausoleum was constructed at a later period, the early burial-place would have been respected, and the other built over it.

The disappearance of so large a mound of earth is quite reconcilable with the practice of those who had to destroy monuments of ancient superstition, and keep them out of sight. I will refer to two instances of this,—the one at Italica in Spain, referred to in a paper I had the honour of reading before the Association on April 3, 1878, where a building used for gladiatorial combats and the usual Roman games, though rising 73 feet from the ground, and having an area within the arena alone larger than the Albert Hall, had been completely covered over with earth, and has recently been dug out. No natural deposit could account for such an enormous building being covered up. It must have been done systematically, and with vast amount of manual labour. The same remark applies to a theatre at Lillebonne in France, which forms a semicircle, the chord of which is of about 300 feet, and the walls very high. This was covered over with a mound of earth, and was dug out about fifty years ago. I mention these two cases as having come lately within my own observation. If the early Christian governments could cover up such masonry, they could uncover, for similar reasons, a great mausoleum in which centred the beliefs and superstitions of a great people.

It was pointed out by Mr. Brock that the corner of one of the stones forming the second circle from the outside was rounded off at the corners; and this does not appear to have been noticed before. This

¹ See the description and views of Maes-Howe, by the late Dr. Pettigrew, in *Collectanea Archæologica*, vol. ii.

may shew these outer stones to have been used for another purpose before they were set up here.

It seems unlikely, for historical reasons, that the Danes of the ninth century, or those which followed, can have to do with this building ; and, indeed, the conversion of a cromlech into a Temple of the Sun would be rather at too late a date for such a form of temple, however necessary it might have been at an earlier period to deal leniently with the feelings of heathens and Græco-Romanised Britons. The theory, however, might hold good in the days of Cerdic and his son Cynric, whose operations extended over this area, and for whom, or some other Saxon king, such a mausoleum would be suitable during, perhaps, a century and a half. Nor is it necessary to indicate any one king of Wessex by whom the transformation suggested may have been made, though it could hardly be placed later than the end of the seventh century.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, Temples of the Sun were much used : witness two in very distant countries,—that of Martand, or Mat-tan, in Kashmir,¹ and the Temple of the Sun at Baalbec in Syria, which I name as noted temples of the period, not as having any architectural resemblance to Stonehenge. The temples, however, of the goddess Vesta, where the sacred fire was kept, will occur to those who have visited their remains in Rome and Tivoli, as to the circular form.

Several Members brought forward instances of megalithic structures in different countries, and the work of remote nations, which are compared to Stonehenge ; to which, however, they bear no more resemblance than one building would to another built of rude masses of stone. Among primitive nations customs remain fixed, and are handed down after the original founders of such customs have died out. Thus a temple may have characteristics of Judaism, or of Buddhism, or of Hellenism, and yet only the form or the manner of the builders may have remained and been imitated, the first architects being lost in the darkness of past ages. Though certainty as to the building of Stonehenge can hardly be arrived at, yet it may not have been useless to discuss the theories which seem to come nearest to the probable. Among the names of those who advocate an indeterminate antiquity for Stonehenge, and carry back the date to some time before the Christian era, there are many of weighty authority, yet I have preferred to confine my observations to dates within the range of written history, to ascertain first whether these will stand the ordeal of criticism.

Inigo Jones referred the building of Stonehenge to the Romans, Polydore Virgil to Alfred the Great, and Dr. Charlton to the Danes. Mr. Long, who has collected the opinions of the various writers in his

¹ See Vigne, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 360.

article upon Stonehenge in the *Wilts Archæological Magazine*, has quoted the *Scala Mundi*, a map of the time of Edward I or II, on which Stonehenge is noted under the year 491. Keysler, the learned writer upon Northern Antiquities, attributes it to the Anglo-Saxons or Danes; George Vertue (1684-1756), to the first heathen Saxons; John Britton, to the Romanised Britons at the latter end of the fifth century; Rev. J. Ingram, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford, calls it a heathen burial-place; Rev. J. Earle considered, first, that it had reference to sun-worship; and secondly, there might be some truth in the legend which made it sepulchral; the Rev. Canon Jackson confirmed the opinion of the late Algernon Herbert, in his *Cyclops Christianus*, that it was erected in the fifth century, shortly after the Romans abandoned Britain; and it was to the one hundred and fifty years between A.D. 408 and 552 that Mr. Jackson invited attention. Lastly, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps¹ says the theory of its being a temple of the Druids is unsupported by the least evidence; the little there is at all respecting it leading to the belief that in it we see the remains of a gigantic mausoleum in the middle of an ancient British cemetery, which continued in use during the Roman sway.

From Devizes let us now take a south-westerly route, by Potterne and Erlestoke, to Edington, from whence we were to explore the heights of Bratton Castle, and revisit the scenes of the great contest between Alfred and the Danes, which has been rendered picturesque as well as historical by the visit of Alfred, disguised as a harper, to the enemy's camp. From Edington village the road descends into a hollow, where are the remains of a mill and stream, which in ancient times may have been fed with much more water than at present, and now must be soon flooded after rain from the neighbouring heights. In this hollow, or upon a slight elevation above it, stands the church of Bratton; and from thence, in a north-easterly direction, Edindun heights are reached; from whence, turning southward, a fine plateau runs to the very entrance of Bratton Castle, which is a large and formidable earthwork. Another road up to the Castle is a direct one from the mill-stream up to the fort, which it would enter by the Decuman Gate in the north-east corner. It becomes, then, a question, whether Alfred and his Wilts and Somerset men, starting from Brixton Deverill (Eggbright's Stone), by *Æglea* (Oak Meadow), near Clay Hill, where they passed the night, would the next morning, departing soon after daylight, proceed to Ethandun by way of Westbury, and directly up to the heights facing the southern entrance and Prætorian Gate of Bratton Camp; or whether they would have proceeded along the plain to the north of the camp, and by Edington village on to Edindun heights by Bratton Church. This seems the most likely; for

¹ *Rambles in Western Cornwall.*

Alfred defeated the Danes, who had been, perhaps, scattered over the plain, and they fled to their camp, which they would be compelled to do by the shortest road up to the Decuman Gate from the mill-stream ; and as Bratton Camp is a place of great natural strength, being defended on three sides by a steep escarpment, in some places 36 feet high, Alfred would hardly make a direct attack upon it ; and it was fourteen days before the garrison could be forced to capitulate, and then probably through want of provisions ; for the area of the camp enclosing twenty-three acres, would contain a large army to be fed, and there would be a difficulty in getting water if the road to the Decuman Gate were cut off. I use the Roman expressions of Prætorian and Decuman Gates because the works and outworks shew the skill of good military engineers.

I have taken for granted that the place here described is the Edindun of the *Saxon Chronicle* and of Asser (*anno* 878) rather than at West Yatton or Eaton, five miles north-west of Chippenham, because the tone of the discussions had upon this subject seemed to lean to the Rev. Mr. Smith's opinion, which he gave us *visà voce* under a tree in Edington village, and in which he is borne out by Camden, Gough, Gibson, and Sir R. C. Hoare. The figure of a white horse cut in the turf on the chalky declivity facing the south-west, outside the ramparts, is a landmark directing attention for miles around to this impregnable fortress. The white horse was the emblem of a ship at this period, and not of any kingdom in the west country.

2. As to churches, the first visited were the parish church of St. JOHN and that of St. MARY, in Devizes, the architecture of both being described by the Rev. Dr. Burges, the Rector, and Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock ; and in POTTERNE Church, the name of which is retained in the Hundred of Potterne and Cannings, in which Devizes is placed, attests the antiquity of a foundation now represented by an edifice lately restored. During its restoration a very early font was found with an inscription surrounding it. The early form of characters composing it much resembles those on the seal of Wilton Abbey, said to be the oldest abbey seal known, which can be seen in the photographs of seals published by the Trustees of the British Museum. I will next refer to the three churches visited at LANGLEY BURRELL, DRAYCOT CERNE, and SUTTON BENDER, which derived their names from the lords of the manors. The first owes its name to the Burrells before 1304. It then came to the Delameres, and afterwards to the Cobhams. The second is named from the Cerne family : witness two monuments in the church of mailed warriors,—one of Sir Philip Cerne, of about the middle of the thirteenth century ; and another of Sir Edward Cerne, who died in 1393. After the Reformation the manor came to the Longs, and is now the property and residence of Lord Cowley. SUT-

TON-BENGER (corrupted from Berenger, the family owning the manor) has a church dedicated to All Saints.

CHRISTIAN MALFORD (so called, it is said, from an old stone cross at the ford) belonged for six hundred years to the Abbey of Glastonbury; after it was given, in 940, to Dunstan, the Abbot, by King Edmund. Since the dissolution the manor has passed through different hands, and now belongs to the Earl of Carnarvon.

Why need I speak of EDINGTON CHURCH, its monastic origin, its monuments, its connection with historical incidents and characters, when all this has been done by Mr. Brock and Mr. Bramble, and the architect who is about to restore it? The interesting churches of STEEPLE ASHTON, KEEVIL, POULSHOT, BISHOP'S CANNINGS, BROMHAM, LACOCK, and others, which were visited, will be described in the official report next year.

3. In religious houses, the ruins of three very remarkable foundations fell within the week's work,—the ruins of LACOCK, BRADENSTOKE, and MALMESBURY. Lacock can hardly be called a ruin, for it forms the comfortable dwelling of C. H. Talbot, Esq., who entertained us in the refectory. The Countess Ela, widow of the renowned William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, natural son of Henry II by the Fair Rosamond, founded this Priory in the days of Richard Cœur de Lion, and ruled it as Lady Abbess during eighteen years. Its history is long, its remains (particularly the sacristy and chapter-house, with their groined stone arches, and cloisters) are most interesting, and rendered doubly so by the description of Mr. Talbot, who is so competent to tell the tale. Bradenstoke was founded earlier, that is in 1142, by Walter, son of Edward of Salisbury, for canons of the order of St. Augustine, while Lacock was for canonesses of the same order.

The third Abbey referred to is that of Malmesbury, the history of which is conspicuous in the early days of Maidulph and Aldhelm; and I must refer to Mr. Patrick's account of the Abbey, which is also described in *Journal*, xxv, for the year 1869, on the occasion of a former visit by this Society.

4. In timbered buildings and manor-houses, the Porch House at Potterne is a fine specimen of domestic architecture of the latter half of the fifteenth century. It was described to us by the Rev. Mr. Olivier, whose father had once been the owner of it. Another timbered house, somewhat like this, was seen at Keevil, now the charming residence of Mrs. Kenrick. The hall occupies the centre of the building. One wing is of the old work, while the other has been added in modern times in the same style. On the front of the gallery in the hall is painted the coat of Fitz-Alan, quartering Maltravers, enclosed within a garter; perhaps of Sir William Fitz-Alan, K.G., 1437-87, lord of the manor of Keevil. Eastwell House, in Potterne, is a curious old resi-

dence of the seventeenth century, belonging to the Grubbe family, who have lived here for three hundred years, a Henry Grubbe having represented Devizes in Parliament as far back as 1577. As to ancient dwellinghouses with their picturesque timber gables and barge-boards, in Lacock village we saw nothing else, and were carried back to pre-Reformation times, when the village must have worn the same aspect as it does now.

Mr. Talbot shewed us a good specimen of an early timbered barn, of which we had also seen another at Abury, wherein we dined by permission of Mr. Kemm, whose ancient manor-house also commanded attention.

For descriptions of parks and of scenery, and specimens of the fine arts, for which this county is famed, and for the genealogical and personal histories associated with them, no more space is left to me than to refer to some of the names, as of Fonthill, almost within our ken at Devizes, the residence of the famous Lord Mayor, W. Beckford, and of his successor, "England's wealthiest son", with the fires and the sales and the ruin which followed. Then Farley, in the Hundred of Alderbury, the birthplace of Sir Stephen Fox, ancestor of the Ilchester and Holland families; of Wardour Castle, captured and recaptured in one year, after the gallant defence of Lady Blanche Somerset during the civil war; of Bowood, two miles north-west of Calne, once the King's Bow-wood Park. The scenery summed up by John Britton as embracing the "sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful". The mansion, filled with choice pictures and works of art, was built by John Fitzmaurice, in whose person the title of Earl of Shelburne was revived, and who died in 1761. The second Earl was created Marquess of Lansdowne, whose name is associated with the valuable books and MSS. of the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum.

An extra day gave us the opportunity of a ride through Savernake Forest and to Longleat,¹ the mansion of the Marquis of Bath. Not far beyond is the manor-house of Littlecote, the seat of the Pophams, which remains almost as it was in the time of Wild Darell and the legend connected with the place, to which currency has been given by Sir Walter Scott in a note to *Rokeby*. This has proved, like many other legends, to be founded on fact, according to certain revelations in the Longleat papers brought to light by the Rev. Canon Jackson in the pages of the *Wilts Archaeological Magazine*.

In this direction is the church of Bedwyn Magna, a repertory, in its mural tablets, of the Somersets, Earls of Herford, and of armorial bearings of the many families with which they were connected.

¹ Built on the site of the Priory of Longa Lata. The first family of Thynne, otherwise Botteville, came into England from Poitou in France as early as the reign of King John.

Two famous seats in Wiltshire, though not visited on this occasion, can hardly be passed over without reference. They are Castle Combe and Wilton House. The former has been described by G. P. Scrope, Esq., M.P. (4to., 1852), with memoirs of the families of Dunstanville, Badlesmere, Tiptoft, Scrope, Fastolf, etc. The latter, the mansion of Earl Pembroke, memorable for its collection of Greek sculptures, which have been minutely described by Mr. Chas. J. Newton, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, in the *Salisbury* volume of the Royal Archæological Institute (1849).

A second visit to Bromham Church, on the last Sunday, brought us again into the neighbourhood of Spy Hall, where Roman coins and antiquities have been collected. Nor could we forget that it was Sir Andrew Baynton who first discovered the Roman remains which were afterwards described by Sir R. C. Hoare, and the mosaic figured in his famous work. This had been uncovered by Mr. J. S. Money in 1840, and now again for our inspection. The pavement has suffered somewhat since Sir R. C. Hoare's time in 1810; and it is hoped that the Curators of the Museum at Devizes, who have taken the matter in hand, will not only prevent any further destruction, but will cause further excavations in the same field, which is not far from the station *Verlucio*, near Wans House, between Bath, *Aquæ Solis* (xv M.P.), in one direction, and *Cunetio* (xx M.P.), near Marlborough, on the other.

In the churchyard of Bromham, the plainest of plain gravestones marks the burial-place of Thomas Moore of Sloperton Cottage, and his wife "Bessie", yet the genius and wit of the poet have reared for him a monument more durable than the sculptured tombs which adorn the adjacent chantry chapel of the Beauchamps.

An ingenious German author, M. E. Rohde,¹ has shewn how the modern romance has sprung from the imagination of Greek writers of the time of the Roman emperors, and proves this by various writings little known and fragmentary. Our poet Moore was not a little inspired by Hellenic feeling in his convivial odes, and four of his Anacreontic lines may almost serve for his own epitaph,—

"Cold, cold, that heart which while on earth it dwelt
All the sweet frenzy of love's passion felt;
And yet, Oh Bard, thou art not mute in death!
Still do we catch thy lyre's luxurious breath."

I will conclude by mentioning the civic charters and documents commented on by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, and the civic plate, maces, etc., as well as the mace of the Rector of Devizes, which led to useful discussions, to which Mr. G. Lambert contributed largely from his store of practical knowledge.

¹ See Review by Gaston Boissier in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 3e période, tom. 32.

The reception we met with from the men of Wiltshire will long be remembered with gratitude. Nor is it necessary to particularise the truly English hospitality offered us at Malmesbury by Mr. W. Powell, M.P., or at Marlborough by Mr. Merriman, and at the Town Hall by the Mayor and Mayoress of Devizes. The Congress was well attended by members from London as well as from Wiltshire and neighbourhood; nor did our contingent from Bristol and Liverpool fail us. It is beyond me to epitomise the many and interesting discussions held on various controverted topics; but the debates were assisted by the knowledge and patient attention given to them by the President, who accompanied us each day through our progress over plain and hill; and the day's excursions were so planned by the skill of Mr. G. R. Wright and Mr. John Reynolds, aided by the diligence of our Local Secretary, Mr. W. H. Butcher, that not a hitch occurred in the many and complicated arrangements to be made for a very large party.

If this sketch is both faulty and deficient, the full official report will supply the defects. Local works by Aubrey, Sir Thos. Phillipps, Bart., Britton, and a score of others, give the fullest information; not to re-iterate the twenty volumes of the *Wills Archaeological Magazine*. To the historical notes by Mr. Edward Kite, edited by Mr. W. Henry Butcher, I acknowledge myself indebted. They were published at Devizes for the use of our members, and will be found very useful for future reference and for the names of many original authorities supplied.

Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on the Cradle Tower at the Tower of London, which will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1880.

T. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library:

To the Powys-land Club for "Collections", vol. xii, Part III. 1880.

To the Society of Arts for "Journal". 1880.

To the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, for a tract entitled "Act and Bull." *S. d.*

An extensive collection of Roman coins was exhibited, and a paper read "On the Thirteenth Iter of Antoninus: the Missing Station between Cirencester and Speen", by G. M. Hills, Esq.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited four Moorish water-vessels from the collection of the late Sir Thomas Elliot. Two of these were unglazed, with black ornamentation; one double-handled, glazed, and covered with

coarse red and blue arabesques, with a strainer in the narrow neck. Mr. Way also exhibited a Nuremburg jetton, and a Roman coin of unknown type, recently found in Exeter.

The Rev. Mr. Maule exhibited a collection of European silver coins and medals of the eighteenth century, and two leaden *bullæ* of Domenico Contarino and Aloysius Pisani, Doges of Venice.

Mr. Butcher, of Devizes, exhibited three early tobacco-pipes, and a fragment of a Samian bowl found in Aldgate.

The Chairman exhibited, from the recent excavations in America Square, Aldgate, a very large Roman tile, measuring $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $12\frac{3}{8}$ ins. by 2 ins. ; several pieces of very hard Roman mortar ; a ribbed jar of uncertain date, taken from the beams of an old house in America Square ; and an ancient iron key with hinged wards to fall down at right angles to the barrel, after insertion into a small circular keyhole.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a plan and read the following notes on the

ROMAN WALL OF LONDON, AMERICA SQUARE, MINORIES.

The extension of the Fenchurch Street Railway works has led to the removal of several houses on the west side of America Square, and this has been followed by the work of excavation for the piers and arches to carry the new portion of the line. At a depth of 6 feet 6 ins. below the present level of the ground, portions of a massive wall were met with, which were opened out to the base. This was on the known line of the old rampart of the City, and a visit or two had been paid by Mr. Morgan and myself to the spot in the hope of meeting with it. Mr. Alfred A. Langley, Engineer to the works, in a letter to *The Times* reported its appearance ; and the old wall, which is now in course of rapid demolition for the purposes of the new works, has been visited yesterday and to-day by many spectators. The progress of its removal has enabled careful observation of its structure to be made, and which I now proceed to note.

The wall is Roman work from summit to base, and it is, perhaps, the finest piece of the old rampart that has been met with for the last twenty years, there being no admixture of later work, and no sign of decay ; it being, indeed, as fresh as when it left the builders' hands so many centuries ago. The wall was built on a mass of hard, puddled clay and flints on the hard gravel of the district. On the east or outer side a bold chamfered plinth of dark brown ironstone, 10 inches thick, in large sized stones, was at once laid on the concreted mass. On the inner side there were some rough, projecting stones forming two courses of face-work, and then a course of three of the usual large, bright red tiles. These were arranged as sets-off, answering to the chamfered plinth on the other side, and were in the surface only. The

thickness at the base was 8 feet 6 inches. Above this, with four courses of faced stone in a height of wall of 2 feet 3 inches, a second course or three tiles was met with. These went quite through the thickness of the wall, which was here 7 feet 6 inches. A third course of three tiles, also through the wall, was above this at a height of about 3 feet, there being six courses of faced stone between. The second and third courses of tiles had sets-off on each side of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and these gave a thickness of 6 feet 10 inches above the second, and probably 6 feet 4 inches above the third. At the point of measurement, however, the face-work had been removed on the outer side; and the wall came to an end with two courses of face-work on the inner side. These heights, with the thickness of the tile-courses, made the total height 8 feet 11 inches. We have, therefore, only the base of the old city wall, and nothing to represent its actual height. It renders in its present buried state strange testimony of the rising of the ground in the City; and it may be difficult for many to realise that this is a portion of the great City wall when we have to look down to it from a height.

The face-work is of squared stone, about 9 inches by 6 inches on face, of very hard ragstone. The interior of the wall is built of the same material unwrought, and solidly bedded in very hard gravelly mortar with no admixture of pounded brick. The picturesque effect of colour so often noticed in Roman work is very apparent here, from the greenish tint of the masonry, and the bright red of the tile-bands, with the deep brown plinth below. The plinth has the peculiar, smoothed appearance so common in Roman masonry, produced by rubbing the surface with a piece of stone after it had been worked to a surface. The chamfer measures 5 inches on face. The tiles are 1 foot $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. The "bond" is broken very neatly; and the whole, judged as a piece of masonry, is remarkably good.

The resemblance with the wall just found in the Tower of London is all but identical, as will be seen by the accompanying drawings of each, and the appearance of the work corresponds all but exactly with that found at Camomile Street. The excavation reveals the fact that the wall still exists buried beneath the ground,—northwards, under the backs of the houses in America Square; and southwards, towards Cooper's Row, where it still exists in the vaults of Messrs. Barber's warehouses.

Mr. Brock then read a paper on "Roman Remains in the Tower of London", which was illustrated with diagrams.

Mr. C. H. Compton described several details with regard to the position of the Roman wall in the Tower, and stated that facilities for prosecuting further researches on the site had been promised by the authorities.

It was proposed by Mr. C. H. Compton, and seconded by Mr. Gordon M. Hills,—

“That the best thanks of this Association be tendered to Major-General Milman, C.B., Major of the Tower of London; Her Majesty’s Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings; and John Taylor, Esq.; for their courtesy in having opened to view the buried fragment of the Roman wall on the east side of the White Tower, and for the facilities they have given for its inspection, in response to the wishes of this Association.”

The Rev R. E. Hooppell, M.A., LL.D., exhibited a large and very finely executed series of diagrams and plans illustrative of recent excavations on the site of *Vinovium*, or Binchester, co. Durham, and described at length the principal points of interest and importance.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The New Codex of the Gospels.—The *Deutscher Merkur* contains an account, by Professor Schürer, of the new codex of the Gospels discovered by Professors Harnack of Giessen and Von Gebhart of Göttingen in the archiepiscopal library at Rossano in Calabria. It is a splendid Greek codex of the Gospels in uncial writing, and its great antiquity beyond doubt. The MS. consists of 188 vellum leaves, and contains the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. It is important to notice that the only portion of St. Mark’s Gospel which is wanting is the closing portion of chapter xvi, which is now universally recognised by scholars to be an interpolation. The codex must originally have contained all the four Gospels. The text is written in silver letters upon fine bluish purple tinted parchment. It is unique on this account, for hitherto only one Greek purple codex of the Gospels has been known to exist (Codex N), and this is very fragmentary. The text is written in double columns, without accents, without partition of the words, and with twenty lines in each column. The Greek uncial lettering is peculiarly regular and beautifully formed. On palæographical grounds it may be concluded with tolerable certainty that the MS. cannot belong to a later date than the sixth century; and it is of con-

siderable significance for the history of early Christian art. Eight of the sheets are adorned with very finely executed miniatures representing scenes from the Passion. They belong to the epoch of transition from the antique classical to the Byzantine style of painting. Very few miniatures of this period are extant; and as none of those previously known represent scenes from the Passion, the new discovery is of the greater importance in this respect.

The Past in the Present: ten of the Rhind Lectures on Archæology. By ARTHUR MITCHELL, M.D., LL.D.—Archæology, which for nearly three hundred years has, at least so far as Britain is concerned, been gathering together and storing up isolated facts, and recording discoveries and theories more or less unattached to any idea of connection *inter se*, is now entering upon a more advanced stage of enlightenment. Such works as the one under consideration here, by Dr. Mitchell, one of Scotland's most profound antiquaries, open out to archæologists, who have too often been content rather to record experiences than construct theories by comparison and examination of facts already described for them by others, a new field of absorbing interest. A few more books of this kind will do more for the advancement of archæology than the numerous but isolated monographs with which antiquarians have hitherto satisfied themselves and their readers. The opening lecture is dedicated to an examination of the spindle and the whorl, in which we



Stone Whorls, Scotland.

are shewn how these two objects, believed to be among the oldest in point of invention, still are found in common use; the whorl being still made, and spindle-spinning still practised, in a country claiming to be advanced in civilisation, and using complex machinery; the author shewing from this that a lower capacity or culture in the user of the spindle must not be assumed. African and other savages, he tells us, use in spinning a contrivance which cultured Egypt used thousands of years ago, with which cultured India still contents itself, and which cultured Europe still employs to some extent.

The second lecture relates to *craggans*, a species of globular fictile vessel formed from clay with hands alone, no assistance being derived from the potter's wheel, by the natives of Barvas and other places in the Isle of Lewis. Here the author shews how the very rudest known form of an art may coexist in a nation with the highest. Querns, for example, are still made for sale in Scotland, although not so tastefully fashioned now as formerly.



Craggan from Tolsta, Isle of Lewis.

Another lecture is devoted to the Black Houses and the Beehive Houses of the Hebrides, of which from twenty to thirty are even now in occupation. Those of our Society who saw the ancient beehive huts in the extreme south-west of England will be able to compare their experiences and deductions with Dr. Mitchell's remarks concerning the modern examples of these habitations in the northernmost parts of our island cluster; for they are not confined to Harris and the Lewis, but occur also in the outer Hebrides, and probably existed at no distant time in Skye, Mull, and western districts of the mainland.



Cairn at Clava, co. Inverness.

The lecture on cairns, cave-life, wheelless carts, the *crusie*, brooches, etc., opens with a graphic account of a visit paid by the author to a cave-dwelling, yet inhabited by nude families, at the south side of Wick Bay. From the illustrations of this lecture we may select the famous ruined cairn at Clava, with its circular chamber and outlying circle of

upright monoliths; the urn found in the central cist of the cairn at Collessie, 9 inches in height; another, 7 inches high, but of larger diameter, found at a depth of 6 feet under the base of the same cairn;



Collessie Urns.

and a *crusie*, or lamp, on its stand, from the collection in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Of these latter objects there were probably millions in Scotland thirty or forty years ago; but now they have a place in collections of antiquities, and can only be bought at a considerable price. It will be within recollection of many of our readers that a *crusie* very similar to the accompanying figure was exhibited at an evening meeting by Mr. Allen, who then read a paper (see p. 107) upon these peculiar objects of an ancient survival, not without its type among Phœnician relics.

Lecture V, upon the classification of antiquities, enunciates some critical remarks which every archæologist ought to read, not once, but many times, for they lay



Crusie.

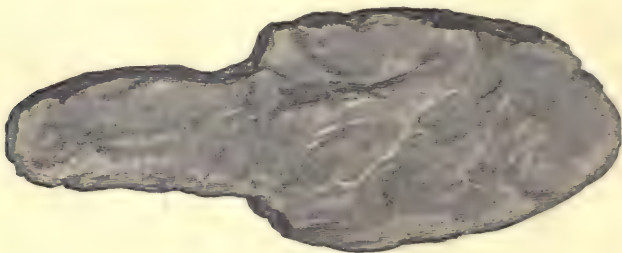
down axioms, without the admission of which the further pursuit of



Roman Tablet, Carriden.

archæology is merely groping in a dark labyrinth of confused guesses and illogical conjectures. The following extract is worthy of repetition here: "Four things are clear,—that a classification of antiquities into those belonging to the stone, bronze, and iron ages has no absolute chronological signification, and does not furnish dates; that it equally fails to indicate stages of culture and capacity in the sense of being invariable gradations of progress towards the existing culture and capacity, necessarily consecutive, and universally applicable to all the races of the human family; that the three ages, even though they may successively present themselves in two countries lying close to each other, do not of necessity synchronise,—that is, the one country may still be in its stone age, while the other has passed into its iron age; and that the antiquities of each country must be separately studied with reference to the fitness to it of such a classification."

Shetland, as is very natural, contributes a great variety of illustrations to Dr. Mitchell's work, from which the two stone implements



shaped by flaking, and very rude, here reproduced, are derived. The smaller figure is a stone of the weight of 4 lbs. 12 oz., 13 inches long; the larger figure, like a spade, 12 inches long, weighs 2 lbs. 10 oz.

Our limited space will not allow any notice to be given here of the lectures on manners and customs, folk-lore, superstitions of all kinds, nor the consideration of the questions, "What is civilisation?" "How does the law of natural selection affect man? Can the brutes, can man in isolation be civilised? And by what steps are civilisation reached?" And finally, "Are civilisations of different patterns? and what knowledge have we of a higher pattern than any yet reached?" For the interesting answers to these important queries, our readers must peruse the book, which has afforded us the greatest pleasure to introduce to their notice. The careful study of Dr. Mitchell's work will not only afford a passing gratification to those who read it, but it cannot fail to attain its intended object of furthering our insight into the secret chambers of archæology, and of exciting the desire to extend our



investigations to a limit far in advance of that with which many, nay, most of us, have been hitherto content.

The plate on page 469 represents a Roman legionary tablet, 9 feet in length, sculptured with a group of armed, naked Caledonians, discovered at Carriden, Linlithgowshire, and introduced as a help towards the solution of the question, "Were the people of Scotland savages at the time of the Roman invasion?" Another stone, figured in the *Caledonia Romana*, represents two naked Caledonians with their arms tied behind their backs.

The Camp of Refuge, a Tale of the Conquest of the Isle of Ely.—We gladly welcome a new edition of this fascinating history of early Norman times in East Anglia, edited, with notes and Appendix, by Samuel H. Miller, F.R.A.S., one of the authors of the *Fenland* which was so much appreciated by the members of the Association at the time of the Wisbech Congress. Those among us who visited Ely Cathedral, St. Guthlac's Abbey at Crowland, Peterborough Cathedral, and Cambridge, will be, we are sure, pleased to conjure up again, as they take this little book in hand, visions of the few bright days then passed in the very places which afford scenes to *The Camp of Refuge*. The book, although in form a romance, embodies much real history of the Norman times; and our Associate, Mr. J. Leach, of 26 High Street, Wisbech, knowing that the original edition was very scarce, and thinking, with good reason, that it would prove as acceptable to this, and perhaps the next generation, as it did to the last, has brought out the present new and improved edition. Hardly a more fitting book than *The Camp of Refuge* could be put into the hands of archæologists, young or old, at this book-loving, book-giving, and book-reading, time of the year.

Mr. William Andrews has in the press a volume on *Punishments in the Olden Time, being an Account of the Brank, Ducking-Stool, Pillory, Whipping-Post, Cage, Stocks, Drunkard's Cloak, Public Penance, and Riding the Stang*. The work will contain much curious information, and will be attractively illustrated by drawings by George Cruikshank, W. G. Fretton, T. T. Wildridge, and other artists. The subject is a very large and fruitful one, and Mr. Andrews may be trusted to treat it properly. The author will receive subscribers' names, which should be addressed to him at the Literary Club, Hull.

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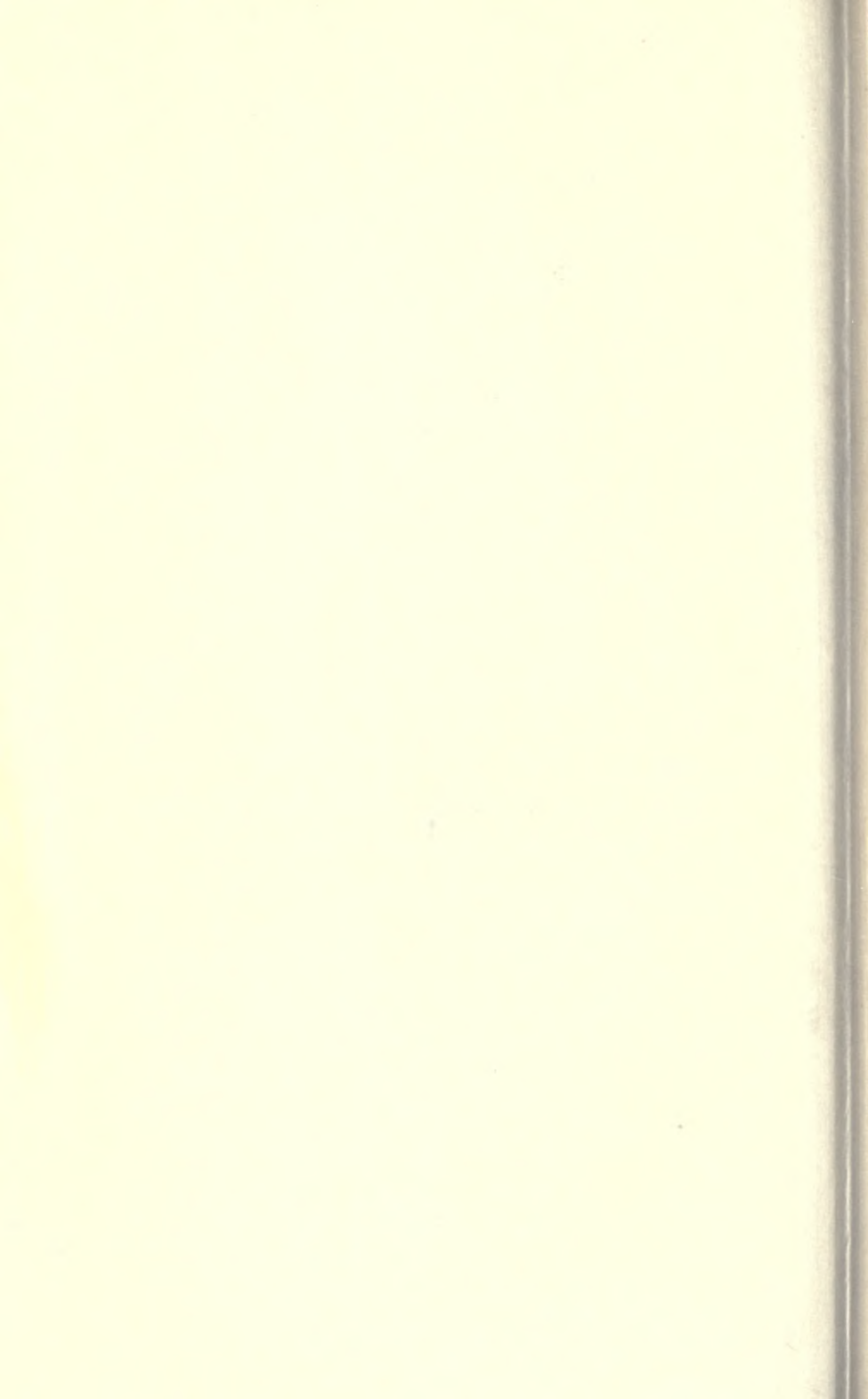
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